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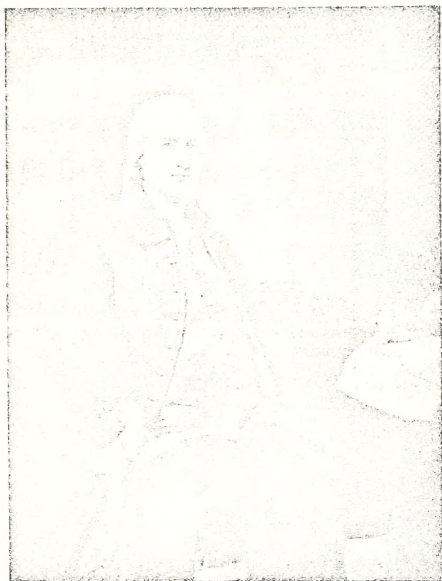
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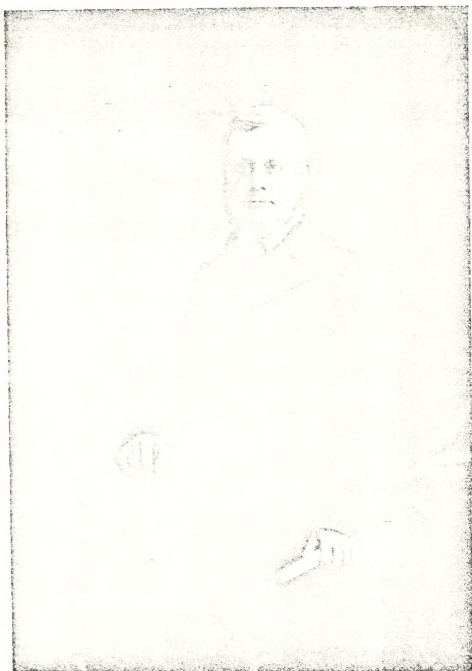


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OLIVER WOLCOTT

BORN IN WINDSOR, CONN., 20 NOVEMBER, 1726
LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT, 1782-1796
GOVERNOR, 1796, UNTIL HIS DEATH, IN 1797



Henry R. Giles, M.D.



TO MY WIFE
SARAH (WOODWARD) STILES

I Dedicate these Volumes

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION

OF THE

LOVING AND UNSWEARED DEVOTION

TO MY INTERESTS WHICH HAS MADE MY LIFE A HAPPY ONE, AND RENDERED IT POSSIBLE FOR
ME TO ACCOMPLISH WHATEVER OF VALUE I MAY HAVE CONTRIBUTED, WITHIN THE LAST
THIRTY YEARS, TO THE ELUCIDATION OF AMERICAN LOCAL HISTORY AND GENEALOGY.

THE

HISTORY AND GENEALOGIES

OF

ANCIENT WINDSOR, CONNECTICUT;

INCLUDING

EAST WINDSOR, SOUTH WINDSOR, BLOOMFIELD,
WINDSOR LOCKS, AND ELLINGTON.

1635-1891,

BY HENRY R. STILES, A.M., M.D.

"I wish [this work] had fallen into some better hands, that might have performed it to the life. I shall only draw the curtain & open my little easement, that so others of larger hands & facilities may let in a bigger light; that so at least some small clearing may be left to posterity, where difficulties & obstructions to its footsteps will again manifest, such as these desolate parts of America."—*Captain John Mason, U. S. General, letter to the Librarian of the History of the United States.*

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HARTFORD, CONN.:

PRESS OF THE CASE, LOCKWOOD & BRAINARD COMPANY.

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(PORTION OF) PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION, 1859.

WHILE engaged, some years since, in tracing the genealogy of my family, I became deeply interested in the history of the ancient town where they first settled. This interest gradually deepened into a conviction that its history ought to be written ere it was too late. There were other heads and hands, as I thought, better fitted than mine to undertake this labor: but, failing to enlist their services, I reluctantly undertook it myself. I was, at that time, in very poor health, and suffering from a serious affection of the eyes, which totally incapacitated me from any continuous effort at reading or writing. Thus prevented from the pursuit of my profession, I felt the necessity of something, which, by occupying my mind, should relieve me from the constant contemplation of my physical sufferings, as well from the still greater discomfort of idleness. Seeking the country for its genial influences upon my weakened frame, I spent my time among the pleasant scenery of Ancient Windsor, visiting among friends and relatives, and drinking in, from aged lips, rich stores of historic lore. Meanwhile, taking advantage of an occasional "favorable spell" of eyesight, I cautiously used it, in examining the old written records, and in *scribbling* such portions as were necessary to be transcribed. These were afterwards copied for me by my brother, WILLIAM L. SHILES (now deceased), and the large stores of material thus gained were collated and read to me; and thus, gradually, reading when I could, thinking when I could not read, and trusting my thoughts to the ready pen of an amanuensis, the skeleton of the history was constructed. From time to time, as my eyesight improved, I visited the old records, each time bringing away with me new material. Many times my health and eyesight failed me, but, visiting Windsor for the benefits of its air and sunshine, I never gave up the purpose of writing its history if my life should be spared. Gradually, and to an extent which, if I had imagined before I undertook it, would probably have deterred me from the labor, the work *grew* on my hands; but to the Great Physician I humbly record my gratitude, that with the increased burden has also come an increase of strength, and that to-day I enjoy a degree of health which I once scarcely dared to hope for.

These circumstances, however, I would not mention here, except for the hope that they may explain and excuse, what perhaps might seem to others inexcusable, faults of omission and commission.

I have endeavored to make this history a *tersary* of all that was valuable and interesting to Ancient Windsor, and to impress upon it the broad seal of *undoubted authenticity*. I have preferred to imitate the pious zeal of Old Mortality, who wandered through "bonnie Scotland," not raising new monuments, but carefully removing from decaying tomb-stones the thick moss, and reverently chiseling deeper the almost effaced inscriptions which preserved the blessed memories of the "covenanting forefathers." Such, I conceive to be the work of the true historian; and whenever I have found material garnered by other hands, I have availed myself of their labors, with the same freedom which I would myself allow in like circumstances and *with full acknowledgment thereof*.

HENRY R. STILES, M.D.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., Sept. 1859.

Acknowledgments for valuable assistance rendered, are due to

Miss Lucretia and Mary Stiles (now deceased), of Windsor, Conn.

Hon. D. S. Hayden, of Windsor, Conn.

Jabez H. Hayden, of Windsor Locks, Conn.

Fred. B. Perkins (then Librarian of Conn. Hist. Soc.), of Hartford, Conn.

Chas. J. Hooley, LL.D., State Librarian, }

Hon. J. Hann and Trumbull, }

Hon. Gideon Welles, }

of Hartford, Conn.

John W. Barber, New Haven, Conn.

Edward Hall, }

Hon. Benjamin Pinney, }

Sidney Stanley, }

of Ellington.

Dr. Ashbel Woodward, of Franklin, Conn.

Rev. Edward C. Marshall, }

Horace Dresser, }

of New York City.

Samuel H. Parsons, Esq., }

Edwin Stearns, }

Middletown, Conn.

And to the TOWN CLERKS of all the towns formerly comprised within Ancient Windsor.

PREFATORY NOTES TO SUPPLEMENT, 1863.

THREE years ago, when I published the *History and Genealogies of Ancient Windsor, Conn.*, I was induced, if not compelled, by a superabundance of material, to give my subscribers, without additional charge, over 300 pages more than was promised them — an act of generosity which, as it is easy to see, was much more advantageous to them than to me. And when, at last, relieved from the burdens of authorship and financial cares, I felt that I certainly had fully paid (both principal and interest) my share of the debt of love which I owed to the old town of Windsor; and little dreamed that I should ever again put myself in harness for her historical benefit. But, unfortunately for my “sweet dream of peace,” I found myself *involuntarily* into old Windsor’s history and interests. I could not henceforth be an uninterested looker-on; I found myself still tracing out the lines of her ancient families, and that — shall I confess it? — there was an indefinable charm for me in all that pertained to Windsor history. Many errors I detected in the printed volume — some of clerical, some of typographical origin — some evident omissions or commissions, and not infrequently a fault of omission. These were to have been expected: the utmost circumspection could not have guarded entirely against them, in a work of such multiplicity of names, dates, etc. Correspondents, also, constantly furnished new suggestions, ingenious elucidations, “missing links,” and “unknown quantities,” which threw new light and value upon my printed page. New sources of authority also came to light, by the discovery of ancient records in unthought-of hiding-places. What wonder is it, then, that the *notes* which gradually enriched the margins of my library copy of the Windsor History, soon grew so voluminous as to suggest the idea of a supplement? For what genealogist or historian who, when he has found a new fact, or a “nugget,” is not willing, like the woman in the parable, to call his friends and co-laborers together, saying, “Rejoice with me, for I have found the piece which I had lost”? Therefore, I have compiled this *Supplement*: if it convicts me of shortcomings in my former work, it will, at least, assure my friends of my desire to make good any deficiencies, and to add to their pleasure and profit. . . . And now, as I lay down my pen from correcting the last proof of this Supplement, I feel that my “labor of love” for Ancient Windsor is *finished*. If the citizens of that venerable town have need, in the future, of the services of a historian, they need *not* apply to their true friend,

HENRY R. STILES, M.D.

WOODBIDGE, N. J., Nov., 1862.

Acknowledgments for help rendered (additional to those named in former preface) are due to Mr. D. WILLIAMS PATTERSON of Newark Valley, N. Y.; Mr. HIRAM B. CASE and Rev. GEO. B. NEWCOMB of Bloomfield, Conn., and Mrs. ELIZA MILLS RUNDALL of Seneca Falls, N. Y.

PREFACE TO THE PRESENT (REVISED) EDITION, 1891.

HOW grim Fate must laugh at the puny resolves of men! Despite my firm resolve, as expressed in the last sentence of the Prefatory Note to the *Supplement* of 1863; despite the weaning influences of over twenty years of engrossing and more personally important professional duties, I found myself, in 1885, shortly after my return from a prolonged residence in Scotland, again fingering the (to me sweet, but nevertheless unprofitable) husks of Windsor History. Finding that some grains of value yet remained to be shaken out of them, I weakly yielded to their fascination; and here I am again, posing as "the Windsor historian," in what may (in view of my years, etc.) presumably be considered as "*positively* my last appearance."

The circumstances under which this history was originally undertaken are sufficiently detailed in the Preface to the first edition (1859). That edition, consisting of 700 copies, was published at a loss, as was also the *Supplement*, of which only 150 copies were printed, in 1863. Issued at a time when such works were far less common than they now are, its object and value were not then appreciated, as they since have been, by many of those who should have been interested therein. But, within the *thirty years* which have now elapsed since its appearance, American History and Genealogy have assumed a new interest in the public mind; new fields in Windsor history have been explored by other sons of Windsor, and for the past fifteen years I have been in constant receipt of inquiries from antiquaries and others interested in tracing their family records, seeking to obtain copies of the work, urging me to issue a new edition, and offering for my use much new matter, valued corrections, etc., etc., and I have finally yielded to the desire so widely and sincerely expressed.

Fortunately, several of those who assisted me in my earlier work are still alive; new and willing hands from a younger generation are extended to help; much new material has been collected in special fields of research, and far better work has been accomplished, I trust, than would have been possible thirty years ago.

I esteem it a most fortunate circumstance that the same kindly

Providence which has spared my life and health so that I might, at this time, revise and perfect the work of my youthful years, has also spared that of my venerable and beloved friend, Mr. JAMES H. HAYDEN of Windsor Locks, Conn., to whom was due so much of the value of the first edition. Nature certainly designed him as the historian of his native town, but the multiplicity of his business cares, conjoined with his modesty, has prevented him from forestalling me, as by right he should have done in this historical work. I have only to thank him for the help which he has rendered, as earnestly and freely, to this revision, as he did to the original work.

While the whole work (genealogies included) has been so thoroughly revised and rewritten as to be, virtually, a *new* work; yet that portion which relates to the east-side towns (East and South Windsor, and Ellington) is peculiarly so. When writing my original history, I found that Dr. HORACE C. GILLETTE of South Windsor, since deceased, had in preparation a work which covered these towns subsequent to the Revolutionary period; and I therefore relinquished that portion of my intended labor, and contented myself with giving their history down to 1768, at which time their territory ceased to be a part of Windsor. Dr. Gillette, however, never carried out his purpose,* and this has imposed upon me the labor of preparing, in full, the history of the three towns east of the Connecticut river. Here, also, Providence has supplied me with a most efficient helper, in Miss RUTH T. SPERRY of East Windsor Hill, to whose unwearied enthusiasm and tact in the collection of material, both historical and genealogical, the good people of East and South Windsor will owe far more than they can ever repay. The Rev. JOHN G. BAIRD of Ellington has also contributed a new and most excellent chapter on the history of that town.

Acknowledgments are also specially due, from Miss Sperry and myself, to Judge H. B. FREEMAN, the obliging custodian of the Hartford County Probate Records, and to the Town Clerks of all the towns to which we have occasion to apply; especially to Mr. SAMUEL H. PHELPS of Windsor, and Judge MAHLON H. BANCROFT of East Windsor. To Mr. ELIZUR COOK, final proof-reader in the establishment of The Case, Lockwood & Braithard Co., printers of this work, we are indebted for valuable additions and corrections to our Lists of Soldiers in the War of the Civil Rebellion.

For most of the *autograph-facsimiles* used in this work, we acknowl-

* All that he practically accomplished was the publication of certain "Letters" on the History of South Windsor, in the *Hartford Times* of the following dates:

1857: March 18, 23; April 6, 16; May 1, 29; June 19; August 5, 26, 27; Oct. 27; Nov. 4, 24; Dec. 15.

1858: Jan. 5, 19; Feb. 2; March 3; May 1.

edge the courtesy of the publishers of the *Memorial History of Hartford County*.

THE PRINCIPAL MANUSCRIPT AUTHORITIES CONSULTED.

Among the principal original authorities consulted, are:

1. *Records of Town Acts*, (town clerk's office, Windsor,) in 4 volumes, of which the first (size, 9 by 7½ inches, parchment covered, 50 double pages) contains the records from 6 May, 1650, to 31 Dec., 1661. Several of the first pages of this volume have crumbled away by age.

Vol. II., similar in size and covering to the above, 81 (double) pages, contains records from Feb. 6, 1666, to 26 Oct., 1700. Ten pages of this volume are devoted to lists of town rates, and pages 51, 52 to a record of *town ways*.

A volume of 52 (double) pages, without cover, and altogether in a very dilapidated condition, contains records from Dec., 1700, to Dec. 7, 1714; and probably belongs to preceding volume.

Vol. III., of larger folio size, leather binding, 147 (double) pages, contains records from Dec., 1768, to Dec., 1830.

2. *A Record of Acts of Proprietors of Common and Undivided Lands in Windsor*, 1610, parchment covered — very dry reading.

3. A little volume of same size as the earlier volumes of Town Acts, in parchment binding, entitled "*A Book of Town Wages*," — and as such often referred to in our chapter on Plan and Distribution of Ancient Windsor. It is transcribed by TIMOTHY LOOMIS, third town clerk, from the original, by his predecessor, invaluable Matthew Grant.

4. A volume similar in size to the above, in parchment cover, filled mostly with ancient *Town Rates*, Lists, etc., about 1672–1676.

5. *Land Records*, 1640 to the present day. The original first volume is still in existence. The copy, now in use in the clerk's office, was copied by Timothy Loomis, in 1723, as we learn from the following town vote: April 8, 1723, "*Voted to pay Timothy Loomis £20, 12s., to be paid out of the town rate for his transcribing the first book of town records of lands.*" Also, the volume of *Land Records* in Secretary of State's office, Hartford, referred to in note to p. 544.

6. Matthew Grant's *Old Church Record*, the original of which is in the custody of the Connecticut Historical Society, our copy (APPENDIX A.) being from an accurate transcript by JABEE H. HAYDEN, Esq., carefully compared with the original, for this Revised Edition.

7. *Henry Wolcott, Jr.'s Shorthand MS. Volume*, thus described: "Among the papers deposited in the library of the Conn. Hist. Society, some years since, was a stout little vellum-covered volume, of nearly 400 pages, clearly written in a puzzling *shorthand*, with no clue to the subject, or the writer's name. It finally attracted the attention of Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, who is as ingenious in such matters as he is persevering in his researches: he succeeded in deciphering it, and found it to consist of *notes of sermons and lectures*, delivered in Windsor and Hartford, between April, 1638, and May, 1641, in regular course. The writer's name is not given, but his birthday is noted on the first leaf of the volume, and this and other facts identify him as Henry Wolcott, Jr., and it is a curious fact that the only record of his birth is found among these hieroglyphics, and the date has been hitherto unknown. These notes give the dates, texts, and general outlines of the discourses of the Rev. Messrs. Warham and Huit, in Windsor, and of the Rev. Messrs. Hooker and Stone, at Hartford, during the sessions of the General and Particular Courts. Among the former is one delivered by Mr. Warham, Nov. 17, 1640, 'at the betrothing of Benedict Alvord and Abraham Randall,' from the text, Eph. vi. 2, 'Put on the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil.' The preacher 'improved' the theme 'for teaching the betrothed lovers that marriage is a *warfare* condition,' and 'for reproof to those who think nothing is needed for marriage but the consent of the parents.' In the face of these solemn admonitions, it appears from the Windsor records that both were duly married before the expiration of the year—the happy Benedict to Joan Newton and Abraham to Mary Ware. 'Among the latter discourses are Mr. Hooker's two *Election Sermons*, of May 31, 1638, and April 11, 1639. Of the first, from the text, Deut. i. 13, Mr. Trumbull gives an abstract of deep interest, as showing the 'politics' which were preached by the ablest and best of the Puritan Fathers."

We may further note that of 75 of the Rev. Mr. Warham's sermons and lectures preached in the year from April, 1639, to April, 1640, *twenty-four* were from Psalms xcii. 5, 6, 7; *nineteen* from I Corinthians, vi. 11; *fourteen* from Matthew xxii. 37, 38, and *four* from the 6th, 7th, and 8th verses of the same chapter, together with *five* occasional sermons from other texts. Of 46 sermons and lectures preached by Rev. Mr. Huit from 18 Aug., 1638, to 14 Apr., 1640, *twenty-one* were from Timothy ii. 19, 21; *five* from Jeremiah viii. 4; *five* from James ii. 14; *four* from I Corinthians x. 12.

8. Three volumes of ancient *Colonial (Conn.) Records*, discovered by C. J. Hoady, LL.D., State Librarian, and deposited in the State Library, at Hartford—containing transcripts of the Land Records,

and of the Births, Marriages, and Deaths of Windsor, Wethersfield, Fairfield, and some other towns, recorded by order of Court, and thus forming authenticated and reliable records.

9. *Records of First Church of Windsor*, commencing with cases of confessions and discipline, 1723; ending 25 Jan., 1746-7, in handwriting of Rev. Jonathan Marsh; then in writing of Rev. Wm. Russell, under date of 24 July, 1751, an account of the proceedings of his ordination; followed, Mch. 27, 1776, by a similar record, in his own handwriting, of the ordination of Rev. David Rowland; then *Baptisms*, by Mr. Russell, 4 Aug., 1751, to May 2, 1773; continued from Apl., 1776, to Mch. 1, 1788, by Rev. D. Rowland; continued 31 Jan., 1790, to Sept. 20, 1801, by Rev. H. A. Rowland; *Deaths*, 6 May, 1790, to 29 Mch., 1805; *Marriages*, 1763 and Feb., 1777, to 17 May, 1809; *Baptisms*, 11 Apl., 1796, to 8 June, 1746.

Also Records of the First Ch. of W., commenced by Rev. D. S. Rowland — *Marriages*, 1771 to 1840; *Baptisms*, 1790 to 1855; *Deaths*, 1790-1857.

10. *Pastoral Records of the North Society of Windsor*, under the ministry of the Rev. Theodore Hirschdale, 1761 to 1794.

11. *Pastor's Record* (private), kept by Rev. Hezekiah Bissell, pastor of Wintonbury (now Bloomfield) Church.

12. An ancient private *Record of Births, Marriages, and Deaths in Wintonbury Parish* (now Bloomfield) furnished by Eliza Mills Rumlall, Seneca Falls, N. Y.

13. *C. R.* (*E. W. C. R.* in first edition,). *The Cook Record of Burials and Baptisms in East Windsor*, so called from its having been for many years kept in the Cook family, on E. W. Hill. It is entitled "An exact acount of the Parsons Buried In the Bering Yard in Windsor, on the East Side of Connecticut River."

After this title, the recorder "dropped into poetry," as follows:

"Death, is a Terror unto Kings
The King of Terrors two,
Both Old & Young Both Rich & poor
When Summon'd they must go.
"When In this Book You Eys they Look
their Names for to Behold
Remember then how Sone 'twill be
Or Ear Your^s Is faroled"

"The furst parson buried In the Burving Place | Was Thomas Morton Who died
Jvly the | Twentieth, 1708."

Commencing with this death record, the *oldest* MS., or what remains of it (for the last leaf has evidently been lost) ends at 12 Nov., 1774. It has also been eaten by mice, so that a portion of the second leaf is gone, injuring records from Oct. 5, 1709, to March, 1711; and from Oct. 30, 1723, to June 11, 1724, which has been pieced out in this copy from the Cook copy. It seems to be, up to Nov. 12, 1774, in the handwriting of Deacon, Doctor, and Reverend Matthew Rockwell, and the latter part bears evident marks of his advancing age; but the earlier part (say, from 1700-17) must have been copied by him from some other record, as he was born Jan. 30, 1707/8, only a few months before its first entry. The poetry with which it opens, however, sounds like his. In many places where he seemed not to know the full facts, he left a line or lines blank, as if intending to complete the record when the facts could be learned.

The *Cook* copy seems to be a copy of this Rockwell copy, from the beginning to the end of the year 1761, up to which time there are variations, always such as have been made in copying, but never giving additional facts; while, after that date, the record seems to have been kept independently, varying in dates and facts, and frequently giving more. The deaths are continued to 21 Oct., 1811, at which the "old manuscript" ends, and what follows (a few entries between Nov., 1811, and Jan. 28, 1801, and between Jan., 1846, and Apl. 9, 1869) is in a different hand on whiter paper, of which three leaves have been, at three different times, appended to the book.

Of *Baptisms*, the record commences with "November 22, 1761, that was the first Sabbath day [that we] met in our new meeting-house — there was 4 Children Baptized that day," and extends to July 3, 1833, and then, on an inserted leaf, is continued a record of baptisms under the ministrations of Rev. Chauncey G. Lee, 24 June, 1832, to June 8, 1845.

It is evident that this curious old record was always a private copy, possibly at some time in the hands of a sexton, but *never* a church record.

We have spoken of the *Rockwell* and the *Cook* copies. From these copies, one was made by Mr. D. Williams Patterson, the genealogist, who, in 1879, bought from Mrs. Collins (a descendant, through the Grants, from old Matthew Rockwell) the "oldest copy," and from the Cook family borrowed another. With the "oldest copy" he found one leaf of *one still older*, *probably the one from which the beginning of the Rockwell copy, or "oldest," was made. Mr. Patterson's careful and critical revision, collation of all authorities, and annotations have rendered his version the most reliable for our use.

*These have been bound together, and presented by Mr. P. to the Library of the New Eng. Hist.-Gen. Society, at Boston.

14. *Private MS. of Rev. Timothy Edwards*, first pastor of East Windsor. While preparing our first edition, we were favored with the loan from Mrs. L. Weld of Hartford, Conn., of a small bound volume filled in the minute but very legible handwriting of the Rev. Timo. Edwards, with memoranda of church and parish records, a copy of the original E. W. Church Covenant: List of Church members in 1700: Baptisms from 1698 to July, 1703: notes on certain "Remarkable Providences" which had befallen this good man from his boyhood up, etc., etc., the most valuable portions of which will be found incorporated in this work.

15. *Records of Births, Marriages, and Deaths* kept by *Rev. Shubael Bartlett*, of Scantic Parish, E. W., 1805 to 1853.

16. *Records of Town of East Windsor*. Town Clerk's office.

17. "*A History of Changes on the Main Street in South Windsor, Conn., between the Congregational Church and East Hartford line.*" Facts gathered, mostly in 1874; Reed & Barber's Map of the Street, as it was about 1890, being the starting point and following the homes and families down to 1874. By Mrs. Jane M. Stiles, South Windsor, Conn." This MS. of 226 pages is a modest "labor of love" for her native town, by a lady whose domestic duties have certainly interfered with the development of an excellent genealogist.

Condensation, both as to form of expression and arrangement of matter, has been forced upon me by the extraordinary amount of material placed at my disposal: and (especially in the genealogical portion of the work) this has taken the form of *abbreviations*, of which a list follows this preface.

OLD AND NEW STYLE.

At the time of the first settlement of New England the English people began the new year on the 25th of March, Annunciation (or Lady) Day. Any dates between January 1st and March 25th appearing on the original records of those times should have one year added. Later a new form of designating the year was adopted; the first time it was used by the General Court of Connecticut was "this 20th day of March, 1649-50" — 1650, by our present reckoning. This style prevailed about one hundred years, and the date of all the months of the year should be carried forward between 1600 and 1700, *twelve* days; between 1700 and 1752, when the English Government changed their dates from old style to new style, there should be *seven* days added. In 1752 the Parliament of Great Britain made September 3d the 14th.

RULE FOR FINDING THE DAY OF THE WEEK ON WHICH A GIVEN DATE FALLS.

Add to the number of the year its fourth part, omitting fractions. If the date is in Old style, add 1 to the result. If in New style, add 5 for years from 1582 to 1699 inclusive, 4 for years from 1700 to 1799 inclusive, 3 for years from 1800 to 1899 inclusive, and 2 for years from 1900 to 2000 inclusive. Divide the sum thus obtained by 7, and note the remainder. If the remainder is 0, March 1 of the given year falls on Sunday; if 1, on Monday; if 2, on Tuesday, and so on. The day of March 1 being known, that belonging to any other date in the same year is easily ascertained. (N. B. — Nov. 1 always falls on the same day as March 1. *Ex.* A. D. 2317, $2317 \div 4 = 579$, rem. = 2; March 1 = Tuesday. Constantine died May 22, 367, Sunday. A. D. 1415, $1415 \div 4 = 353$, rem. = 3; March 1 = Friday. Battle of Agincourt, Oct. 25, 1415, Friday (same week day as Nov. 1). A. D. 1572, $1572 \div 4 = 393$, rem. = 0; March 1 = Sunday. Massacre of St. Bartholomew, Aug. 24, 1572, Sunday. A. D. 1776 — 1776 + $114 \div 4 = 284$, rem. = 5; March 1 = Friday. July 4, 1776 = Thursday. A. D. 1887, 1887 + $471 \div 4 = 236$, rem. = 3; March 1 = Tuesday. A. D. 1900, $1900 \div 4 = 475$, rem. = 0; Nov. 1 = Thursday. End of nineteenth century, Dec. 31, 1900, Monday. A more elaborate rule, giving at once the week day for any date in the year, may be found in the *Harvard Register* for June, 1881. — *J. M. P., ex libris, Manuscript.*

ABBREVIATIONS USED.

a. or.	aged.
abt.	about.
acc.	according to.
a. p.	acting pastor; i. e., hired, but not settled by Council.
B.	Bloomfield Old Graveyard.
b.	born.
Bld.	Bloomfield.
b ₁ .	baptized.
bu.	buried.
Col. Rec.	Colonial Records, see No. 8, list of MS. Authorities, p. 11.
Ct.	Connecticut.
C. R.	the <i>Cook Record</i> , see No. 13, list of MS. Authorities, p. 12.
d.	died.
dy.	day.
da.	daughter.
EH	Ellington.
E. W.	East Windsor.
E. W. C. R.	East Windsor Church Records.
E. W. O.	The Old E. W. Graveyard (E. W. Hill), South Windsor.
E. W. H.	East Windsor Hill, South Windsor.
E. W. St.	the Graveyard on E. W. Street, between Warehouse Point and E. W. Hill.
E. W. Rec.	Town Rec. of East Windsor.
g.d.	grand-daughter.
g.s.	grand-son.
grad.	graduated.
H.	Hartford.

ho.	home.
I.	Ireland Street (now Midrose), E. W. Graveyard.
inf.	infants.
J. G. B.	John G. Baird.
J. H. H.	Jabez H. Hayden.
J. M. S.	see No. 17, MS. Authorities, p. 14.
K. M.	Ketch Mills (now Windsorville), E. W. Graveyard.
ld.	land.
m.	married.
mo.	month.
memb.	member of.
ment.	mentioned.
N. S. B.	Passard Rec. of "North," 4, 7 Soc. of W. See No. 10, MS. Authorities.
O. C. R.	Old Church Rec., see p. 10, and Appendix A.
ord.	ordained.
p. l.	pastor by installation, that is, settled by a "Council," but already ordained to the ministry.
p. o.	ordained pastor.
Poq.	Poquonnoc parish (Windsor).
Poq. N.	Poquonnoc (Windsor) New Graveyard.
Poq. O.	Poquonnoc (Windsor) Old Graveyard.
poss.	possibly.
prob.	probably.
rem.	removed.
res.	residence.
R. MS.	the Randall MS., see No. 12, Authorities, p. 12.
R. T. S.	run a t. spetry.
s.	son.
Sc.	Scantie parish, E. W. Graveyard.
sett.	settled.
So. W.	South Windsor.
s. p.	<i>sine prodi</i> , without issue.
S. B.	Rev. Simeon Bartlett's records. — Scantie parish, E. W., No. 13, Authorities, p. 14.
W.	Windsor.
W. O.	Windsor Old Cemetery.
Wby.	Wintonbury Parish, Windsor (now Bloomfield).
Wby. C. R.	Wintonbury Church Records.
W. Rec.	Windsor Records.
W. C. R.	Windsor Church Records.
wk.	week.
Wp.	Wapping parish, East (now South) Windsor.
Wp. O.	Wapping (So. Windsor) Old Graveyard.
Wp. N.	Wapping (So. Windsor) New Graveyard.
y.	year.
yg.	young.

HISTORY OF ANCIENT WINDSOR.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE DISCOVERY OF THE CONNECTICUT RIVER TO THE SETTLEMENT OF WINDSOR, 1614-1695.

TO the Dutch undoubtedly belongs the honor of the first discovery and occupation of the Connecticut Valley. In 1614, when Nieuw Amsterdam was but a feeble settlement of a few months' uncertain growth, Adriaen Block, Hendrik Christensen, and Cornelius Jacobsen Mey, all experienced captains in the Dutch merchant service, commenced an exploration of the Great River of the Manhattan. At the very outset of the voyage, however, Block's vessel was tarried. But, nothing daunted, he speedily constructed, on the wild and rocky shores of Manhattan Island, a small cache or barge, which he named the *Ogerus*, or *Restless*. In this vessel he explored the East River, which he named *Helle-Got*, established the insular nature of Long Island, and, passing along the northern shore of the Sound, discovered the Housatonic River and the Norwalk Islands. Eastward of these, he came to the mouth of a large stream flowing from the northwest, which he ascended as high as 41 deg. 18 min. (about half way between the present towns of Hartford and Windsor), where he found an Indian village or fort, belonging to the *Narrags*. This fortified village, in the opinion of Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, "was on the east side of the river, in what is now South Windsor, between Podunk and Scantic rivers, on the ground called *Nearaske* (which seems to be the equivalent of the Dutch 'Nowas') by the Indians, who sold it to the Windsor plantation in 1636;" (see *Chapter on Indian Purchases*;) and was probably palisaded as a defense against the Pequots. Block appears to have explored this river, which he named the "Versche" or "Fresh River," and which is now called by its Indian name, Connecticut, as far as the rapids at the head of navigation, viz.,

¹ O'Callaghan's *Hist. of New Neth. Land*, i. 33; Brodhead's *Hist. of State of New York*, 2d edit., i. 56.

² In the Indian tongue *Quampket-wat*, or *Quampketch*, meaning, as some say, "the long river", according to others, "the River of Pines" from the extensive pine forests which once clothed its banks. Block noticed, when he entered the river, that it had a strong

Eufield Falls, at Warehouse Point. Beyond that point he seems to have made no further explorations; but returning to the Sound, coasted along to Cape Cod, where he met his friend, Captain Corstiaensen. Mey, meanwhile, had been exploring the Atlantic coast south of Manhattan Island.

The discoveries thus made opened to the adventurous merchants of Holland large and inviting channels of trade in beaver skins and furs, especially with the Indians of the north, which they were by no means slow to see and improve. The Dutch West India Company was formed in 1621, and as the settlement of Nieuw Amsterdam, under its fostering care, gradually increased in size and permanence, so their commercial relations expanded and brightened. Their traders traversed the trackless forests or paddled their light canoes along silent rivers, and visited the red man in his wigwam. The little fort at Manhattan was never free from stately Indian chiefs, when the desire of better and the fame of fair dealings had tempted thither; while annually, from the goodly harbor, went forth a gallant fleet of broad-bottomed Dutch vessels, richly laden with furry treasures, to gladden the hearts of the honest burghers of Amsterdam and Hoorn.

Yet, during all this time and for many years after, there was little or no attempt at colonization. The rich and beautiful country to which they had gained access was occupied by only a few straggling and scantily-garrisoned log forts, which served as centers of trade; and their government was merely the agency of a wealthy mercantile corporation at home, whose objects and regulations were unfavorable to agricultural or independent industrial pursuits. As yet no plans of comfortable settlement or visions of future empire had troubled the Dutchman's busy brain. The meadows of the Connecticut Valley were lovely in his eyes, not as the home and inheritance of his race, but for the 10,000 beaver-skins which were annually gathered from thence.¹ Meanwhile events were transpiring on another continent and in another nation, which were destined to wrest this territory from the Dutch, and to give it for a goodly heritage unto men of a different mould and nobler aims.

England at this time was overcast by the thick-gathering cloud of civil and religious persecution. Church and State were becoming more and more exacting in their demands; all rights of conscience and faith were abnegated, and every heart was filled with forebodings of the future. "Every corner of the nation," says Macaulay, "was subjected

downward current at a short distance above its mouth, so that his appellation of "Fresh" signified that the tide did not set back as far from the mouth of this stream as in rivers usually.

¹ *Winthrop*, I. 113.

to a constant and minute inspection. Every little congregation of Separatists was tracked out and broken up. Even the devotions of private families could not escape the vigilance of spies. And the tribunals afforded no protection to the subject against the civil and ecclesiastical tyranny of that period." It was then that America, long known to the English people for its valuable fur trade and fisheries, began to be regarded as an asylum by those whose principles and persecutions had left them no alternative but exile. Hope whispered to their saddened hearts that, perhaps, in those savage western wilds, they might be permitted to enjoy those privileges which were denied them at home. The experiment was made. In 1620, the Rev. John Robinson's congregation, who for eleven years had found a home with the kind-hearted Hollanders, embarked for America, and on the memorable 11th of December (Old Style) landed upon the bleak and rock-bound coast of Plymouth. It is not our purpose to dwell upon the details of that scene which has become one of the grandest epochs of the world's history. Suffice it to say, that the experiment was a success. Starvation, cold, and all the novel dangers of a new settlement, failed to extinguish the life or check the growth of the Plymouth colony. On this portion of the Western Continent were now planted two races of Europeans with different natures and aims: the Dutchman, with his feudal institutions and a soul absorbed in self; the Englishman, with his deep religious zeal, his love for popular liberty, and, it must be confessed, as great a love of trade as his Teutonic rival. The probability that, sooner or later, their claims must conflict, was warranted equally by their national antecedents and their diversities of character. Yet it was not until 1627 that there was any actual communication between the two colonies.

Then the Dutch sent a pacific and commercial embassy to Plymouth. Their envoy, Captain De Rasiere, was courteously welcomed and honorably attended with the noise of trumpets. The meeting was pleasant to both parties. The Dutchman was the countryman of those who had befriended them in the day of their affliction. "Our children after us," said the Pilgrims, "shall never forget the good and courteous entreaty which we found in your country, and shall desire your prosperity forever." He in turn, seeing the sterility of their soil, invited them, as old friends, to remove to the fertile and pleasant lands on the Connecticut—and wished us to make use of it."—*Bradford*, 311. But the Pilgrims, with a frankness which savored almost of discourtesy, questioned the right of the Dutch to the banks of the Hudson, and requested them to desist from trading at Narragansett, at the same time plainly suggesting the propriety of a treaty with England. Good feeling, however, prevailed in their intercourse. It could hardly be otherwise, with so many pleasant memories to bind them together. Yet, when De

Rasker returned to New Amsterdam, it must have been with an uncomfortable apprehension of future trouble with their English neighbors; for, soon after his return, the authorities sent home to the Directors in the Fatherland for a reinforcement of forty soldiers. The Dutchman's heart was kind and his voice was ever for peace. But the plain words and grasping attitude of the Plymouth colonists had sown seeds of dissension which could not fail to disturb his tranquillity. Nor were these fears groundless. The success of the Plymouth Colony, as well as the continuance of religious persecution and intolerance in the mother country, gave a decided impetus to the progress of emigration to New England.

The Charter of Massachusetts Bay, granted in 1628, was confirmed in 1629, and the same year the first settlement under its provisions was made at Salem by Gov. Endicott and 300 others. Charlestown was next settled by a portion of the Salem people, and the same year the patent and government of Massachusetts was transferred to New England. This was but the beginning. The next year, not less than 17 ships arrived, bringing some 1,000 or 1,500 immigrants. Dorchester, Watertown, Roxbury, Malden, and Weymouth were rapidly settled by the new comers. And the social necessities of these colonists, as well as their restless activity and numbers, rebuked the supposition that they would long remain within these narrow limits when they became acquainted with the better lands and resources of the interior.

Foremost among these colonies of 1630, both as regards the character of its members and the date of its arrival, was the one which settled at Dorchester and which afterwards removed to Windsor, Conn. It had been formed mostly from the western counties of England,¹ early in the spring of 1629, by the exertions of the Rev. John White of Dorchester, whose zeal and labors fairly entitle him to the appellation of the "great patron of New England emigration."

"Great pains were taken," says the historian,² "to construct this company of such materials as should compose a well-ordered settlement, containing all the elements of an independent community. Two devoted ministers, Messrs. Maverick³ and Warham,⁴ were selected, not only with a view to the spiritual welfare of the plantation, but especially

¹ Trumbull says this "honorable company" was derived from the counties of Devonshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire.

² *History of the Town of Dorchester, Mass.*, edited by a committee of the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society.

³ JOHN MAVERICK was the son of a Devon clergyman, a graduate of Exeter College, and a minister of the Established Church, residing about forty miles from Exeter, England; he is first mentioned at the time of the assemblage in the New Hospital, Ply-

that their efforts might bring the Indians to the knowledge of the Gospel. Two members of the government, chosen by the freemen or stockholders of the company in London, assistants or directors, Messrs. Rosseter and Ludlow, men of character and education, were joined to the association, that their counsel and judgment might aid in preserving order and founding the social structure upon the surest basis. Several gentlemen, past middle life, with adult families and good estates, were added. Henry Wolcott, Thomas Ford, George Dyer, William Gaylord, William Rockwell, and William Phelps were of this class. But a large portion of active, well-trained young men, either just married or without families, such as Israel Stoughton, Roger Clap, George Minot, George Hall, Richard Collicott, Nathaniel Duncan, and many others of their age, were the persons upon whom the more severe trials of a new settlement were expected to devolve. Three persons of some military experience—viz.: Captain John Mason, Captain Richard Southcote, and Quartermaster John Smith—were selected as a suitable appendage, as forcible resistance from the Indians might render the skill and discipline which these gentlemen had acquired under De Vere, in the campaign of the Palatinate on the Continent, an element of safety essential to the enterprise.*

"These godly people," says Roger Clap, one of the number, "resolved month, England, to organize a church. Cotton Mather includes him in the "First Class" of emigrants, viz.: those who "were in the world exercise of their ministry when they left England." He was "somewhat advanced of age," at that period. He took the freeman's oath, May 18, 1631. "A curious account of his drying some gun-powder in a pan over the fire, in the Dorchester meeting-house, which was used as a magazine also, and the wonderful escape of Maverick in the consequent explosion of a "small barrel," are described in *Wentworth's Journal*, i. 478. Mr. Maverick expected to remove to Connecticut, but died Feb. 3, 1636-7, aged "about sixty." "A godly man, a beloved pastor, a sincere and truthful guide." Samuel Maverick, an Episcopalian, an early settler of Noddy's Island, and afterwards royal commissioner, was a son of Rev. John. For a full account of each, see *Sagadahoc's Hist. of East Boston*. A. H. C.

*Rev. JOHN WARHAM, like Mr. Maverick, was an ordained minister of the Church of England, in Exeter, and eminent as a preacher. Roger Clap, who, when a lad, lived about three miles from Exeter and often went to the city on a Lord's Day, where, as he says, "were many famous preachers of the Word of God," adds: "I took such a liking to the Rev. Mr. Warham, that I did desire to live near him, so I removed into the city." Mr. Warham, says Rev. Green C. Wilson *Harvard Co. Town Hist.*, 536, "was doubtless descended from the same stock with William Warham, D.D. and LL.D., Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1532. The Archbishop had a brother John, whose grandson also bore that name. A branch of this family settled in Dorset, where for several generations the name John Warham is met with, until 1647, when one of that name sold an estate in that shire. There can be but little doubt that he belonged to this family; but the names of his parents, the year and place of his birth, where he was educated, with all else connected with his life previous to coming to this country, are now unknown. He was a young man, however, at that time, while Mr. Maverick was somewhat advanced in years." Mr. Warham, according to *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceed.*, viii. 348, was a graduate of Oxford.

**Roger Clap's Memoirs*, pub. by the Dorchester Antiq. and Hist. Society.

to live together, and therefore, as they had made choice of those two Rev. Servants of God, Mr. John Warham and Mr. John Maverick to be their Ministers, so they kept a solemn day of Fasting in the New Hospital in Plymouth, in England, spending it in Preaching and praying; where that worthy man of God, Mr. John White of Dorchester, in Dorsetshire, was present and preached unto us in the forepart of the day, and in the latter part of the day, as the people did solemnly make choice of and call these godly ministers to be their Officers, so also the Rev. Mr. Warham and Mr. Maverick did accept thereof and expressed the same." Both these gentlemen had formerly been ordained by bishops, and though now thorough non-conformists, no re-ordination was deemed necessary.

On the 29th of March, 1630, this company of 140 persons embarked at Plymouth in the *Mary and John*, of 400 tons burden, commanded by Captain Squibb and described as "Mr. Ludlow's vessel." "So we came," says Clap, "by the hand of God through the Deep comfortably: having Preaching or Expounding of the Word of God, every day for Ten Weeks together, by our Ministers." On the Lord's Day, May the 30th, 1630, their good ship came to anchor on the New England coast. Their original destination was the Charles River, but an unfortunate misunderstanding which arose between the captain and his passengers resulted in the latter being summarily put ashore at Nantasket (now Hull), where they were obliged to shift for themselves as best they could.

Ten of the male passengers setting out in a boat in search of the promised land reached Charlestown Neck, where they were kindly received by an old planter, who gave them a dinner of "fish without bread." Thus scantily refreshed they passed up the Charles River to what is now Watertown. Here they passed two or three days, when they returned to the main part of the company, who had found a good pasture ground for their cattle at Mattapan, now known as Dorchester Neck or South Boston. Their settlement was named (as we have reason to believe at the suggestion of Mr. Ludlow) Dorchester, in honor of the Rev. Mr. White of Dorchester, England; which had also been the home of several of their own number.

The long sea voyage had probably enfeebled many of them,¹ and as

¹ "The *Mary and John* was the first ship of the fleet of 1630, that arrived in the bay. At that time there were surely no pilots for ships to be found, and the refusal of the captain to attempt the passage without pilot or chart does not seem unreasonable, though Clap has sent the captain's name to posterity as a 'merciless man,' who, Trumbull says, was afterwards obliged to pay damages for this conduct." (*Hist. Dorchester, Mass.*) This trouble was afterwards amicably settled by the mediation of Gov. Winthrop. See his *Journal*, i. 28.

² See *Winthrop*.

they still retained their original project of settling on the Charles River, they had made little or no provision for future want in the way of planting. Consequently, shortly after their arrival, they found themselves threatened with a scarcity of food. We will let Roger Chap tell the story in his own quaint and pathetic manner.

"On the hazard that many suffered, and saw no hope in the eye of reason to be supplied, only by clams, and muscles, and fish. We did quietly build boats, and some went a-fishing, but bread was with many a scarce thing, and flesh of all kinds scarce. And in those days, in our straits, though I cannot say God sent us a river to feed us as he did the prophet Elijah, yet thus I can say to the praise of Gods' glory, that he sent not only poor ratons Indians, which come with their baskets of corn on their backs to trade with us, which was a good supply unto many, but also sent ships from Holland and from Ireland with pease, and Tallow, and from Virginia to supply the wants of his dear servants in this wilderness, both for food and raiment. And when people's wants were great, not only in one town, but in divers towns, such was the godly wisdom, care, and prudence, not selfishness but self-denial, of our Governor Winthrop and his assistants, that when a ship came laden with provisions, they did order that the whole cargo should be brought *into the general stock*, and so accordingly it was, and distribution was made to every town, and to every person in each town, as every man had need. Thus God was pleased to care for his people in times of straits, and to fill his servants with food and gladness. Then did all the servants of God bless His holy name, and love one another with pure hearts, fervently."

For a further account of their doings at this place, a subject possessing peculiar interest to every inhabitant of Windsor who traces his lineage back to those settlers of Dorchester, we refer to the history before mentioned.

In place of the balance of this chapter, as given in our first edition, we herewith substitute the following, written at our request by one who is easily recognized as the highest living authority on Windsor historical matters. It is the result of some thirty additional years of research, and presents a very full and clear statement of the three independent "occupations" (viz.: that of the *Plymouth Company*, that of the *Dorchester Immigration*, and that of the *Lords and Gentlemen*,) which combined in the settlement of Windsor.

Such interpolations, explanatory, or otherwise, as we have seen fit to make in Mr. Hayden's article, are distinguished by being bracketed thus [—] and by the letters.

THE SETTLEMENT OF WINDSOR.

BY JABEZ H. HAYDEN.

I. THE OCCUPATION BY THE PLYMOUTH TRADING COMPANY.

As we have before seen (p. 19), the overtures made in 1627 by the Dutch to the Plymouth people, to join them in a mercantile venture upon the Connecticut River, had no immediate practical result. The Plymouth people "made several voyages to the Connecticut, and found it a fine place, but had no great trade."—*Bradford*. "These Indians [*i. e.* of Connecticut River] seeing us not very forward to build there, solicited them of Massachusetts in like sort, for their [the Indians'] end was to be restored to their country again."—*Bradford*. They had heard that the white men with their guns were invincible, and hoped that, under such protection, the Pequots would no longer oppress them. Neither Plymouth nor Massachusetts were at that time ready to commence the undertaking: but later (July 12, 1633), Mr. Winslow and Mr. Bradford of Plymouth went to Boston to confer with the Massachusetts men about joining them in the enterprise. Massachusetts had no suitable goods for Indian trade, and though Plymouth offered them some of theirs on liberal terms, Bradford says that the negotiations came to nothing. Gov. Winthrop says (i. 105) "There was a motion to set up a trading house there to prevent the Dutch, who were about to build one, . . . there being three or four thousand Indians, &c., we thought not fit to meddle with it." The Plymouth people now determined to go on alone, but the Dutch at New York, who about a dozen years before had encouraged them to do so, endeavored to forestall them, [by purchasing, in 1632, lands from the Indians at Saybrook, on which were duly erected the arm of the States-General. And on the 8th of June, 1633, the West India Company bought from Sachem Wapuyquant a tract of meadow land, "extending about a (Dutch) mile down along the river to the next little stream, and upwards beyond the hill, being a third of a (Dutch) mile broad."² On this purchase, the present site of the city of Hartford,

¹ Through Wahguinnacut, a Connecticut River sachem, who visited both colonies.

² O'Callaghan, *Hist. New Netherland*, i. 151. *Bradford*, i. 153, states that this fortified trading-house was said "to have been projected and begun in 1633," although not finished until 1633.



John H. Hayden

the Dutch quickly erected a little fort, which was defended by two cannon and called the *House of Good Hope*. Events were hurrying forward a collision which could not long be avoided.

Early in October, the bark *Blessing*, from Massachusetts, voyaging to Long Island, visited New Amsterdam, where its captain showed to Van Twiller his commission, signifying that the King of England had granted to his loyal subjects the river and country of Connecticut. Whereupon the Dutch Governor wrote back a very "courteous and respectful" letter to the Eastern Colonies, stating that both by prior discovery, occupation, and the grant of the States, the country belonged to the Dutch West India Company; and requesting the Plymouth People to refrain from settling there until the matter could be determined by the proper persons, in order that they "as Christians, might dwell together in these heathenish parts."

But these courteous and pacific counsels had no weight with the Plymouth Trading Company, who, within a few days after, sent out "a large new bark," in charge of one William Holmes, a man of enterprising and resolute spirit, with an equally resolute crew. Holmes had on board the frame of a house, with all the materials requisite for its immediate erection. He also carried with him Attawarott, and other Indian sachems, the original proprietors of the soil, who had been driven thence by the warlike Pequots, and of whom the Plymouth people afterwards purchased the land. When he reached the Dutch fort at Hartford, the drum-beats that resounded from its walls, the cannoniers standing with lighted matches beside the "two guns," under the banner of New Netherlands, all gave note of warlike intent. Nor was he long left in doubt. The Dutch hailed him with an enquiry as to his intentions, and a peremptory order to stop. He curtly replied that he held his commission from the Governor of Plymouth Colony, and that his orders were to go up the river to trade—and, notwithstanding their threats to fire upon him, he held steadily on his way to the place which the Indians had previously sold to the company, below the mouth of the Tunxis, or Rivulet, arriving there, 26 Sept., 1633.¹ They quickly put up the frame of the house which they had brought with them—s.], enclosed it with palisades (stockade) and were soon in position to defend themselves against the Indian enemies of the friendly natives, who had invited them here and

¹ The Plymouth Trading House was erected on the bank of the Connecticut River, 80 to 100 rods below the present mouth of the Tunxis (about midway of the Plymouth meadow).

² Winthrop's *Journal* mentions their safe arrival in Connecticut, under date of Oct. 2d, the date probably on which he received the news. The Dutch authorities state that the Plymouth vessel reached its destination on Sept. 23th, six days before the news reached Boston. — *O'Callaghan*, i. 151.

sold their lands; and, also, as it proved, against an attack by the Dutch. The Pilgrims had now out-generated the Dutch by going above them, where they could secure the trade of the Indians, who lived higher up the river. The Dutch, at Hartford, at once reported the case to the authorities at New Netherlands, which resulted in an official protest, and warning to quit, served upon Capt. Holmes,¹ and in the sending of an armed force of seventy men to dislodge the Plymouth people.² It seems almost incredible that the Dutch should have had so large a force here in the autumn of 1633, or that Plymouth should have had enough men on the spot to successfully with stand them. But the Plymouth men had "come to stay"; and, so far as the Dutch and Indians were concerned, proved their ability to do so. The seventy soldiers who went up in battle array, returned to Hartford without firing a gun; and the next we hear from the Dutch is of their strategic move to send men higher up the river to intercept the trade which would naturally fall to the Plymouth men. This, however, failed, because of the breaking out of the small-pox among the Indians,³ and the Dutchmen themselves nearly perished before they reached the white settlements again. A like fatal epidemic occurred among the Windsor Indians during the same winter of 1633-4. Bradford's *Journal* (p. 314), gives the following account:

¹ This protest, served 25 Oct., 1633, by Commissioner Van Carter, reads thus: "The Director and Council of Nieuw Netherland hereby give notice to William Holmes, Lieutenant and trader, acting on behalf of the English Governor of Plymouth, at present in the service of that nation, that he depart forthwith, with all his people and houses, from the lands lying on the Fresh River, continually traded over by our nation, and at present occupied by a fort, which lands have been purchased from the Indians and paid for. And in case of refusal, we hereby protest against all loss and interest which the Privileged West India Company may sustain."

"Given at Fort Amsterdame, in Nieuw Nederland, this xxvth October, 1633."

A written answer to this was requested but was refused by Holmes. — *O'Callaghan's Hist. N. N.*, i. 154.

² Dec. 22, 1634, by a letter from Plymouth. It was certified that Holmes' House had been attacked. — *Winthrop*, i. 153.

³ Bradford, p. 325, says: "There was a company of people lived in the country up above in the river Connecticut [Warranoe, now Westfield, Mass.], a great way from their [the Plymouth] Trading-house, and were enemies of those Indians who lived about them, and of whom they [the Windsor Indians] stood in some fear being a stout people, about a thousand of whom had inclosed themselves in a fort which they had strongly palisaded about. Three or four Dutchmen went up in the beginning of winter to live with them, and get their trade, and prevent them from bringing it to the English, or to fall into amity with them, but at spring to bring all down to their place [Hartford]. But, their enterprise failed, for it pleased God to visit those Indians with a great sickness and such a mortality that, of a thousand, above nine hundred and fifty died, and many of them did rot above ground for want of burial, and the Dutchmen almost starved before they could get away, for ice and snow. But, about February they got, with much difficulty, to their [the Plymouth] trading-house, where they kindly received them, being almost spent with hunger and cold. Being thus refreshed divers days, they got them down to their own place [Hartford], and the Dutchmen were very thankful for this kindness."

"This Spring, also, the Indians that lived about their trading-house there fell sick of y^e small poxe, and dyed re-storably, for a sorer disease cannot befall them; they feare it more than y^e plague, for usually they that have this disease have them in abundance and for want of healing and linen, and other helps, they fall into a lamentable condition, as they lay on the Indian mats, the pox breaking and murthering and running one into another, their skin cleaving (by reason thereof) to the mats they lie on. When they turn them (selves) a whole side will flea off at once, as it were, and they will be all one gore of blood, and the sores being very sore, what with cold and other discomforts, they die like rotten sheep. The condition of this people was lamentable, and they fell down so generally of this disease, as they were in y^een that able to help one another, no, not to make a fire, nor to fetch a little water to drink, nor any to bury y^e dead; but would strive as long as they could, and when they could procure no other means to make fire, they would burn y^e wooden trays, & dishes they ate their meate in, and their very houses and arrows, & some would crawl out on all fouts to gett a little water, and sometimes dye by y^e way, & bee be able to gett in againe. But those of y^e English House [Plymouth Co.] stoutheart first they were afraid of the Indians, yet seeing their woeful and sad condition, and hearing their pittifull cries and lamentations, they had compassion of them, and dayly fetched them wood and water, and made them fires, gott them victuals whilst they lived, and buried them when they dyed. For very few of them escaped, notwithstanding they did what they could for them, to y^e hazard of themselves. The chiefest of them himselfe I new died, & almost all his friends & kindred. But by y^e marvelous goodness & payntions of God, not one of y^e English was so much as sicke, or in y^e least measure tainted with this disease, though they dayly did these offices for them for many weeks togther. And this merce which they shewed them was kindly taken, and thankfully acknowledged of all y^e Indians that knew or heard of y^e sorer, and their masters, [members of the Trading company] here [at Plymouth], did much commend and reward them for y^e same."²

¹ Probably Attawanot, or Nattawanut, who was brought home and restored to his possessions by Holmes. See chapter on *Indian History and Purchases*.

² This terrible disease had prevailed about Plymouth several years before the coming of the Plymouth Pilgrims, as we learn from an account of a visit made from that place forty miles inward, in the summer of 1621. This account, written by Bradford (102) several years later, throws considerable light upon the art of cultivating Indian corn, as practiced by the Indians before the whites came, as well as upon the beneficial results to the Indians of the coming of the English—who occupied the open lands of the depleted tribes, supplied the survivors with European agricultural implements, and taught them better methods of cultivation.

"Mr. Winslow and Mr. Hopkins, with Squinto [the interpreter], went [from Plymouth] to visit Massasoit . . . but they found short commons and came home weary and hungry, for the Indians used then to have nothing so much corn as they have since the English have stored them with hoes, and [the Indians have] seen our industry in breaking up new ground therewith. [The Indians had hitherto been without iron, or other metal implements.] They [the Plymouth men] found the place 40 miles away, soil good, the people not many, being dead and absolutely wasted to the late great mortality which fell on all of these parts about three years before the coming of the English, wherein thousands of them died, they not being able to bury one another. Their skulls and bones we found in many places where their homes and dwellings had been" etc.

Nearly fifty years ago, I gathered some Indian corn, which was doubtless grown in Windsor by the Indians before the whites came. This corn was exposed by the breaking of the Connecticut River bank, by a spring freshet, not far above the mouth of the Tunxis or Rivulet. I judged there had been about a bushel of it, in what had been an Indian grave, and had been charred to prevent its rotting, and looked like browned coffee berries. So many of the kernels were of an irregular shape—having been grown

II. THE DORCHESTER AND OTHER MASSACHUSETTS IMMIGRATIONS.

As already seen, the Plymouth Company's party reached Windsor Sept. 26, 1633, and the news of their safe arrival here is entered in Winthrop's *Journal* under date of Oct. 2d; but, at least one party from Massachusetts, which went overland probably reached the Connecticut River before them.

Winthrop (i. 111) says, under date of 4 Sept., 1633, "John Oldham and three others with him went overland to Connecticut to trade." Again (123), Jan. 20, 1633-4 (?), "Hall and two others who went to Connecticut Nov. 3d, now come home to the Bay. They found the small-pox raging among the Indians, by reason whereof they had no trade;" and (*Ibid.*), July 15, 1634, "Six of Newtown went in the *Blessing* (bound to the Dutch plantation) to discover the Connecticut River."

The reports of these parties, on their return, doubtless informed the Massachusetts people of the nature and extent of the river meadows open to cultivation, and, probably, the obtaining of accurate information was the main purpose of their journeys.

To return to the Plymouth people in Connecticut, we have seen the erection of their house and defense of the same, their hospitality to the starving Dutchmen, who were their rivals in trade, and their kindness to suffering Indians in the winter of 1633-4. The next that is heard from them is in the summer of 1635, more than a year later, when Jonathan Brewster, the resident agent, sends the following report to the Plymouth company:

St. &c.

Ye Massachusetts men are coming almost daily—some by water & some by land, who are not yet determined wher to settle, though some have a great mind to ye place we are upon, and which was last bought.² Many of them look at that which this river will not afford, except it be at this place which we have, namely to be a great town and have commodious dwellings for many years together. So as [to] what they will doe I

alone, or having touched another only on one side—as to indicate a meagre crop—Such kernels as are found when a chance stalk grows alone, or when a field of corn is too poor to produce pollen sufficient to fertilize all the ear. A specimen of this corn can be seen at the Historical Society's Rooms in Hartford.—A. H. B.

¹ *Query*—Had "the Massachusetts men" [that is, the emigrants from Watertown, Mass.] settled at Westfield the year before and Brewster remained ignorant of the fact? And, if he knew that the Watertown people were settled there, would he have ignored the fact in this communication, descriptive of the situation on the Connecticut, to his superiors at Plymouth?

² "Which was last bought." *B. Bodine* (214) says: "We did the Dutch no wrong, for they [of Plymouth] took not a foot of any land they [the Dutch] bought, but went to the place above them and bought that tract of land [Plymouth Meadow and the head of the Hartford Meadow] which belonged to those Indians which they [we] carried with us, and their friends, with whom the Dutch had nothing to do." "The last bought" was the Great Meadow which lies north of the Tunxis, or Rivulet. If the original purchase had included the Great Meadow, there would have been no "last" purchase.

cannot yet resolve you: for [in] this place there is none of them say anything to me, but what I hear from their servants: (by whom I perceive their minds). I shall doe what I can to withstand them.* I hope they will hear reason, as that we were here first, and entred with more rightfully and longer, both in regard to ye Dutch and Indians, and bought ye land to your great charge, already disbursed, and have since held here a chargeable possession, and kept ye Dutch from further encroaching, which would els long before this day have possessed all, and kept out all others, &c. I hope these & such like arguments will stop them? It was your will that we should use their persons and messengers kindly, & so we have done, and do daily to your great charge, for the first company had well nigh starved, had it not been for this house, for want of victuals: I being forced to supply 12 men for 9 days together, and those, which came last I entertained the best we could, helping both them [the twelve men] and ye others) with arrows and gunflints. They got me to goe with them to ye Dutch, to see if I could procure some of them to leave quiet settling here, them, but they did peremptorily withstand them. But this later company did not once speak thereof, &c. Also I gave their goods house room according to their earnest request, and Mr. Pinchon's letter in their behalfe (which I thought good to send you, here inclosed). And what trouble

* "Servants"—hired laborers, brought over to help build their houses, probably those owing a term of service for their passage from England.

* He evidently did "withstand them" on Plymouth Meadow: for the *Windsor Land Records* show that none of that meadow was set out to Windsor men, until after the 42½ acres of it reserved by Plymouth 15 May, 1637, had been surveyed and the bounds set. Three years later Windsor had set out the lots north and south of the Plymouth reservation, and the adjoining lots were bounded by the P. lot though none of the deeds were recorded until 1640, at which time the P. lot was owned by Matthew Allyn. Neither was the land "on the hill" set out previous to May 15, 1637, for the Plymouth Co. were to have "an acre there to build on," opposite the meadow lot, which was afterwards occupied by Matthew Allyn. The home lots of Henry Wolecott, Sr. and Jr., and several others on the Island street, bounded east by Plymouth Meadow, proving that they were set out later than May 15, 1637. Most of the Wolecott quota of meadow land lay in the Great Meadow, if not already assigned to them, they should have had it near them in P. Meadow.

* That is, prevent their taking up the Great Meadow, for there is no evidence that "the Massachusetts men" proposed to take Plymouth Meadow and disposses those already settled there under an Indian title, and the well-earned right of possession.

* Who were these "twelve men"? The Massachusetts men, with whom Brewster had to do, all settled in the "Three Towns." These twelve men, "and the others," whom he entertained and furnished with guides and canoes, were evidently pioneers; and, if the Watertown people had already formed a settlement at Wethersfield, *as per tradition* (Trumbull's *Hist. Conn.*, 49), they had no occasion to ask Brewster for guides, etc., but should have gone directly to their own settlement. In such a case, there would have been but two parties—the Newtown and Dorchester—seeking places. The Dorchester people, as is evident from Brewster's letter, were at Windsor at the date of his writing—and they, as he learned from their servants, had "a great mind to the place we are upon," "that last bought" (*i. e.*, the Great Meadow). And, from Sir Richard Saltonstall's letter written on receipt of Stiles' report of the opposition he met from Ludlow, it appears that the Dorchester men had an exploring expedition "up above the Falls" (Agawam?), and that, upon the return of this party, with an unsatisfactory report, they had entered upon the Great Meadow and apportioned it in lots to themselves, where the pioneers of "the Lords' & Gentlemen's party" had "proposed to begin work." It seems pretty evident that the Watertown pioneers were included with these Massachusetts men—if not, how shall we account for the omission of any mention in Brewster's letter, of their having settled Wethersfield the year before, if such settlement had actually been made?

and charge I shall be farther at I know not, for they are coming dayley, and I expect these being again from below, whether they are gone to view ye countrey. All which trouble and charge ye undergoe for their occasion may give us just cause in ye judgmente of all wise & understanding men to hold and keep that we are settled upon. Thus with my duty remembered, &c.,

I rest,

Yours to be commanded,

JOHNATHAN BREWSTER¹

² *Mattianuck*, July 6. 1635.

From this letter, it is evident that the Plymouth people supposed they had formed a settlement on the Connecticut at Mattianuck (now Windsor), and Brewster claims in this letter that they have "just occasion (in the judgment of all wise understanding men), *to hold and keep that we have settled upon*," and *Beechford* says (p. 313), that "they [the Plymouth people] were the first English that both discovered that place and built in the same, though they [we] were little better than thrust out of it afterwards." And (p. 340) in reply to the argument of the Dorchester people, that they "found the place so free that they might, with God's good leave, take and use it [the Great Meadow] without just offense to any man, it being the Lord's waste, and for the present altogether void of inhabitants that indeed minded the employment thereof to the right ends for which it was created, Gen. i. 28," and, furthermore, that it was land "upon which God, by his providence, cast us, and as we conceive in a fair way of providence tendered it to us, as a meete place to receive our body [company] now upon removal [*i. e.*, about to remove],"—the Plymouth people very pertinently replied: "We shall not need to answer all the passages of your larg [e] letter, &c. But, wher [e] as you say, 'God in his providence cast you &c.,' we told you before, and (upon this occasion) must now tell you still, that our minde's otherwise, and y^e you cast rather a partial, if not a covetous eye, upon that w^{ch} is your neighbor's, and not yours: and in so doing, your way could not be faire unto it. Looke y^e you abuse not God's providence in such allegations." And, again, "That if was y^e Lord's wast [e], it was themselves [ourselves, the Plymouth men] that found it so, and not them [of Dorchester]: and [they, the Plymouth people] have since bought it [*i. e.*, the "last bought"—the Great Meadow] of y^e right owners, and maintained a chargeable possession upon it all this while, as themselves

¹ Eldest son of Elder Brewster of Plymouth, came in the *Fortune*, 1621, removed to Duxbury in 1622, where he became a prominent man. He afterwards moved to New London, Conn., where he died.

² *Mattianuck*, *Mattanuck*, or *Mattamung*, which last spelling probably best represents the sound of the Indian name of what is now Windsor. The spelling, *Mattianuck*, is considered by Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull to have come from the Dutch, who were not able to give that softer sound, "eaug," but made it "ock," or "uck." Mr. Trumbull's opinion seems to bring the word *Mattamung* more in consonance with our few recognized Indian words such as *Pyquag*, *Quahag*, etc.

[the Dorchester people] could not but know. And because of present engagements and other hindrances which lay at present upon them [us], must it therefore be lawful for them [of D.] to goe and take it from them [us]. It was well known that they [we] are upon a barren place¹ [Plymouth], where we were by necessity cast, and neither they or theirs [we or ours] could long continue upon the same, and why should they [of Dorchester] (because they were more ready and able at present) goe and deprive them [us] of that which we had with charge and hazard provided and intended to remove to as soon as we could and were able?"

When this controversy, relative to the occupation of the Great Meadow, began, the Dorchester men had not their families here; and, if not, then surely the Plymouth men had as good a claim to be considered as pioneers for their own on-coming families, as the pioneers of the "Three Towns" had, besides the added claim of two years' possession. The settlement of the Massachusetts people dates from the arrival of the first comers, as does that of the "Landing of the Pilgrims" from the arrival of the first boat's company at Plymouth Rock. Historians gave the arrival of the Plymouth Company's party at Windsor, 1633, as the date of the first English occupation of Connecticut, until the discovery on the Colonial Records, half a century ago, of a record of the General Court, fifteen years after the settlement of the Three Towns, wherein, in an order relative to "the most ancient town," is interlined (in parenthesis), "w^{ch} for the river is determined by the Court to bee Wethersfield."² This was an order in reference to town-bounds, and evidently when the oldest town was "admitted to be Wethersfield," the Court, possibly influenced by their former and still remembered prejudices against the Plymouth Colony, intended altogether to ignore that colony's settlement at Windsor in 1633.

The Plymouth people never abandoned their claims, nor were they,

¹ "Having had formerly converse and familiarity with the Dutch (as before mentioned) they, seeing us seated here in a barren quarter, told us of a river called by them the Fresh River, but now known by the name of Connecticut, which they commended unto us as a fine place both for a plantation and trade. . . . We now began to send that way to discover the same and trade with the natives. We found it to be a fine place, but had no great store of trade."—*Bridford's Journal*, 311.

² In *Col. Rec.* 1:53, section "Bounds of Townes and Particular Lands," it is ordered that the townes shall attend to the setting of their respective bounds, and that each year three persons shall be appointed by the selectmen of each town, who shall with persons similarly appointed "renew their markes." . . . "the most Ancient Towne *(as for the River is determined by the Courts to bee Wethersfield)*, to give notice of the time and place of meeting for this perambulation." The italicized and bracketed sentence above is an interlineation in the original record of the General Court, and is said to be in the handwriting of Capt. Cullick, who ceased to be Secretary in 1659.

like the Dutch at Hartford, driven out. The Dorchester people admitted their claims, and afterwards bought and paid for the land which they had from them. The land which the Plymouth people occupied was never sold to Windsor, but continued in their occupation three years longer, and it was only by an order of court¹ (1640), two years after Mr. Matthew Allyn bought it, that the Plymouth House and lot was declared to be within the jurisdiction of the orders of Windsor.

A few days after the date of Brewster's letter, another party appeared upon the scene, armed with a Patent claiming that both Plymouth and Dorchester must give way to them; and in subsequent negotiations, that either of "the Three Towns" must give place to the Lords and Gentlemen, who had sent Mr. Francis Stiles and a company of twenty men, to inclose lands and build dwellings for them; but they promised to pay for any improvement which might have been made at such place as they chose to locate on. The Dorchester party, however, ignored the claims of the Lords and Gentlemen, as represented by Mr. Stiles, and commenced building their houses (cellars) on the brow of the Meadow-hill, north of the Rivulet, and appropriating the Great Meadow adjoining, allowing the Stiles party only a small portion at its upper end, where Mr. Francis Stiles built² on the brow of the hill, on the site of the Chief Justice Ellsworth place.

And now, from this point southerly to the Little River, all along the brow of the meadow hill—the "Sandy Bank," as it was then

¹ *Conn. Col. Rec.* i. 53: Whereas, by an order, the seventh of December last [1638], the difference between Mr. Allyn and Windsor concerning land purchased of Plymouth was, by consent, referred to Mr. Haynes, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Hopkins, and Mr. Phelps, to end the same, and what is agreed on by them is to be yielded unto on both sides, according to which order and reference, we who are mentioned in the said order have seriously weighed all such arguments as have been tendered unto us on both sides, and we cannot see but Mr. Allyn ought to be *subject for the said land and purchase, to the laws and orders and jurisdiction of this commonwealth* [the italics are ours — J. H. H.], and by a necessary consequence, *subject to that Plantation of Windsor wherein the said land lies*, and to all such reasonable and lawful orders as are agreed there for the public good of the same, and *bequeath proportion to have his share in all, after there*, so as while he and his successors live elsewhere [Mr. Allyn had not then removed from Hartford] then he, or they, are to pay only according to his proportion of land there, and profits and benefits thence arising, and such stock as is resident or usually employed in & thereupon. And our judgment for the present is that the said Allyn nor his successors should not be rated in any other place for that land and estate he hath there as aforesaid. It is intended that Mr. Allyn have notice given him, in convenient time, of all such orders as do or may concern him, and that the orders be such as lay within his compass and power to accomplish and perform in a reasonable way.

Dated the 4th of Jan^y, 1639-40, and subscribed by

JO. HAYNES,
RO. LUDLOW,
ED. HOPKINS,
WILL. PHELPS.

² *Letchford's Notes*.

³ This *Sandy Bank* must not be confounded with *Sandy Hill*, which is a rise of ground about a mile west of the river.

called — the sound of the axe, the saw, and the hammer was daily heard, as these pioneers (both of Dorchester and of the Patentees) busied themselves in the preparation of dwelling-places for the families which were soon to follow. "Dwelling-places" merely, these were — only intended for temporary use, until more substantial ones could be provided. — "dug-outs," in fact, such as are to be seen at the present day, in newly-settled parts of the West. Their construction is thus described: "Beginning a few feet below the brow of the hill, they excavated a space the size of the proposed house, throwing up the earth at the sides and west end. On the embankment thus made, they laid a plate, on which they rested the foot of the rafters. Where stone was convenient, a wall was laid under the plate, but as stone was scarce here, they must have dispensed with it. Instead of shingle, the roof was thatched with a coarse wild-grass. The east end was probably made from plank, hewn or sawn by hand; the floors and ceilings were probably made from 'clove' boards, *i. e.*, boards cloven or split from short logs and hewn into shape. Only the east end and roof of these structures appeared above ground."¹

In the spring of 1636 (April 15-25), after the return to Windsor of those Dorchester men, who were driven back to Massachusetts the previous winter, for want of adequate provision (as we shall see further on), we find Jonathan Brewster, the agent of the Plymouth Company, still at Windsor, as also his father, Elder William Brewster. The Plymouth people had no claim to the present territory of South Windsor, and the two Brewsters and Edward Pattison, one of the Stiles party, signed (as disinterested witnesses) the Indian deed given, April 15, 1636, to the "Dorchester plantation."

During that spring Governor Winthrop, Jr., who had been appointed by the Lords and Gentlemen Gov. of Conn., (though never acknowledged as such by the "Three Towns") went up from Saybrook to arrange the difficulties existing between their pioneers under Stiles and the Dorchester people. — *Saltonstall's Letter*. Gov. Winthrop, Sen., wrote his son, June 10, 1636, (*Life & Letters*, 156,) that Lord Say had written

¹ *J. H. Hayden's Address at Quarter Millennial of Windsor Church*. He also says: "In 1636 we find settlers on the south side of the Little River, and, so far as we know, their houses were situated on the brow of a hill like those on Sandy Bank. Several houses were built along the brow of the first rise from the meadow, where the road now runs at and south of the David Rowland place, which 'houses were drowned very deep' in the flood of 1639. They then removed to the higher ground east of the present Broad Street, on the west side of the railroad. When H. S. Hayden built his barn a few years ago, he dug up some of the remains of one of these houses. The Loomis place, on the Island, still shows the place where that first house was built. Houses in several other places in Windsor were built on the brow of the hill."

him "wherein he expresseth much satisfaction in your proceedings, but saith withal that these up the river have carved largely for themselves." While there he seems to have consulted Brewster, to get his help, and the authority of which Plymouth held under their Indian deed, that Stiles might set his "twenty" servants at work hay raking on the "Great Meadow."—*Windsor to Wethrop, Jr., Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vi. 163.

"New Plymouth 22d 4th Mo [Jan. 22, 1636]."

"I perceive by a letter from Mr. Brewster, [was] Jonathan called, Mr. ² of a motion of yours to claim the privilege of for in human beasts. We had a purpose to have sent some little children, but am so all comforted by him [Brewster] through the injuries dealing of his intruding neighbors [of Dorchester, who had taken up the Great Meadow], as we fear there will not be long being to man or beast. But if you please to make use of our right, my brother shall set your servants to work in our name, and by our order, and afford them whatever persons and help shall be thought meet to the utmost of our power."

After two years' strife with the Dorchester men, the Plymouth Company consented to sell, and the Dorchester people to buy, *fifteen-sixteenths* of all the territory which Plymouth had purchased of the Indians (except the head of Hartford Meadow). The remaining *one-sixteenth*, remaining intact in the hands of Plymouth, never became a part of the common lands for Windsor to dispose of. The *Windsor Land Records*, fol. i. 227, preserve the following deed:

"An agreement made between Mr. Prince for and on behalfe of New Plymouth in America and ye inhabitants of Windsor on the River of Connecticut in ye sayd American, ye 15th day of May, 1637."

Inquies. On consideration of £37, 10s. 0, to be paid about 3 months hence, ye said Mr. Prince doth sell unto ye inhabitants of Windsor all that Land, meadow and upland, from a marked tree a quarter of a mile above Mr. Stiles [enth.] North, [to] ye great swamp next ye bounds of Hartford, [on the] South,¹ for length. And in breadth in the country to and beyond Podunk, as far as Zeppresson and Nottowan, two Sachems hath or had their propriety, [properties] of which hath been purchased of ye said Zeppresson and Nottowan for a valuable consideration, ye particulars whereof do appear in a Note now produced by ye sayd Mr. Prince, always excepted & reserved to ye House of ye sayd New Plymouth 43 acres of meadow 3 quarters, and in upland on ye other side of ye swamp, next their meadow, 40 acres. *Witness*, [viz.] 40 rods in

¹ The Indian deed of the land north of this line, "about the time of the Pequot War," but recorded later (*Town Recs.*), is bounded south by New Brook, an artificial channel cut across the upper end of "Sequestered Meadow," about three-quarters of a mile north of Mr. Stiles's house, and about one-quarter of a mile North of William Hayden's lot, which he bought of Stiles.

² An artificial channel was also cut across the upper end of Hartford Meadow, at a later date, which drained the swamp there; but the swamp still exists to some extent at the lower end. The south line of the Plymouth purchase from the Indians, ran due west from opposite the mouth of the Podunk River, including say 75 to 100 acres of Hartford Meadow, which, Bradford tells us, was "reserved for them of Newtown," and that boundary line between Hartford and Windsor still runs from near Wilson's Station, along the west line of the Great Swamp (that was) near the present railroad, to about opposite the Podunk River.

breadth, and in length 160 rods into ye country for the present: and afterwards as other lots are layd out, they are to have their proportion within their hereditaments aforesayd [the area covered by this deed]. There is likewise excepted 70 rods in breadth towards ye sayd bounds of sayd Hart, & in an indifferent [average?] place, to be agreed upon and to goe in length to ye ends of ye bounds aforesayd [i. e.] as far as Sequassen and Nattawanute had property."

In witness whereof, the parties aforesaid, have set their hands and seals, ye day and year above written."

Signed, sealed and delivered In presence of

JOSIAS WINSLOW,	ROGER LUDLOW,
THOMAS MARSHFIELD,	WILLIAM PHELPS,
The Clerk of Wm. BUTLER,	JOHN WHITEFIELD

The above deed or instrument is a true copy of the original, being compared therewith, Apr. 7, 1673 per us,

JOHN TALCOTT, } Asst.
JOHN ALLYN, Sec'y }

The signature of Prince was not copied into the record-book, and the deed itself was not recorded earlier than 1652, at which time Matthew Grant succeeded Mr. Bray Rossitter, the first recorder (who had removed to Guilford). Grant was at Windsor during the first summer, and was familiar with the controversy between the Plymouth and Dorchester parties from its beginning: was a surveyor, and set out the first lots in the Great Meadow and adjoining the upland, in September 1635,¹ and the following testimony which he has volunteered is a valuable contribution to the history of the case:

"This bargain as above express and was written, and assigned I can certainly testify does not mention or speak to every particular of y^e bargain as it was issued with Mr. Prince before it was put in writing, this should have been y^e frame of it. Dorchester men that came from y^e Mass. Bay up here to Connecticut to settle in y^e place now called Windsor. Plymouth men challenged y^e propriety here, by a purchase of y^e land from y^e Indians, whereupon in the latter end of y^e 35 year [Feby 24th: 1635-6] some of our Principall men meeting some of y^e Plymouth men in Dorchester² they agreed to Drive a bargain with them to buye out their [claim], which they challenged by purchase, and came to Terms, & then May 37 as is above express, then our company being generally together [at Windsor] (that intended to settle here) Mr. Prince being come up

¹ *Private Collections*. State Library, p. 138.

² Early in the winter of 1635-6 a large part of those who had come to Windsor were obliged to return, for want of provisions. *Winthrop* tells us that a party of 13 men, went back by land, one of whom fell through the ice, in crossing some stream and was drowned. The main body went down the river, hoping to find the vessel or vessels with provisions, but, fortunately, found another frozen in twenty miles from the river's mouth, in which they took shelter. A rain storm immediately after set in, which released the vessel, and, *Winthrop* says, "they came to Massachusetts in five days, which was a great mercy of God, for otherwise they had all perished, as some did." Saltonstall's letter to Governor Winthrop speaks of Mr. Ludlow being here with the pioneer party of 1635, when the Stiles party arrived at Windsor and Matthew Grant speaks of being here in September of that year. They, the men who had returned to Dorchester from Connecticut, were doubtless parties to the interview at Dorchester here referred to.

here in y^e behalf of y^e Plymouth men that were partners in their purchase, issued y^e bargain with us.¹ We were to pay them £27 10s. for whole purchase, which Mr. Prince presented to us in writing, only they Reserved y^e 16 part off for themselves,² & their 16 part in meadow land came by measuring of y^e meadow & Blakes quarters,³ which was bounded out to Mr. Prince, he being present, by myself appointed by our Company, in Plymouth Meadow, so called by that account. Their 16 part in upland they took in near y^e bounds of Hartford 70 rods in breadth by y^e River⁴ & so to continue to y^e end of y^e bounds. They were also to have one acre to build on, upon the Hill⁵ against [adjoining] their meadow. Also Mr. Prince said he had purchased y^e

¹ *Winthrop Journal*, i, 181, refers to this meeting of Plymouth and Dorchester men under date of 21 Feb., 1625 [1626]. "Mr. Winslow, of the Plymouth Company came to treat with those of Dorchester about their land in Connecticut, which they had taken from them" [at that time, the Dorchester people had not gone on the Plymouth Meadow and to land of the Island adjoining]. Winslow wanted them to give "£100 and one sixteenth of the land, but they break off. But divers of them [who had been to Connecticut] resolved to quit the place, if they could not agree with those of Plymouth." Grant says of the negotiations at Dorchester, that they "came to terms," which could only mean such an understanding as enabled those who had proposed to "quit the place," to return for Grant, immediately after, tells us of the bargain being consummated the next year, in Windsor: "our company being generally here," and *Bequith* (341) says, "We thought it better to let them have it upon as good terms as we could get, so we fell to treaty. The first thing (because they had made many and long disputes about it) we would have them grant, was, that y^e had a right to it, else we would never treat about it, the which, being acknowledged and yielded unto by them, this was the conclusion we came unto in the end, after much ado. That we should retain our house and have the sixteenth part of all we had bought of the Indians [and the head of the Hartford Meadow] and the others [Dorchester] should have all the rest of the land, leaving such a moiety [an amount about equal to Plymouth Meadow?] to those of Newtown [Hartford] as we reserved for them. This sixteenth part was to be taken in two places, one towards the House [meadow], the other, [upland] towards Newtown's proportion, also, they were to pay in proportion (15-16) what had been discoursed to the Indians for the purchase. Thus was the controversy ended, but the real advantage was soon forgotten. They of Newtown [Hartford] dealt more fairly, desiring only what they [of Dorchester] could conveniently spare from a competency reserved for a plantation for themselves, which made them [the Plymouth people] the more careful to procure a moiety for them [of Newtown] in this agreement and distribution." Truly an honorable testimony.

² Thus, not making themselves equal partners with the Dorchester people, as they had proposed in 1624, but still partners, and retaining their settlement.

³ 42½ + 1½, a total of 500 acres of meadow; Plymouth Meadow, about 75 acres; Green Meadow, about 550; Sequestered Meadow, about 75 acres.

⁴ Prince's deed says, "in an indifferent [average] place." Below the head of Hartford Meadow, Windsor bounded east on that meadow; above on the Connecticut River, there was only a narrow strip of meadow extending along the Connecticut River, from the head of Hartford Meadow to the Plymouth Meadow.

⁵ This building lot is not included in Prince's deed, which deed, as Matthew Grant says, "does not mention or speak to *every* particular of the bargain—as it was issued with Mr. Prince, before it was put in writing"—so, he gives the Windsor men's version of it, which is, in no particular, less favorable to Plymouth. This provision was made, because it was discovered that the meadow was liable to be inundated by floods; as tradition says, "the Indians had warned them." But, probably, they had had no personal experience of floods up to this time, for Mr. Ludlow and several others of the Dorchester settlers made the same mistake, in settling along the Island road be-

land that lies on y^e East side of y^e Great river that lies between Scituck and Narragick & that we [they] should have in bet^o or 40 rods in breadth in upland behind the swamp² against their meadow and in one long 150 rods from the swamp, to be 40 acres, & afterwards to have their proportion within their bounds [the territory covered by the deed] according to a 40 acre man³ in the common.

THIS I witness, MATTHEW GRANT.

Soon after the sale of the fifteen-sixteenths of the Plymouth lands to the Dorchester people, in May, 1637, the Pequot War broke out, and "Arramomet and the Indians cohabiting with him," removed from the head of the Hartford Meadow, where he was living the year before (as we know from the points given in the boundings of the land now included in South Windsor, he died of 15 Apl., 1636, "on the South with the brooke or riverett called Potowcke [Podunk] over against the now dwelling-house of Arramomet, or thereabout, near the upper end of Newtown Meadow") and sat down on Plymouth Meadow, where they raised their corn in the summer of 1637, under the protection of the guns of the

tween Mr. Wigham's (the D. Old Rowland place of today) and the Island, and opposite their meadow lots, which lay at the south end of the Great Meadow. For, the freshest of the spring of 1638⁴ which was "greater than any the Indians had ever known before" and probably equal to that of 1854, "flooded many houses very deep" (*Old Ch. Hist.*), and their occupants, like drowned-out rats, made new burrows on the higher ground at the west end of their lot, near the east side of present Broad Street.

The following is all we have of record evidence concerning this purchase made by the Plymouth people: "Cyprianus [son of Shoa, sachem of Paquonock] testifies that the land on the east side of the Great River between Scituck and Narragick, was Nassaowen's, and Nassaowen was so taken in love with the coming of the English, that he gave it to them for some small matter, but he knows of none but the meadow, that is, did not extend far back from the river. The Indian tract between Scituck and Podunk extended east some day's walk."

"This swamp lay between the acre on the hill (on the Island) and the upland west of it, and the forty acre lot of upland still further west—against [i. e., in a line with] their meadow and the acre on the hill."

"40-acre man"—a share of the remaining commons, or undivided lands, equal to that share of a man who was entitled to forty acres of meadow. We have, possibly, an exact data for estimating what constituted a "40-acre man," in the suit brought before the court, more than thirty years later, by the heirs of Mr. Thomas Newbury. Mr. Newbury had come out to Windsor and prepared a house for his family, and returning to Dorchester in the summer of 1636, he died there. His family, however, removed to Windsor, and land was set out directly to each of his children, but, in 1669, they made a "claim for the ancient grant of, and to their father, Thomas Newbury, which would have bel^o him in meadow by the estate of his which was brought up hither [from Dorchester], which, by account of £700 and his person would have come to 76 acres (£699-10 acres person 6) and he had but 40 acres in meadow, and it was granted to him [while he was yet] in Dorchester, that what was his part above 40 acres, he should have it made in a farm, in outland. The court granted 200 acres in west bounds of Windsor."—*Private Controversies*. State library, i. 141.

The Plymouth people's claim as "a 40 acre man," was purchased by Mr. Matthew Mlyn of Hartford, and, in 1654, he claimed that his share of the upland was 260 acres, which was granted to him—80 acres at Pipe-Stage Swamp, and 280 towards the west bounds of the towns.—*Land Rec.*, W., i. 134.

Plymouth men. It is also evident that Sequassen¹ and his people fled to the same protection during the Pequot War, while the Dorchester people remained within their Palisades, a mile away. It should be remembered that these were the friendly Indians who invited the whites to come here, to save them from their enemies, the Pequots; and in the next spring (1638) we have the first exercise of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts people over the Plymouth settlement, in an order of court, relative to these Indians.

"Upon the complaint of Aramamett and the Indians, celebrating with him about Leitchat Indians, denying the planting of the olde ground planted last year about Plymouth house. It was ordered that they should plant the olde ground they planted the last year only, and they are to set their Wigwams in the olde ground² [near of Hartford Meadow] and not withoute" — *Col. Rec.*, i. 16.

It is evident that the Plymouth people, from the first, were reluctant to yield their lands on the Connecticut, or their jurisdiction over it; and the Massachusetts men (for reasons shown hereafter), were equally re-

¹ Sequassen testifies in court [1610] that he "never sold any ground to the Dutch, neither was at any time conquered by the Pequots nor paid any tribute to them." And when he sometimes lived at Mattanuck [Mattanuck = Windsor] and hard by their "chiefs that build here that he and his men came and fought with them" [against the Pequots]. — *Col. Rec.*, i. 56.

² "The old ground" was the place where the wigwams of this tribe were set when the Plymouth people came in 1633. I find no evidence of Indians being at, or about, Plymouth Meadow, except on this particular occasion for one summer—possibly for two. *Beadyford's* account (p. 4), of the kindly assistance rendered them during that fatal winter, would lead one to think the Indians were close by rather than two miles away; but there is no brook in Plymouth Meadow to which they could "crawl out on all fours to get a little water," though there is one at the place where Aramamett's "now dwelling house," stood in 1636, a place where many Indian relics have been and still are found. The Rev. Frederick Chapman of Windsor, born about 1760, once told me that, when a boy he lived in the south part of Windsor, and, at the house of one of the neighbors to which he was accustomed to go, to play with the boys, he saw an old Indian woman, who was supported by the town, and who was the last of the tribe which formerly lived along "by the brook over towards the river," near Wilson's Station. In the Dutch account of their discovery of the Connecticut River, 1614, up which they proceeded to the foot of the Falls (Warehouse Point), they say that in latitude 41° 48' (about the latitude of Wilson's Station) they came to the country of the Nawaas, "where the natives plant maize, and in the year 1614 they had a village resembling a fort, for protection against their enemies." (*Mem. Hist. Hartford Co.*, i. 111.) I should have little doubt that this was the tribe of which this old woman was the last representative; but Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, a much better authority on Connecticut Indian matters, thinks that the Nawaas were on the east side of the Connecticut River, though the Podunks lived at some distance from it. It is safe to claim, I think, that the tribe located near Wilson's Station, under sovereignty of Aramamett in 1636, and at Plymouth Meadow in 1637 and '38, and which were by the court ordered back "to their former habitation", (*Col. Rec.*, i. 16), were the Indians at whose solicitation the Plymouth people came here; and that it was this tribe which almost entirely perished of the small-pox, in the winter of 1633-4.

lectant to have the Plymouth men share it with them.' Lieut. Holmes had charge of the Plymouth interests at the time this order of the court regarding the Indians was issued; and we find later on, that he was clothed with a power of attorney to enter upon and hold all their possessions on the Connecticut, "or otherwise sell and dispose of to our advantage and profit, as shall seem good to our Attorney." This document is dated five months after the sale to the Plymouth people and seven months before the sale of the Plymouth house and lands to Mr. Matt. Allyn. The document proves that the Plymouth settlement here employed cattle and servants, and were as well equipped for farming as the Dorchester settlers; and, whether they were counted "as a single family" (*Bradford*, 338), as the Dorchester people wished, or as an independent settlement (as Matthew Allen claimed), *they were settlers*, occupying the same house as they did in 1632. Holmes' power of Attorney (*First Mass. Vol., Col. Rec., Sec. State's Office*, 423-4) reads as follows:

"Power of Att^y to William Holmes to sell Plymouth possessions on Connecticut River, Oct. 10, 1637.

"Be it known to all men by these presents, that we, Wm. Bradford, Thomas Prince, William Brewster, M^{rs}. Standish, John Alden, and John Howland, of New Plymouth, in New England, Gent^s. have made, ordained, constituted, deputed, and signed and appointed for ourselves and partners, and every of us respectively, our heirs, executors, and administrators, and every of them our well beloved in Christ, Wm. Holmes, of New Plymouth, aforesaid, Gent., our very true and lawful attorney, for us and in our names to enter and seize all those our lands, messuages, tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever situate, lying and being upon the River of Connecticut, and commonly called and known by the name of Windsor and Hartford for either of the precincts

¹ "The greatest difference fell between them of Dorchester plantation and those of Plymouth here, for they [of Dorchester] set their minds on that place which they [we] had not only purchased of the Indians, but where they [we] had built, intending only (if they could not remove them [us]) that they [we] should have but a small moiety left to the house *as a single family*, whose doings were considered very injurious to attempt not only to intrude themselves into the rights and possessions of others, but in effect to thrust them [us] out of all." — *Bradford*, 338.

The Plymouth people claimed, and evidently believed, that they had made a *bona fide* settlement in Windsor before the coming of the Dorchester men. And this claim the Dorchester people admitted after their return to Dorchester in the winter of 1635-6 (see Note 1, p. 36), when "divers of them resolved to quit the place [Windsor] if they could not agree with those of Plymouth" — *Winthrop*, i, 181.

² We have seen, that, when Plymouth sold to Windsor, May, 1637, they excepted so much of their land as lay at the head of Newtown [Hartford] Meadow (*Bradford*, 341), "leaving such a moiety to those of Newtown as we reserved for them." This they still sold five months later (at the date of the instrument). The boundary line between Windsor and Hartford to-day is at the head of the Hartford Meadow next the river, though Windsor extends considerably farther south on the west side "of the great swamp, next the bounds of Hartford" (the swamp made along the west side of the meadow by the brook which now runs to the river by an artificial channel, and drains the Great Swamp). *The River Towns of Connecticut*, 1889, pp. 19, 20, leads us to infer that the first settlers of Hartford settled on this reserved land; but they did not, for the upland

thereof, and after such entry and seizure to take possession thereof for us and to our use to keep and hold, and also our servants, goods, and chattels then to take, keep, and hold or otherwise dispose of to our advantage and profit, as shall seem good to our attorney, giving and by these presents granting unto our said Attorney, jointly and severally for us and every of us, our full power, right, interest, and lawful authority to grant, bargain, alien, and assign all those the said lands, messuages, tenements, and hereditaments, and all and singular the said premises, as fully, largely, amply, and absolutely, and to us full effect and purpose as we or any of us might do if we were personally present, and also giving and granting unto our said attorney by these presents, our full power and authority likewise to bargain and sell, or otherwise to dispose of our servants' goods or cattle, there to our best advantage and

adjoining was sold to the Windsor people two years later, and on Potter's Map of Hartford, 1640, the nearest Hartford settler is located two miles away. In Oct., 1637, Plymouth gave power of attorney to Holmes to sell this meadow, and if the Hartford people had gone on the land before buying, Plymouth did to it, they would have committed the same offence the Windsor people had in appropriating the Great Meadow, and *Bradford* would hardly have said that "they of Newtown dealt more fairly" with us.

¹ Servants were employed whose services had been secured for a given time before they left England, frequently for a specified time, to the party who paid their outfit and passage to New England. Their services were transferable. These servants of the Plymouth House were here now more than four years from the first settlement, and must have been employed in cultivating the land and caring for the cattle, — as we can think of no other employment for them.

John Dumbleton was a servant of Mr. Wm. Whiting of Hartford. He tells us in an affidavit made in 1681 that he worked for his "master" on the Ludlow lot in Windsor, "as a servant," until his seven years' term of service expired in 1644; then, he cultivated the land "to halves" for four years, "and after I paid £20 a year." It appears to have been but nineteen years old when his service began. These servants were sometimes sent over as an investment or business venture, by parties in England. *Lotchford's Abstract*, 372, gives the "accounting" of Buncodes Davis, an agent sent over by Mr. Woodcock, to look after his investments in Windsor, and elsewhere, in which appears the following: "Touching the two servants, they cost between us £22 10s. I had for one of them, from Mr. Long, an house valued at £20. The other servant, being married, having a wife and three children, hath been a burden to me and no profit, so I am to allow Mr. Woodcock half the value of the house aforesaid, £10."

Pringle's Chronology says, "The company, who came to Salem with Gov. Endicott, 1629, brought 180 servants at an expense of £16 10s. each (£3,600). The facility was so great the first year and provisions so scarce, that the servants that survived were given their liberty, but they might shift for themselves." — *Townhall's Hist. Conn.*, i. 9. Of the 27 deaths among the Windsor people before May 10, 1638-8, eight were servants. — *Old Ch. Rec.*

² *Cattle*, in this connection, suggests farming and not simply trade with the Indians, and it is probable that these cattle remained on the Plymouth lot after it became the farm of Mr. Matt. Allyn of Hartford, for we find, the next summer (1639), that certain persons in Windsor bring an "action of trespass" against him for nearly an acre and a half of corn destroyed "through defect in his fence" (*Old Rec.*, i. 28), and we find, the next February, 1639-40, "the execution [for £5] was served by the Court officer, and goods or cattle sold for the performance of the same, and the remainder [£4 6s.] offered by said officer to Mr. Allyn, which he refused" (*Old Rec.*, i. 43). Under date of June 15, 1640 (*Old Rec.*, i. 53) we have a report of the committee appointed by the Court to settle "the difference between Mr. Allen and Windsor, concerning land purchased of Plymouth" (see note 1 to page 32, *ante*). As we have seen, the Plymouth sale of the head of Hartford Meadow carried its jurisdiction with it, and now Mr. Allyn was ap-

profit as fully and effectually as we ourselves may, or might do if we were present in our own persons and had done the same ourselves, and whatever our said attorney shall do or cause to be done lawfully in and about the premises or any part thereof, we, the said William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thos. Prince, William Brewster, Miles Standish, John Alden, and John Howland for ourselves and partners, promise to allow, confirm, ratify, and establish by these presents, and thereunto bind ourselves, executors, administrators and every of them by these presents.

"In witness whereof, we have herunto set our hands and seals this twentieth day of October in the 13th year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord Charles, by the Grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland King Anno Dom. 1637.

"Sealed and delivered

in presence of

JOHN WINSLOW

NATHAN SOUTHER

JONATHAN BREWSTER

WILLIAM BRADFORD

EDWARD WINSLOW

THOS. PRINCE

WILLIAM BREWSTER

JOHN ALDEN

JOHN HOWLAND."

Then follows (p. 424-5, *Col. Rec.*) record of the deed given "by virtue of [the] letter of attorney," to "Matthew Allyn of Hartford, upon the river Connecticut."

"The house belonging to Plymouth aforesaid, situate within the limits of Windsor upon said river Connecticut, with all the meadow privileges belonging to the said plantation of Plymouth in the place aforesaid in as ample and full manner as the plantation at present enjoyeth² of the same or of right ought to do. The particulars of this deed were here read and said and expressed in an agreement between the plantation of New Plymouth and the inhabitants of Windsor, under the hands of some of the inhabitants aforesaid, dated the 15th day of May 1637.

"In witness whereof, I have herunto set my hand and seal this 2^d day of May, 1638.

"WILLIAM HOLMES"

The Plymouth Company's house, above referred to, and sometimes called "the Trading (or Trucking) House," stood on the forty-three and three-quarters acres of meadow "reserved to the house of the said New Plymouth." This reserved meadow was about the middle (north and south) of Plymouth Meadow, extending from the river on the east, to "the Hill" on the west. It stood on the highest part of the meadow which lies nearest the river. At the time of the "Great flood" of 1639, which was "higher than had ever been known by the Indians," when several houses, including Mr. Ludlow's, on the Island road, "were drowned very deep," the highest part of Plymouth Meadow was undoubtedly flooded. Mr. Allyn, probably, built "on the Hill" before he came to Windsor to live, and it is almost certain that, when he did build

presently claiming that the land was still under Plymouth jurisdiction; or, perhaps, that his deed from Plymouth carried the jurisdiction to himself, as did the sale of the head of Hartford Meadow to the town of Hartford.

¹ See pp. 34, 35, 37, 39.

² Mr. Allyn appears to have assumed that as Windsor did not buy this territory of Plymouth, it was not under Windsor jurisdiction, but a little town organization, casting a unanimous vote.

there, he utilized the material of the Trading House in the construction of his new house. For, in those days, there were no saw mills at which to get out lumber, nor even for thirty years after had they superseded hand-sawing in Windsor.¹

The tradition that some of the material of the old house which was taken down from the "acre on the hill," about sixty years ago, was prepared in England, refers undoubtedly to material brought by Captain Holmes, in 1633, of which *Bradford* says (393): "But they having made a small frame of a house, and having a great new bark, they stowed their frame in their hold, and boards to cover and finish it, having nails and all other provisions for their proper use." Bradford does not say that it was prepared at Plymouth—though that is the natural conclusion—but, as it was seven years before there was a saw-mill in that colony, and the facilities for doing the work were so much better in England than in Plymouth, there is some plausibility in the tradition.

There are three individuals living (1890) who remember the old house (probably the third Plymouth-Allen House), when occupied by tenants, and who wandered through its rooms after it became tenantless. These are, Miss Mary Halsey and Mr. Asa Mollit of Windsor, and Gen. F. Ellsworth Mather of New York city. Though their impressions are not so well defined as to furnish as full a description as we should like to have, this much seems pretty clear: In outward appearance it much resembled other old houses that have passed away since the beginning of this century. Its front presented two stories, the rear roof ("lean-to") sloping down to cover at the eaves but one story; the front door was in the middle of the house, the stairway had two "great stairs" where it turned at right angles, landing the passenger in the little hall above facing the window directly over the front door. Back of the stairway, and of the same width as the front hall, was the large chimney with three fireplaces on the lower floor, and one each in the

¹ "The first saw-mill in the [Plymouth] Colony was erected in Scituate [half-way to Boston] in 1640"—*Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth*, 148. "Clove" (clap-boards) were split out and hewn into form. As late as 1669, we find on *Windsor Land Records*, "The Town-men agreed with Benjamin Griswold to get some good timber fallen and cloven into bolts [short logs] and brought home by the latter end of the week following for the use of the meeting house, and Samuel Grant is to cleave [split] them when brought home, and fit them, and nail them about the meeting house." Sawn beams and plank were made at a saw-pit, one man standing on the log above, the other man in the pit beneath, their combined strength driving the saw, which, later on, was driven by water-power. In 1665, the *Windsor Records* tells us of this, among other items of expense for work on the meeting-house, "for other work done, as carting of timber out of the woods, and from the pit to the meeting-house," showing that, thirty years after the settlement on Plymouth Meadow, saw-mills had not supplanted hand-sawing in Windsor.

two chambers above. The summer-beam and joists which supported the floor of the second story were planed and without lath and plaster. The sides of the room were wainscoted about three feet up from the floor, and plastered above. There was, in one of the front chamber rooms, a table too large to be taken through the doors, which had been placed there when the house was built. There is, of course, a tradition that the table came from England. It is now on the lower floor of the Connecticut Historical Society's rooms at Hartford, a donation from the late Henry Halsey, Esq., of Windsor, who also took the front door step (with its traditional "came from England"), and placed it where it still lies, at the front gate of his late residence.

III. THE OCCUPATION BY THE LORDS AND GENTLEMEN, PATENTEES OF CONNECTICUT.

Reference has been made (pp. 33 and 34) to the patentees of Connecticut. These were Lords Say and Seal, Lord Brook, Sir Richard Saltonstall, and others, to whom, in 1631, the Plymouth Council in England (chartered in 1620, "for the planting, ruling, and governing of New England in America") had granted a patent of Connecticut, including all the land from the sea, 120 miles into the country, and from Narraganset River (in Rhode Island) on the east, to the South Sea [Pacific] on the west," and which patent was duly confirmed by the King. The indefinite nature of this grant, however, was such that it must inevitably have invited misunderstanding and contest—as it eventually did.

The first assertion of the claims of the Connecticut Patentees, was the appearance, in Windsor, a few days after the coming of the Dorchester pioneers, of the so-called "Stiles party." [This was a company of some twenty men, under the superintendence of Mr. Francis Stiles, who had been sent out from England largely at the private expense of Sir Richard Saltonstall, one of the Connecticut Patentees, to prepare grounds and erect houses for himself and certain others of the patentees. Arriving in the bay, June 16th,¹ Stiles remained there ten days and then sailed for Windsor, the point designated in his instructions. Here he landed his party, and was about commencing his preparations when interrupted by the return of the Dorchester exploring party from up the river (see p. 29).

There is no doubt that the Stiles party were, after the Plymouth

¹ *Winthrop's Journal*, i. 161, under date of June 16, 1635, records that, "A bark of 40 tons arrived [at Boston] set forth with twenty servants by Sir Richard Saltonstall, to go plant at Connecticut." And Saltonstall, in his letter to Governor Winthrop, Jr. (p. 45), says his *Pinnace* lay at Boston ten days, which would bring the time of its departure to the Connecticut to 26th of June. — H. R. S.

Trading Company, the *first actual settlers* of Windsor. On page 16 of a folio manuscript volume, in the Augmentation office, in Rolls Court, Westminster Hall, London, entitled "*the Register of y^e names of all y^e Passenger[s] wth Passel from y^e Port of London for an whole year ending at Xmas, 1635.*"—(*Miss. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 3d series, viii. 252 : *N. Eng. Gen. Reg.*, xiv.; Drake's *Results of Researches among the British Archives relative to the Founders of N. Eng.*, 1860, and Hatton's *Original Lists of Emigrants to American Plantations*, etc., 1877.)—we find a full list of this party, as follows:

"March 13, 1634-5, these *videlicet* written names are to be transported to New England, imbarqued in the *Christina de Lo* [London], for White, Mr. bound thither, the Men have taken the *sath* [ot] *Allegiance and Supremencie.*"—*Mildred Bradset.*¹

FRANCIS STILES,	aged 35 yrs.,	Robert Robinson	aged 45 yrs.,
THO: BASSETT,	" 27 "	EDWARD PATTERSON,	" 33 "
THO: STYLES,	" 20 "	fr. Marshall,	" 36 "
THO: BARBER,	" 21 "	Rich. Heykel ²	" 22 "
JO: DYER,	" 28 "	Tho. Halford,	" 20 "
JO: HARRIS,	" 28 "	Tho. Hawksworth,	" 23 "
JAS. HORNWOOD	" 30 "	JO: STILES,	" 35 "
JO: RILEYS,	" 19 "	HENRIE STILES,	" 40 "
THOS. HOUTHOOT,	" 22 "	Jane Worden, ³	" 30 "
JES. BASKET,	" 28 "	JOAN STILES,	" 35 "
TRO: COOP, ⁴	" 18 "	HENRY STILES,	" 3 "
ED. PRESTON,	" 13 "	JO: STILES,	" 9 mo
JO: CRIBB,	" 30 "	RACHELL STILES,	" 28 yrs.
GEO CHAPPEL,	" 20 "		

Of these, sixteen, whose names are printed in small capitals, are positively known to have settled in Windsor. Three of these were females, and (family) tradition, has also preserved the name of Rachel, wife of John Stiles, as the first English woman who stepped ashore in Windsor. Mr. Francis Stiles, the leader of the party, was a master carpenter of London, and to him (or to his eldest brother Henry—likewise a master carpenter, as well as a freeman of London) nearly all the males of this list were apprenticed, some before, and some after their coming to America.—s.]

Before the arrival of this Patentees' pioneer party, the Dorchester men were evidently holding in reserve the actual occupation of the Great Meadow, yet out of some lingering respect for Plymouth's claims, were searching elsewhere for a suitable place for settlement.⁵ Still they could

¹ These italicized words are in the margin of the list, showing from what parish they brought certificates of their conformity to the rules and discipline of the Church of England. St. Mildred's Church was destroyed by the great fire of London, 1666, and rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren.

² Probably Cooper, though the MSS. is as above, without abbreviation mark.

³ The MSS. appears to me plain.

⁴ Drake makes this *Morden*.

(Above notes by S. G. DRAKE.)

not but resent the claims of these new comers, who proposed, under authority of a patent which recognized neither Plymouth nor Massachusetts-men, nor Dutchmen, as having any right to the land in "the Three Towns," to begin forthwith a plantation "between the Plymouth Trucking House and the falls," (i. e., on the Great Meadow). Mr. Roger Ludlow was there, the controlling spirit of the Dorchester party, and the Patentees party was summarily told to keep "hands off." So, Mr. Stiles stayed his hands, and reported the state of affairs to his superiors in England, and the following letter written by Sir Richard Saltonstall, upon receipt of his agent's statement, throws an interesting light upon the matter.

"For my worthy good friend Mr John Winthrop, Gouverneur of the Plantations at Cometeot Ryuer in New England, these d[elivered] per Frs. Styles, whom God preserve.

"Good Mr. Winthrop:

"Being credibly informed (as by the enclosed¹ may appeare) that there hath been some abuse and injurie done me by Mr. Ludlowe & others, of Dorchester, who would not suffer Francis Styles & his men to impall grounde where I appointed them att Connecticut, although both by patent, which I tooke above foure yeares since, & prepossession Dorchester men, being then unsetled, & seeking vp the River above the falls for a place to plant vpon butt finding none better to their likeier they speedily came backe againe & disbanded my workmen, casting lots vpon that place, where he was purposed to begin his worke; notwithstanding he often tould them what great charge I had bene att in sending him & so many men to prepare a house against my coming & enclose grounde for my cattle, & how the damage would fall heauie vpon those that thus hindered me, whom Francis Styles conuined to haue best right to make choyse of any place there. Notwithstanding they resisted him, slighteing me with many vnbeseeeming words, such as he was vnwilling to relate to me, but will iustifie vpon his oath before authoritie, when he is called to itt. Therefore, wee haue appointed you to be our Governour there, the rest of the Company being sensible of this affront to me, would haue signified there minde in a generall letter vnto you but that I tould them sithe itt did concerne myself in particular and might perhaps breed some jealousies in the people, and so distast them with our Government, wherevpon they advised me write vnto you to request you with all speed & diligence to examine this matter, & if (for the substance) you find itt as to vs itt appeares, by this information heerewith sent you, that then in a faire & gentle way you give notice to Dorchester men of this greate wronge they haue donne me & let being the first that to further this designe sent my pinnace thither at my owne great charge of almost a thousand pounds, which now is cast away by there detaining so long before she coule vnlad, and for which iniustice I may require satisfaction, as also for my provision which cost aboue five hundred pounds, and are now (I heare) almost spent by this meanes, and not any polling as yet sett vp att that place where I appointed them; which had I but imagined they would haue this greedily snatched vp all the best grounds vpon that River, my pinnace should rather haue sought a pylate at New Plymouth, then to haue stayd ten days as she did in the Bay to haue giuen them such warning thus to preuent me & lett them spaire (as I am tould they may very well), forth of that great quantity they haue ingressed to themselves, so much as my proportion comes too, and if they haue built any

¹ Referring probably to Mr. Francis Styles "Relation," or letter to him to which he elsewhere refers; and probably also to Bartholomew Greene's letter—see Note to p. 47.

houses thereupon, I will pay them their reasonable charges for the same. But I pray you, either go yourselfe with some skilful men with you, or send Sergeant Gardiner & some with him to sett out my grounds (1,600 acres) where it may be most convenient, betwene Plymouth Trucking house and the falls, according to my direction given both to the maister of my plimmo and to Francis Styles, which I thinke they will not now deny me, understanding what charge I am att (with others of the Companie) to secure this River mouth for the defence of them all, wherein we hope you will neglect no means, according to our great trust reposed in you. Thus beseeching the Lord to prosper the worke begun, I commend you with all our affaires vnder your charge to the gracious direction, and protection of our good God in whose I am

"Your most assured loving friend

"RIC. SALTONSTALL

"For my worthy Respected Friend

Mr. John Winthrop Governor of the
Plantations upon Connecticut Ryver in
New England

Whitefriars, [Eng.], Feby 27, 1635 [6]

"(Labelled Sir Richard Saltonstall — 1636 "

Saltonstall was authorized to write to Gov. Winthrop, in preference to an official communication from the Patentees, "lest it might breed some jealousies in the people, and so distaste them with our government." Possibly, if "the people" had not had "a distaste" for the government of Lords and Gentlemen at home, in England, they would not have had the honor of giving to the Colony of Connecticut "the first written Constitution the world ever saw."

The Patentees, thus thwarted by the Dorchester party, sent to their lately-appointed Governor, John Winthrop, Jr., to Saybrook, where they had erected a fort and commenced a settlement; and he, with Sir Henry Vane, then at Boston, opened negotiations with "the river towns," claiming that "either of the three towns gone thither [*i. e.*, to the Connecticut River] must give place."¹ This claim covered the Plymouth as well as

¹ *Winthrop's Journal*, i. 170 — "8mo., 6 [Sept. 6], 1635: There came also John Winthrop the Younger, with commission from Lord Say, Lord Brooke, and divers other great persons in England to begin a plantation in Connecticut and to govern them."

(*Ibid.*, i. 397: "Sir Henry Vane came to Boston. This noble Lord having orders from the said Lords and others, treated with the Magistrates here [at the Bay] and those who were to go to Connecticut about the said design of the Lords to this issue, that either of the three towns gone thither should give place on full satisfaction [*i. e.*, on being paid for their improvements], or else sufficient room must be found there for the Lords and their companies." *Winthrop* thus gives the terms proposed: "Whereas there is a patent granted to certain persons of quality, of the river of Connecticut, with the places adjoining . . . they conceive they have full power and authority to govern and dispose of all persons and affairs within the limits of said patent [Narragansett Bay to California] . . . we conceive that the present face of affairs in Connecticut, as it now appears, admit or require a pertinent and plain answer to these necessary queries from the towns that are lately removed from Massachusetts Bay to take up plantations within the aforesaid patents

"*Imprimis*, whether they do acknowledge the right and claims of said persons of quality, and, in testimony thereof, will and do submit to their present Governor, Mr. John Winthrop the younger?

"*Secondly*, Under what right and pretense they have lately taken up these planta-

the Massachusetts settlements. These negotiations, as Winthrop's *Journal* tells us, "were with the magistrates here [at Boston], and those who were to go to Connecticut"; this was in the winter of 1635-6, proving that Mr. Ludlow went back with others from Windsor that winter, and that it was prior to the death of Rev. Mr. Maverick, which occurred at Boston, Feb. 3, 1636, as he and Mr. Ludlowe are named in the negotiations.

Though the document referred to (note 1, p. 46) "requires a pertinent and plain answer" from the Three Towns, yet only Dorchester (Windsor) men are named, probably because *they* had taken up the particular spot selected by the Lords and Gentlemen for their settlement — and possibly as their future capital.

The land which the Dorchester party hesitated to take up without the consent of Plymouth, these Patentees proposed to take without so much as saying to Plymouth "by your leave"; so that, when it had become a question between themselves and the Lords and Gentlemen, as to who should occupy the Great Meadow, the Dorchester party — as the stronger — "sat down on" the Stiles party, and taking possession of the Great Meadow, began to prepare dwellings along the brow of the meadow-hill for their expected families. Stiles and his party were crowded to the extreme north end of the meadow, occupying the later Chief Justice Ellsworth place, where "he built himself a suitable house."

Besides the complication of affairs arising from the conflicting claims of the Plymouth Company, the Dorchester settlers and the Patentees, which thus confronted Mr. Francis Stiles upon his arrival in Windsor, there *must* have been some doubts in his mind as to the exact location designated by his orders. From a letter written to Sir Richard Saltonstall, December, 1635, by one Bartholomew Greene, who appears to have been an agent for him, and to have had some personal knowledge of affairs upon the Connecticut River (which letter will be found in note below)¹ it would seem that "Mr. White" (probably John White, the

tions within the precincts aforementioned, and what government they intend to live under, because the said country is out of the claim of the Massachusetts patent.

"To Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Maverick, Mr. Newbury, Mr. Stoughton, and the rest engaged in the business of Connecticut plantation in the town of Dorchester.

" [Signed]

H. VANE, JR.

J. WINTHROP, JR.

HUGH PETERS."

¹ Letter from Bartholomew Greene to Sir Richard Saltonstall. — (*Mass. Hist. Coll., Fifth Series*, i. 216, 217.)

"To the Right Worshipful and his most lovinge Mr Sur Richard Saltonstall, Knight, at his house in Whitt Streete, London.

"Right Worshipful, — my humbill serv[ic]es is remembred. Havinge see fitt a messenger I cannot but right a word or tow. This is to certifie your worshipp this messenger was at Canaticatt, and can tell you how the case stands. For my parte, it is a

master of Saltonstall's vessel, which brought over the Stiles party of workmen) had "commission to be [*i. e.*, to locate] on *one* side of the river, Mr. Stiles on the *other*"; and, on the margin of the original letter we find the following endorsement, said to be in Sir Richard's handwriting, "*they were to plant on that side of y^e river, New Plymouth trading-house, was by th.*" — Mr. Brewster's receipt to Frans: Styles." And also when Bartholomew Green finally succeeded (as Stiles and White seemed to have failed to do) in securing the services of a surveyor, it was found that "there was not ground, neither for meadow nor arable or pastur grounds, that would give," Sir Richard "content;" and "the Plymouth men" also, taking common cause with Dorchester in this matter, attempted to "discharge" the Stiles party. Well might luckless Saltonstall say, "had I but imagined they would have thus greedily snatched up all the best ground on the river, my pinnace should rather have sought a pilot at Plymouth than to have stayed ten days as she did in the Bay and given them such warning thus to prevent me." — 8.]

Bradford (349) gives us, later on, copies of a correspondence between Dorchester and Plymouth relative to the seizure of the land by the former, in which the former say "it [the Great Meadow] was the Lord's waste and for the present altogether void of inhabitants to cultivate it" [the Indians were all dead]; and apologizing to Plymouth for holding on to the disputed territory, they urge the "uncertain possibilities of this or that to be [*i. e.*, which might be accomplished] by any; we judging them [the Lords and Gentlemen] (in such a case as ours especially)

greefe to me but the truth is I cannot, we could not do no more in it. I did use the best counsel, and use wat means I could in the busines for yo^r good, but M^r Whitte's conclusion was to be one side of the river, M^r Stiles on the other, and after I had use means, when M^r Whitte and M^r Stills went, and could not get a man to goe by so many wayes, and as soone as I and the [] went not forward in the busines, I put my self upon it againe, and at last got a man to go to measure it out at a dear rate, and when he came ther ther was not ground, neither for meadow nor arable or pastur grounds, that would give yo^r worshipping content, that the men darst not lay it out, the shuld a done yo^r worshipping [w]ronge in the same, seeing that Dorchester men had taken vp the best place befor, and Plymouth men sent a letter to discharg a man for medelinge with it, sayinge it was ther right; for I consue that M^r Ludlow was the chiefe man that hinderd it. He was the onli man of Dorchester that sett downe ther. I hope that this barett, M^r Woodcock[s] man [*Jo. Harrison, Margpis*] will certifie you how it is. I have ritten manie letters for this purpose. Other things I have bine larger in letters. I am loath to be too trobellsome to yo^r worshipping in the lik expressions. M^r Hooker hath expresse some thinge that waye. The Lord direct you and advise you for the best, and further yo^r ofrings for his glorie and yo^r good and all ours. Thus wth my servies agayne, I com^{it} you to the only wise God, and rest yo^r poof servant to the vther most of my power to command.

"BARTH. GREENE

"From Watertown this 30 of December, 1635

"(Indorsed by Sir R. Saltonstall) — "that this letter be sent to M^r John Winthrop, our Govern^r at Conectacutt, wth Fr^s Styles his relation."

not meet to be equalled with [our] present actions (such as ours are) much less [the claim of the Patentees] to be preferred before them [us]."

Some parties are pleased to denounce Dorchester for taking up land, not that which the Plymouth people had first settled, but that of which they had extinguished the Indian title. Goodwin's *Pilgrim Republic* (393), terms them "pious bandits." But the Dorchester people (even in such a case as ours, especially) could hardly have acted differently. A delegation of them had come on to Connecticut to prepare for the coming of their families, and found themselves shut up to the Great Meadow: the Dutch "did peremptorily withstand the Massachusetts men quiet settling near them" -- *Dorchester* (but the Hartford men "got there" notwithstanding); Plymouth Meadow was already occupied, and the Connecticut Patentees, by their agent, Mr. Francis Stiles, "proposed to begin work on the only place that was available." What wonder then that "Mr. Ludlow and others" acted as they did?

The Pilgrim Republic says (393), that "the Dorchester [Windsor] people turned away from hundreds of square miles [of land] at their disposal, and told him [Brewster] that, as the Plymouth land pleased them, they should take it and build upon it." This is by no means a fair statement of the facts, but the author should have added that, while the hundreds of miles of primeval forest land through which the Massachusetts men pushed their way to reach the Connecticut River was just as good as any *on* the river, outside of the open meadows (once the planting ground of Indians, who had been removed by the small-pox), and no better than the forest land at their own doors in Massachusetts, still

But, when have these descendants made a less gallant fight for the possession of any good land they wanted from that day to this? Hartford shared with Windsor the Patent given by the court, in 1686, for the uninhabited land lying west of Simsbury, and when, half a century later, these lands were wanted for *settlement*, Hartford and Windsor were reminded that when the lands were given, it was because the court knew that they would revert to the Crown if Andros succeeded in getting the charter. After considerable controversy the Colony got back half of it, retaining territory enough for three and a half towns apiece. A later generation, about the time of the Revolution, discovered some beautiful lands at Wyoming in the Valley of the Susquehanna, which was within the ancient bounds (viz., "west by the South Seas" -- Pacific), and the Connecticut people pointed in there to the number of about 2,600, and fought with the Pennamites for possession. During the Revolutionary War, British soldiers, Tories, and Indians fell upon them, killed about 300, and the rest fled back to Connecticut. After the close of the war, the land west of Pennsylvania was claimed by Connecticut, and Congress granted the northeast corner of Ohio, which lies in the latitude of Connecticut. (See T. J. Chapman's article in *Mag. of Am. Hist.*, 1884, p. 238, on *Early Conn. Claims in Pennsylvania*.) Many of us remember the struggle to get possession of Kansas, and the sending of Sharps' rifles to our friends. The rush to gain a place in Oklahoma within a year past was a perfect cyclone compared with the breeze which swept over our Connecticut Valley two hundred and fifty years ago.

these meadows were the only acres *fit for immediate cultivation*. And it is *the prime necessity* of any *first* emigration, from that day to this, that it shall settle upon that place which will yield the quickest returns for the labor spent upon it.

A little consideration of topographical facts will show the urgency of Dorchester's need at that time, when meadows were scarce. *Plymouth Meadow* (then already settled) contained about 100 acres; the *Great Meadow*, north of the Plymouth Meadow, and separated therefrom by the Tuxis river, holds about 600 acres; *Sequestered Meadow*, lying still further north, and about three miles from Plymouth Meadow, has some seventy-five acres; and *Pine Meadow* (below Windsor Locks), about five miles north of Plymouth Meadow, has sixty to seventy acres; one hundred acres at Podunk, and two or three small meadows on the Tuxis.

Then, extending our survey to the south, two miles below Plymouth Meadow is the head of *Hartford Meadow*, which extends along the river for about three miles, and contained about 1,000 acres of available land. Below Hartford and the Dutch fort was the *South Meadow*, and beyond that the *Wethersfield Meadow*. Then comes Rocky Hill, with miles of high banks and no meadows; with Mattabesic (Middletown) Meadows still further down the river. There are meadows on the *east* side of the river, but they were then covered with forests. The fact that no company or individual settled, at first, on the east side, is strong presumptive evidence of this; and the record of deeds in Windsor shows that the land on the east side of the river was set out in lots three miles long, bounded west by the river, with no mention of "meadow," or "meadow and upland," except on one hundred acres of "meadow" at Podunk. On the west side, every man's "meadow" was described in a separate deed; and so was the meadow at Podunk, where (with a few exceptions, which read "meadow & upland,") the remnant of a tribe of Indians were living on a "meadow" lying on Podunk farther back from the Connecticut, and once numerous enough to cultivate both that meadow and the "about 100 acres lying on the Great River." The epidemic of small-pox which removed the last Indian from the Great Meadow and Sequestered Meadow in Windsor, had rendered those meadows "the Lord's waste" of which the Ludlow party spoke as being "void of inhabitants that indeed minded the employment thereof to the right ends for which land was created." These meadows were the grounds to which the white men had been invited in 1631, and the only grounds to which they could bring their families and raise food for them.

[And to this place, therefore, they *immediately* began to gather their families. It will be seen that there were *several* concurrent causes at

work to inaugurate and expedite this emigration: (1) Massachusetts, as Cotton Mather says, was "like a hive overstocked with bees, and many thought of swarming into new plantations; (2) there was the inducement of a profitable fur trade; (3) it was known that the Connecticut Patentees were preparing to take possession of their patent at the river's mouth; and the subject agitated the people of the Bay to such a degree that a public fast was appointed, September 18, 1634.¹ Roger Ludlow, one of the assistants, and a leading inhabitant of Dorchester, strongly opposed the movement. In this state of affairs, Israel Stoughton, one of the first deputies of Dorchester, had an altercation with Governor Winthrop, and published a pamphlet which occasioned his expulsion from the House; and the Dorchester people petitioned in vain for a remission of his sentence. Roger Ludlow of Dorchester aimed at being governor of Massachusetts Colony in 1635, and protested openly against the choice of Governor Haynes, and was, in consequence, left out of the magistracy. It is not improbable that these wealthy and influential gentlemen sought a more congenial field for their political ambition than the Bay Colony presented to them at that moment. It is certain that Mr. Ludlow suddenly changed his views on the subject, and was actively engaged in the project in 1635, which he had with zeal opposed in 1634. These different considerations will suffice to account for the movement which was at first opposed by the government, but in the spring of 1635 "reluctantly assented to,"² on the condition that the new colonies should continue within the jurisdiction, and be considered as a part of Massachusetts. Early in the preceding June the General Court of Massachusetts had granted "3 pieces [or cannon] to the plantations that shall remove to Connecticut, to fortify themselves." In September, Wm. Westwood was appointed "constable for the plantations in Connecticut, together with a new supply of arms and ammunition for the colonies, and liberty to appoint their own constables."—s.]

¹ Governor Palford, with a quiet reference to the previous caution of the Massachusetts folks, says: "Some of their neighbors in y^e Bay, hearing of y^e fame of Conightacote River, had a harkening mind after it, as was before noted, and now understanding that y^e Indians were swayed away with y^e late great mortalitye, the fear of whom was an obstacle unto them before, which being now taken away, they began now to prosecute it with great egermes." P. 328.

The *ambition* of the people of the Bay, in this matter, is unconsciously revealed by Winthrop (i. 146), who, in his account of the session of the general court at Newtown, Sept. 4, 1634, at which the subject was long and earnestly discussed, states the following as among the "principal reasons" assigned for removal to Connecticut: "The fruitfulness and commodiousness of Connecticut, and the danger of having it possessed by others, Dutch or English."

And "The strong bent of their spirits to remove thither."

² Winthrop, i. 155.

³ Hutchinson, i. 41.

Did the Massachusetts men expect when they came on, that summer of 1635, to make provision for their families, that their families would follow them that season? They were too late to raise a crop for their support through the coming winter, and we see no reason, *except to see our possession*, why they should transport their winter provision to Connecticut for their families and their live-stock, rather than have them remain in Massachusetts. But one company did come: Winthrop tells us, under date of Oct. 15-25, that "about sixty men, women, and children went by land to Connecticut with their cows, horses, and swine, and after a difficult and tedious journey arrived there safe."

[Their household furniture, bedding, and winter provisions, were sent around by water. That which is now a four or five hours' trip, was to them, encumbered as they were with women and children and slow moving cattle, a journey of two weeks.* Before they reached the Connecticut, the hues of autumn had faded from the forests, and their leafless branches were swaying to and fro in the wintry storm. Winter,

* Winthrop says (vol. i. p. 171), about sixty men, women, and children went by land to Connecticut with their cows, horses, and swine, and after a tedious and difficult journey arrived there safe. We believe that this party of 1635 who drove their cattle before them, were *Dorchester* people. For they are particularly mentioned by the same author as suffering much, and losing most of their cattle during the succeeding severe winter. Himes, in his account of *Dorchester, Mass.*, says that *about one hundred people removed to Connecticut in 1635, most of whom were Dorchester people*, joined by a few from Newtown and Watertown. Trumbull says that Mr. Warham did not remove with his charge at this time, but came to Connecticut, 2d. September, 1636. But we find no mention of him during this time, in Massachusetts, though Mr. Hooker (of Hartford) took part in councils until the next summer. Nor can we understand why a new church should have been formed at *Dorchester* while Mr. Warham remained. Winthrop says a council was called April 11, 1636, to form a new church, "a great part of the old one being gone to Connecticut." Its formation, however, from theological reasons, was deferred until August. In view of these circumstances, we feel warranted in our belief that the emigration of 1635 consisted mostly of *Dorchester* people, who settled at Windsor, and that their pastor came with them. See, also, *Records of Dorchester*, pp. 13, 14.

²In regard to the *course* of the first settlers, on their way to the Connecticut, *Dr. McClure's MSS.*, in possession of Connecticut Historical Society, preserve the following narrative:

"In a conversation with the late aged and respectable Captain Sabin, of Pomfret, Ct., he related to me the following discovery, viz. About 40 years ago he felled a large and ancient oak, about the north line of Pomfret, adjoining Woodstock. On cutting within some inches of the heart of the tree, it was seen to have been cut and chipped with some sharp tool like an axe. Rightly puzzling that at the time when it must have been done, the Indians, so far inland, were destitute and ignorant of the use of iron tools, he counted the number of the annular circular rings from the said marks to the bark of the tree, and found there were as many rings as the years which had intervened from the migration of the *Dorchester* party to that time. Hence the probability is that they journeyed along the north border of Pomfret, and as they traveled by a compass, the conjecture is corroborated by that course being nearly in a direct line from Boston to the place of their settlement on the Connecticut river."

indeed, set in unusually early. By the 15th-25th of November, the river was closed, and as yet the vessel containing their household goods and provisions had not arrived, nor were there any tidings of it. They were able to get only a portion of their cattle across the river [*Dr. B. Tenibull*]. At this time (November 26th) a party of thirteen returned to Massachusetts through the woods. One of the number fell through the ice and was drowned, and the remainder would have perished "but that, by God's providence, they lighted upon an Indian wigwam."¹ As it was then more than ten days in reaching the Bay.² By the first of December, the condition of these families was perilous in the extreme. Many were nearly destitute of provisions; and the only alternative was to reach their vessel, which was supposed to be fast in the ice below. A company of seventy, of all ages and both sexes (see Note 2, p. 35) now set out in search of their provisions. Shelterless, and scantily supplied with food, they toiled on, day after day, through snows and storms, hoping at every turn of the river to discover the wished-for relief. Who can picture the sufferings of that painful march. But God was not unmindful of his suffering ones. His arm was stretched out to save. A small vessel, the *Robson*, of sixty tons, which had attempted to ascend the river to trade before the winter set in, had become entangled in the ice, twenty miles from the river's mouth.³ Fortunately, a storm of rain came up, which released the vessel which came to their relief; and Providence sending favorable winds, "they came," says Governor Winthrop, "to Massachusetts in 5 days, which was a great mercy of God, for otherwise they had all perished with famine, as some did." The few who remained in Connecticut through this fearful winter suffered much, as did their cattle also, from insufficiency of both food and shel-

¹ Winthrop, i. 273.

² *Winthrop's Journal*.

³ *Winthrop* also states that while the *Robson* lay there in the ice, the Dutch sent a sloop to take possession of the mouth of the river, but the men got two pieces of mortar on shore, and would not suffer them to land.

Notwithstanding the early closing of the river in 1635, there is certain evidence that the winter of 1635-6, was an open one. It is, with one exception, very many years since the Connecticut was frozen over at Windsor as early as November 15-25th, but about twenty years ago, at a time when the water was extremely low for that season of the year, on the morning of November 19th, the ice stopped, and the river was frozen over at Windsor, but only for a few hours. If the closing of the river mentioned by Winthrop had been such as occurs later in the season, there would have been no occasion for wintering their cattle there, or they would have driven them over on the ice. And we rarely have so open a winter in later times that cattle could live through it, without shelter, or other provision than could be provided for them in the forest, and these families who "died" on "acorns" during the winter, doubtless, had bare ground to gather them on after the 15-25th of November. *Winthrop* says (i. 176, date January, 1635-6), "this month one man went by land to Connecticut and returned safe" — he probably had little snow to contend with.

ter. They literally lived on acorns, malt, and grains, with what food they could gain by hunting, and not unlikely assisted by the Plymouth and Stiles parties who were doubtless both provided. Their losses were very heavy, that of the Dorchester people being as much (*Winthrop* says,¹ on authority of Mr. Ludlow) as £2,500 in cattle alone.

Early in March, 1635-6, Connecticut was set apart as a separate colony, under a commission granted by the General Court of Massachusetts, "to several persons to govern the people at Connecticut for the space of a year [then] next coming. The commission thus named consisted of Mr. Roger Ludlow and William Phelps of Windsor, John Steele, William Westwood, and Andrew Ward of Hartford, and William Pyncheon of Springfield, William Swaine and Henry Smith of Wethersfield.

With the first dawn of spring (April 16, 1636) those who had been compelled to return to Dorchester again turned their faces toward the Connecticut. They comprised the larger part of the Dorchester church, with, as some say, their surviving pastor, Rev. John Warham. Their settlement at Mattanuck was named Dorchester, after their Massachusetts home.

About the same time, Mr. Pyncheon and others, from Roxbury, Mass., settled at Agawam, now the city of Springfield. And, in June following, came the venerable Hooker, with his companions from Cambridge, Mass., who settled at Suckiung, now the city of Hartford. Wethersfield, also, began its settlement near by; and thus, simultaneously, in the rich soil and the choicest spots of the beautiful Connecticut Valley, were the seeds planted, which were destined to take root and germinate into a mighty commonwealth. And the history of that commonwealth, for more than two centuries, has borne witness to the strong faith and courageous persistence of its founders, so appropriately and significantly expressed in the motto of colony and state,

"QUI TRANSTULIT SUSTINET."

[8.]

We think it clear that the company which left the Bay, Oct. 15, 1635 (*Winthrop*, i. 171), with their cattle, were Dorchester families coming to Windsor, and that the object of their setting forth so late in the year was to "make assurance doubly sure" by settling their families and stock on the disputed territory, before the Lords and Gentlemen in England had time to renew their efforts to get possession of the Great Meadow. It seems, from Saltonstall's letter (p. 45) that he and his

¹ *Winthrop's Journal*, date of April 7-17th, 1636.—*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vi. 4, series 515. *Winthrop* also (i. 161) notes the arrival of two Dutch ships bringing to Boston 27 Flanders mares, at £37 each; 63 heifers, at £12 a beast; and 88 sheep, at 50s each. This would make Windsores share £2,500 loss, equal to 130 cows and 25 horses; Dorchester cows and cattle, 450.—*Windsor Working Providence*, 42.

associates, the Patentees, still claimed that particular spot, and that, later, Gov. Winthrop, Jr., was authorized, "if they have built any houses thereon," to make good their "reasonable" expenses on the same. Probably, the latest advices which the Patentees had received from Windsor did not include information as to this October movement of the Dorchester people to occupy the houses which were being erected in September and October. Again, if the Dorchester people had originally planned to winter their stock in Connecticut, would they not have made provision for it in the hay-making season? Or, would they have put off sending provision for their families so late as to risk the disaster that finally befell them, of having the river close before it could reach them?

There has been, very naturally, some rivalry between the natives of "the Three Towns," in these later days, as to the question of *priority of settlement*. Andrews, in his *River Towns of Connecticut, a Study of Wethersfield, Hartford, and Windsor* (p. 17), puts it thus: "From the point of habitation by *white* men, Hartford was first occupied by the Dutch; from the view of occupation by *Englishmen*, Windsor can claim to be the earliest settled [by the Plymouth Company]; but from the point of view of settlement by Massachusetts Bay people, by *agriculturists and permanent colonists*, Wethersfield has undoubted right to title." This is very well for a Wethersfield man—very fairly stated indeed; but when he bases his argument (1) on a microscopically close comparison of certain dates to prove that Mr. Oldham, *probably*, in Sept., 1634, led his party of eight men to Wethersfield, where they barely lived (according to tradition) through the succeeding hard winter; (2) on the interlineation in the old Court Record, giving to Wethersfield the honor of being the oldest town (see p. 31, note 2), a decision which can only be construed as a persistent ignoring by the then Colonial Court of any Plymouth claims as opposed to those of Massachusetts; and (3) the Mix Mss. 1636-1737,¹ we are led to inquire whether, *if* the tradition (Trumbull, i. 49) that, "a small number of *men*," in hastily erected log-huts, "made a shift to winter in Wethersfield, 1634-5," could be verified, it would be fair to call them *settlers*, and not accord the same status to those men at Windsor, who were well-housed and able to defend themselves against armed foes in 1633? If he considers the Plymouth Company's party as merely traders, we have already shown reason why they also should be considered as "agriculturists and permanent colonists."²

But is there not really a higher standard of "settlement" to be considered in all this discussion, *viz.*, the *family*, without which all this rushing to and fro upon the earth would be of little account?

¹ For Windsor's claim on this point, see Mr. J. H. Hayden's article in *Hartford Courant* Sept. 26, 1883.

² *Trumbull's Hist. Conn.*, i. 49, note.

³ See *ante*, p. 39.

Among these of the 1635 emigration, who remained here through the winter, subsisting on scanty fare, we may presume there were *families* from Dorchester ("men, women, and little children"). The Patentees, or Stiles party, had, when they sailed from London, three women and two children (Stiles); and, though their vessel remained ten days in Boston, there is no reason to doubt that both women and children came on to Windsor with the vessel, arriving here July, 1635. And, although the family tradition (mentioned on page 44) gives to the women of the Stiles party the honor of being the first English women on Connecticut soil, is there positive evidence that there were no women or families in the Plymouth Trading House? Jonathan Brewster had a wife and children in New England at this date, and it is possible that they were with him at Matianuck, where he resided probably from the first, 1633 — certainly 1634 and 1635.

In this connection then, will it be considered impertinent if we inquire, whether there is sufficient evidence to show that there were any families of "men, women, and little children," (or any wives without children,) *in either Hartford or Wethersfield before 1636?*¹

The settlement at Windsor by the Dorchester party being now an accomplished fact, we hear but little more of the claims of the aristocratic Connecticut Patentees. Gov. Winthrop, it is true, at Saltonstall's request, came up to Windsor from Saybrook in the spring of 1636, to endeavor to effect some arrangement with the Dorchester people, and reported thereupon to Lords and Gentlemen in England.² Both

¹ "A *True Description of New England and the Severall Townes therein, together with the Present Government thereof*," somewhat recently discovered by Mr. Henry T. Waters, in the British Museum, among the Egerton MSS. (No. 2695 ff. 397-411, and published in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, 2d Series*, i. 1884-5, also, *N. Eng. Hist. Gen. Register*, 1885, p. 33), throws considerable light upon this matter. This MS., written in 1660, by Samuel Maverick (son of Rev. John Maverick, the original senior pastor of the Dorchester (Mass.) church, which removed to Windsor with Mr. Warkum), who was at one time a Royal Commissioner, contains an account of all the towns east of the Hudson River, and presents a picture of what may be called the "prehistoric state" of New England at that time. In this description we find:

"WINDSOR. From Hartford to Windsor, 9 miles, this was *the first Towne on this River*, settled first by people issuing from Dorchester in the Massachusetts Bay about the year 1626."

This proves that, in the knowledge and estimation of those then living, after a lapse of *only twenty-four years* from the settlements upon the Connecticut River (and while, certainly, many of the first settlers were still living), Windsor was *the oldest* of the three river towns.

² *Winthrop's Life and Letters*, 156. "Letter to his son, the Governor, upon the mouth of the Connecticut, 10th of 4th mo. [July] 1636. I received a very loving letter from Lord S——, wherein he expresseth a great deal of satisfaction in your proceedings, but saith withal that those up the river [the Dorchester party] have carved largely for themselves, which he thinks they will after repent when they see what helps they have deprived themselves of" [*i. e.*, the defense of the mouth of the river and the patronage of the Lords and Gentlemen.]

he and Sir Henry Vane had already negotiated, fruitlessly, as the sequel proved, with the Dorchester party at Boston.¹ But political events at home were beginning to forecast new troubles, and conspired to lessen the probabilities of any adjustment of these colonial embarrassments.

From Macaulay's *Essay on John Hampden*² we learn that the struggle between the prominent Puritans of England and the Government was very bitter at this time. John Hampden, one of the original Patentees of Connecticut in 1631, had (in 1636) been detained before the courts in his resistance to the payment of "ship-money," (a tax never before levied on the interior counties) and had become so obnoxious to the government, that, in 1637, "his person was scarcely safe," and he proposed to escape by sailing for Connecticut. Macaulay gives no authorities in support of this statement, and whether Hampden and Cromwell at one time actually took ship for America is, to-day, a matter of doubt. From this time on, however, Puritanism was gaining in political influence, and on the eve of gaining the ascendancy in Parliament, and securing an abatement of grievances under which it suffered. Probably the hope of relief at home at an early day contributed to moderate the zeal of such Lords and Gentlemen as had contemplated emigrating from the turmoil of England to the Valley of the Connecticut. Possibly, as Macaulay says, the English authorities did prevent them. Lord Saye, Mr. William Woodcocke, and Sir Richard Saltonstall had already sent over funds, in the expedition of 1635, for investment; and the subsequent prosecution of their claims through the Colonial Courts,³ throws some additional light upon the situation of affairs at Windsor in the summer of 1635, and later.

The Patentees maintained their fort and settlement at the mouth of the river (Saybrook) until 1644, when they sold out to the up-river

¹ See p. 46.

² "Hampden determined to leave England. Beyond the Atlantic Ocean a few of the persecuted Puritans had formed in the wilderness of Connecticut a settlement, which has since become a prosperous commonwealth, and which, in spite of the lapse of time and of the change of government, still retains something of the character given to it by its first founders. Lord Saye and Lord Brooke were the original projectors of the scheme of emigration. Hampden had been nearly consulted respecting it. He was now, it appears, desirous to withdraw himself beyond the reach of oppressors, who, as he probably suspected, and as we know, were bent on punishing his manful resistance to their tyranny. He was accompanied by his kinsman, Oliver Cromwell. . . . The cousins took their passage in a vessel which lay in the Thames, and which was bound for America. They were actually on shipboard, when an Order of Council appeared, by which the ship was prohibited from sailing. Seven other ships filled with emigrants were stopped at the same time."—*Macaulay's Essays*, i. 704-5.

³ The "accounting" of Barnabas Davis (*Lot of Lord's Notes, Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc.*, vii. 365) the affidavits of Stiles and Hayden (*Col. Rec.*, xv.). See also the *East Windsor* portion of this work; and items in *Col. Rec.*, i. 33-62, etc.

towns, in consideration of certain tolls on furs, grain, etc., "that shall pass out of at the river's mouth," also a tax of twelve pence per annum for ten years on certain live-stock, "within any of the towns or farms upon the river."

From Barnabas Davis' "Accounting" with the heirs of William Woodcocke in England, we learn that Mr. Francis Stiles, who had charge of the party sent by the Lords and Gentlemen to Windsor, after having builded himself "a sufficient house at Connecticut,"¹ returned to England (probably in the winter of 1636-7); and as he had neither built the house nor enclosed the 400 acres of land which he had engaged to do for Mr. Woodcocke, he sold to Mr. Woodcocke the house he had builded for himself, and promised "that the towne would accommodate Mr. Woodcocke with 400 acres thereunto." Stiles returned from England (probably in spring of 1637) and Davis followed him to look after Woodcocke's interests, and, while here, the Pequot War broke out (May, 1637), and Davis was impressed as a soldier (probably the "Sergeant Davis" referred to in Capt. Mason's account of the Pequot fight). Davis seems to have had the assistance of Rev. Messrs. Hooker of Hartford, Warham of Windsor, and others, in "treating the cause [with Stiles], and they determined that Stiles had dealt ill with Mr. Woodcocke *in not procuring 400 acres of land to be laid out to the said house,* and in putting it as he undertook." Again, Davis went back to England to report to my Lord Say and Mr. Woodcocke, the latter of whom died soon after, and his brother John, having charge of the estate, sent Davis over the third time, June, 1639. In the September following, Mr. Edward Hopkins of Hartford, attorney for Woodcocke, sues Stiles in the sum of £300 for breach of contract and gets a verdict for £300 "for not taking up 400 acres of ground according to bargain that Mr. Stiles should take the house [which he sold Woodcocke while in England] back again, and repay back the £230 and £70 for arrearages." Davis says the £300 "lies in the hands of Mr. Hopkins in Connecticut." Then, 1641, Mr. Saltenstall brings an action against "Edward Hopkins as an assignee to Woodcocke" for £200,² and hath an attachment granted against Mr. Hopkins.³ Whether this suit grew out of their mutual relations with Stiles, or some other unrecorded transaction in Connecticut is uncertain. What pecuniary interest Lord Say had in this business which brought Davis over is unknown, but both times when the latter returned to England to report, he goes by the advice of Rev. Mr.

¹ It is pretty certain that Stiles had the 400 acres ready for Woodcocke in 1637, but it was located "over the Great River," considerable distance away from "the said house," and this "breach of contract" was what led the court to find a verdict in favor of Woodcocke.

² *Conn. Col. Rec.*, i. 66.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 67.

Hooker and takes letters from him both to Lord Saye and Mr. Woodcocke, and apparently about the same business.

Sir Richard Saltonstall, Knight, who, as we learn from his letter (p. 45), bore a large part of the expense of that first expedition (1635) "came to New England with Gov. Winthrop, in 1630, and returned the next year." Possibly, indeed, he came to Connecticut, for he seems to have given Stiles very definite instructions where to "prepare a house against my coming, and enclose grounds for my cattle, . . . between the Plymouth Town and the falls." Sir Richard afterwards sent his sons, Richard and Robert, constituting the latter his attorney to manage his business in New England. Richard died in Massachusetts, having a family from whom descended Gordon Saltonstall (great-grandson of Sir Richard), who was Governor of Connecticut (1707-1724) and who inherited Saltonstall Park, a tract of 2,000 acres of land at Warehouse Point, of which matter further mention is made in the chapter on East Windsor.

APPENDIX.

The Massachusetts men have, of late, been sharply criticised for declining to enter into partnership with those of Plymouth in beginning a settlement on the Connecticut in 1636, and then, themselves, two years later, settling "the three towns," to the serious detriment of Plymouth. But there was an important element in the controversy which is generally overlooked. Both parties were Puritans; but those of Plymouth were believed by the authorities in England to be tainted with "Brownism"—a taint which the Massachusetts men were anxious to escape. The "Brownists," so called by their opponents, were a set which had been speedily obnoxious to the Crown, and for half a century the authorities had pursued them with greater vigor than they had any other class of Puritans. One "Brownist" were so named from one Robert Browne, who was for a time pastor of a church of English Puritans who fled to Zealand to escape persecution.¹ In 1571 Browne, then about twenty-one years of age, became domestic chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk, and as taking opportunity of that place to disseminate doctrines which, as they were distasteful to the authorities, were deemed seditious as well. He was cited to appear before an ecclesiastical commission, but the Duke (who was a relation) took his part, pleading that the position was a privileged one.² About ten years later (1580 or 1581) we find Browne at Norwich. And there, by his prompting, and under his guidance, was formed the first church in modern days, of which I have no knowledge, which was intellectually, and as one might say, philosophically, Congregational in its platform and processes, he becoming its pastor.³ In April, 1581, we find the Bishop of Norfolk sending the Lord Treasurer Burleigh articles of complaint "against one Robert Browne and his personal answers thereto," alleging that "the said party had been lately apprehended on complaint of many godly preachers for delivering unto the people corrupt and contentious doctrine." It was further declared,

¹ H. S. Sheldon.

² *Dexter's Congregationalist*, 72.

³ *Ibid.*, 65, 66.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 70.

that "his arrogant spirit of reproof was something to be marvelled at; the man being also to be feared, lest if he were at liberty he should seduce the vulgar sort of people, who greatly depended on him, assembling themselves together to the number of one hundred at a time in private houses and conventicles to hear him, not without danger of evil intent." Through the intervention of the Lord Treasurer he was again released, but a few months later the Bishop once more addressed the Lord Treasurer "in regard to the troublesome young man," declaring that he had lately been preaching "strange and dangerous doctrine in his diocese in a disorderly manner, had greatly troubled the whole country, and brought many to great disobedience of all law and magistrates." He thought all others could have been managed if Browne had not come back "contrary to his expectation and greatly prejudicial these their good proceedings, and having private meetings in such close and secret manner that he knew not possibly how to suppress the same."¹

Burleigh's interposition availed to get his irrepressible relative first into, then out of, the hands of the Bishop of Canterbury, and this general experience with that of others of the company (Browne's Church) brought them all, at last, to "the full persuasion that the Lord did call them out of England" and apparently, in the autumn of 1681, the little church and its pastor emigrated in a body to Middlebury, in Zealand, where they received permission from the magistrates to abide in freedom of faith and worship."²

But Browne still continued to trouble the English government after reaching Zealand. He wrote several treatises, which he sent in sheets into England, on the corruptions of the church, and wherein he also insisted on the present accepted doctrine of the relations of the Magistrature to the Church. He says, the magistrates "have no ecclesiastical authority at all, but only as any other Christian."³ . . . The Queen issued a special proclamation against the circulation of these treatises in her realm. "The Queen's most excellent Majesty, being given to understand that there are sent from parties beyond the seas sundry seditious, schismatical and erroneous printed Bookes and libelles tending to the depriving of the Ecclesiastical government established within the Realme, set forth by Robert Browne and Richard Harrison [an associate] fled out of the Realme as seditious persons fearing due punishment for their seditious offences, and remaining presently in Zealand," . . . ordering "all persons who should have any of the same bookes to deliver them up to the Ordinary, to the intent that they should be burned," and forbidding any one to "be so hardy as to put in print, or writing, sell set forth, receive, give out any more of the same, or such like seditious bookes or libelles." The result was that "two men were hanged for dispensing, and another nearly hanged for binding the same."⁴

Within two years the little church at Middlebury fell into a divided state, and Browne with a few tadhies, removed to Scotland, where he soon quarreled with Presbyterianism; went back to England, and, in 1591, was instituted rector of the little parish of Cum Thorpe. Here he abode and wrought more than forty years, until between June, 1631, and November, 1633, he died, 80 years old or more, in Northampton jail.⁵ His course had alienated, by turns, all his friends, and evil reports were raised against him personally, and woe betide the Puritan suspected of Brownism.

Nearly forty years after we find the Pilgrims at Leyden, considering the question of removal to one of the provinces of their native land. In 1617, Carver and Cushman were sent to England to ask from the King freedom of worship for their colony in the new world. *Broxford* says: "Thus far they prevailed in sounding His Majestie's mind, that he would connive at them and not molest them, provided they carried themselves

¹ *Dexter's Congregationalist*, 70.

² *Ibid.*, 71.

³ *Ibid.*, 72.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 101.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 74, 75.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 83.

peaceably. But, to allow or tolerate them by public authority under his seal, they found it would not be granted."¹

When, three years after, pastor Robinson gave his parting address to the Pilgrim Fathers on their setting forth from Holland to New England, he charged them to shake off the name of Brownists, which he termed a "mere nick-name and brand to make religion odious and the professors of it [follo]ws] to the Christian world."

Enough has been narrated to show why "Brownism" became specially obnoxious to the authorities in England, and why it behooved all parties to follow Robinson's advice and shake off the name, and the taint pertaining to it. Yet the fact remains that the Plymouth Church, organized on the pattern of Browne's at Middlebury, was not quite able to shake it off. The adventurers, who remained in England and aided the colonists in establishing New England, would not hazard their own pecuniary interests (which depended on the colonists' success) by any act of their own, or of their coonists, which would bring upon them the stigma of being esteemed "Brownists," and thus placing themselves under the ban of the Home Government. And when the Salem people came to New England in 1629, and the Governor and Council of the Company under whose auspices it came learned that Ralph Smith, who had engaged passage with them, was inclined to Separatism (then esteemed another name for Brownism) they at first thought to forbid his coming, but afterwards consented, with an order to the colonists that "unless here will be conformable to our govern^{ment} you suffer him not to remain within the limits of our grant."²

When Winthrop's company (the future settlers of Connecticut among them) were leaving England in the spring of 1630, they took the pains to publish in London, "The humble request of his Majesty's loyal subjects the Governour and the Company lately gone for New England, to the rest of their Brethren in, and of the Church, of England; for the obtaining of their Prayers, and the removal of suspicions and misconstructions of their intentions. . . . We esteem it our honour to call the Church of England from whence we rise, our dear mother. . . . We leave it not therefore as boating the milk where with we were nourished there." They ask her prayers "for a church springing out of your own bowels," reciprocally promising theirs "for the church at home, when they shall be in their 'poor cottages in the wilderness.'"³

The Salem people, whose company in England had been so careful to shield them from the charge of Brownism, had been preceded by an advance guard of settlers, under Gov. Endicott, who having suffered severely from illness, sent for Dr. Fuller of Plymouth, who went to his relief, and was of great service to the Governor and colony. He was one of the two Leyden deacons of the Plymouth Church, and improved his opportunities to satisfy Endicott in regard to whatever was distinctive in the Plymouth views, and led him to acknowledge their general principles as a church, as "far from y^e common reports that hath been spread of you, touching that particular;" and, when the Salem Church was organized, the Plymouth Church gave the right hand of fellowship.

It is known that the Dorchester Church was organized in England on the eve of their departure from Plymouth to New England, and it is almost certain that the organization took place at the instigation of friends there, lest they should fall under the influence of the Plymouth Church, as the Salem people had. They would not have been permitted to organize as an independent Congregational Church, and remain in England. (The Southwark (Cong.) Church in London, which had met with closed doors, was discovered by the authorities in 1632, and Mr. Lathrop, its pastor, and his congregation imprisoned.) The Rev. Mr. White of Dorchester, England, rector of a church there, assisted at this organization; after which the church chose Messrs. Warham and Mavrick for their pastor and teacher⁴ (both of whom had been ordained by a Bishop of the

¹ *Ibid.*, *Landmarks of Plymouth*, 5, 6.

² *Ibid.*, 414.

³ *Ibid.*, 416.

⁴ Roger Clapp.

Church of England, and had continued to officiate therein, after which Mr. White returned to his home, and continued his ministrations as before. In recognition of his sympathy and helpfulness, the colony gave to their new settlement beyond the seas the name of his residence, Dorchester. There was the first ship of Gov. Winthrop's fleet, which brought over nearly 2,000 emigrants in 1630. Other parties of Winthrop's company settled at Boston, Charlestown, Newtown, etc., and soon after organized Congregational churches. When the report of what they had done reached England, their friends there were much abridged at "some innovations attempted by you," with the intimation that they "utterly disallow any such passages," and entreat them to "look back upon their miscarriage with repentance"; while they add that they take "leave to think that it is possible some undigested counsels have too suddenly bin put in execution w^{ch} may be of ill construction wth the State here, and make us obnoxious to any adversary." The plain English, of all which was, that the Patentees in England were surprised and offended that the colonists should so suddenly and so widely have separated from the Church as by law established, and were apprehensive of the royal displeasure, and of consequent harm to the secular interests which they were seeking to promote.¹ This solicitude on the part of the adventurers and friends in England, lest their "adversaries" should take advantage of their church relations to represent them as Brownists, with all the disloyalty to the authorities in England which had been associated with that name, soon proved to be well founded, for, we learn from *Winthrop's Journal* (i, 102, 104), that "two years after, in 1632, "Certain parties who had been punished here for misdemeanors, had petitioned the King and Council . . . accusing us to intend rebellion, to have cast off our allegiance, and to be wholly separate from the church and laws of England; that our ministers and people did continually rail against the State, Church and Bishops, . . . such of our company as were there in England, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Humphrey, and Mr. Craddock were called before the committee of the Council, to whom they delivered an answer in writing, upon reading whereof it pleased the Lord so to work with the Lords, and after with the King's majesty, when the whole matter was reported to him . . . that the defendants were dismissed with a favorable order for their encouragement, being assured from some of the Council, that his Majesty did not intend to impose the ceremonies of the Church of England upon us." *Pilgrims' Chronicle* (436), gives us this passage, from a letter sent by Winthrop to Gov. Bradford: "The conclusion was against man's expectation, an order for an encouragement, and much blame and disgrace upon the adversaries, which calls for much thankfulness from us all, which we propose the Lord willing, to express in a day of thanksgiving to our merciful God. I doubt not but you will consider it to be not fit for you to join in it." *Winthrop's* in his *Journal* (i, 103, 104), under date of 26 March, 1633, an extract from a letter from a friend in England, written at this time to the younger Winthrop: "Your friends here [Saltonstall and others] who are members of your plantation have had much to do to disprove the unjust complaints made to the King and Council, of your government there. I understand that you are an Assistant, and so have a voice in the weighty affairs of that commonwealth. I know I shall not need to advise you that the prayers for the King be not neglected in any of your public meetings, and I advise that you differ no more from us in church government, than you shall find that we differ from the prescript rule of God's Word, and farther I meddle not."

It will be remembered, that it was immediately after this that Plymouth proposed to Massachusetts to join them in accepting the invitation of the Indians to settle on the Connecticut River. *Bradford* says (311), that the Plymouth people had already been there "divers times, not without profit." "Those Indians seeing them [us] not very forward to build there, solicited those of Massachusetts in like sort." This was April 4, 1631, and "they of the Bay, but lately come, were not fit [not ready] for the same; but

¹ *Deeter*, 418, 419.

some of their chief men made a motion to join with the partners here to trade jointly [i. e., "put up equal stock together"] with them in that river, which they were willing to embrace. But when Winslow and Bradford went up to the Bay to confer about the matter, July, 1663, the Massachusetts men had barely escaped the pains and penalties usually meted out to "Brownists" and were very careful to avoid everything which the English government could construe into an offense against "the powers that be." It is pretty evident, if it is this, that this was the principal reason why they declined the liberal offer of the Plymouth men. *W. Rep.* says they "they cast many fears of danger and loss, they had no suitable goods for trade, but those here offered to put in sufficient for both provided they would be engaged for the half, and prepare for them in next year. They considered none could not be offered, but thanked them and told them they had no mind to it."

There follows an important admission on the part of Plymouth, showing that she claimed no prescriptive title on the Connecticut, superior to that of Massachusetts. "They [Plymouth] then answered: *they hoped it would be no offense unto them [of Mass.] if themselves went on without them [of Mass.] if they were met.*" They [of Mass.] said there was no reason why they should take offense, and thus the treaty broke off."

Two years later, when the Massachusetts men went up to Connecticut to settle, the same barrier stood in the way of their fraternizing, which had prevented the proposed partnership of 1663. Pending the negotiations which followed, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vi, 162) appears a letter from Gov. Winslow of Plymouth to Gov. Winthrop, Jr., of Connecticut in which, referring to the controversy, he says, "But were it not for Christ's cause in that our profession may come to suffer by it, we would not be satisfied with a tenth of our demand. . . . 'Tis pity religion should be made a cloak for such spirits." From *Bradford* 341) we learn that the Dorchester people brought counter charge that they of Plymouth have more sympathy with the Lord and Gentlemen, whose pioneers the Dorchester men had displaced, *than with "the Dorchester Church."*

CHAPTER II.

1636-1650.

THE town records of Windsor, or Dorchester, as it was first called, prior to 1650, not being in existence, we have undoubtedly lost much which it would be both pleasant and profitable to know. Yet from the Colonial Documents, and such fragmentary manuscripts as have escaped the ravages of time and neglect, we are enabled to trace, in outline at least, the growth and development of the infant town during the first fifteen eventful years of its existence.

The first item we have is from a record of the first court held at Newtown (Hartford), April 26, 1636, by the commissioners appointed by Massachusetts for the colonies on the Connecticut. At this court complaint was made "that Henry Stiles [of Dorchester], or some of the se[rvants] had traded a piece with the Indians for corn." Situated as they were in a new country, and surrounded by Indians, with whom their intercourse was necessarily guarded, this act was justly deemed a grave offense, and one that imperiled the general safety. It was therefore "ordered that [the] said Henry Stiles shall, between and the next court, regain [the] said piece from the said Indians in a fair and legal way, or else this court will take it into further consideration." An order was also promulgated "that from henceforth none that are within the jurisdiction of this court shall trade with the natives or Indians any piece, or pistol, or gun, or powder, or shot." At the next court, held at Dorchester (Windsor), Henry Stiles, not having complied with the order of the previous court, was ordered to do so by the next one, and to appear personally and answer his neglect. It was also "ordered, that there shall be a sufficient watch maintained in every town," under the direction of the constable; and that "every soldier in each plantation" should have on hand, before the end of August following, 2 lbs. of powder and 20 bullets of lead, ready to show it to the constable upon demand. Non-compliance was to be met with a fine of 10 shillings for each failure, "which is presently to be levied by the said constable without resistance." It was further ordered at the next court, held at Watertown (Wethersfield), that "every plantation shall train once a month;" and if there

were any "very unskillful" in such exercises, "the plantation may appoint the officer to train oftener the said unskillful." Every absence from training, without lawful excuse tendered within two days, was to be punished by a fine of two shillings. Any neglect to mend or keep their weapons in repair was fined in the same amount, and if arms were "wholly wanting," the delinquent was to be bound over to answer for it at the next court.

In these regulations we find evidence of the prudence and constant watchfulness necessarily imposed upon settlers in a new country. They built their humble cabins amid the wilds of Matianuck, as the prophet Jeremiah and his friends rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem, with their arms in their hands. "In no part of New England were the Indians so numerous, in proportion to the territory, as in this valley, and traditions of the horrors of the Indian wars are linked with almost every village throughout its whole extent. For ninety years after the first settlement there was scarcely an hour in which the inhabitants, especially of the frontier towns, could travel in the forests, work in the fields, worship God in their churches, or lie down in their beds at night, without apprehension of attack from their stealthy and remorseless foe. The fact that the attacks of the Indians were preceded by no note of preparation gave a sense of insecurity to the members of the family at home, or the heads of the family abroad, which made the real danger, great as it was, seem more formidable. The blow fell where and when it was least expected. When the Indian seemed most intent on his avocation of hunting and fishing, or in planning some distant expedition--then the farmer in the field would be surprised by an ambuscade, or on his return home find his house in ashes, his wife and children butchered or hurried away into captivity; or the quiet of his slumbers would be broken by the war-whoop, and the darkness of midnight illumined by the glare of the village on fire. These were trials of which the present generation can know nothing."¹

They were trials, however, to which the settlers of Windsor were fully exposed, and from which a merciful Providence, in a remarkable degree, preserved them. The Indians who resided in their neighborhood always exhibited a friendly feeling, and seem to have regarded the presence of the whites as a protection against the exactions and attacks of the Pequots and Mohawks, both of which tribes assumed the rights of conquest over these Valley Indians! Yet the character of the Indian was always uncertain, and experience dictated the necessity of constant care and jealous watchfulness in all their dealings with them.

Added to the constant dread of Indian treachery was no small

¹ Introduction to the *Fine's Genealogy*, by Nathaniel Goodwin.

amount of loss and trouble among their cattle, who had suffered so much from exposure during the previous winter.

Winthrop, under date of "9 [Decem]ber, 1634," says, "Things went not well at Connecticut. Their cattle did many of them cast their young, as they had done the year before."

At the court of February 21, 1636-7, "It is ordered y^t the plantacon called Dorchester shall bee called WINDSOR" (undoubtedly, although we know not with what particular reasons in honor of Windsor, the royal abode of England's sovereigns), and a committee appointed for the purpose by a previous court brought in a report that the bounds thereof should "extend towards the Falls, on the same side the plantation stands,¹ to a brooke called Kittle Brooke and soe over the Greate River,² upon the same line that New Towne and Dorchester doth between them. And so it is ordered by the court." Also, "the boundes between Hartford & Windsor is agreed to be att the vpper end of the greate meadowe of the saide Hartford toward Windsor att the Pale [fence] that is nowe there sett up by the saide Hartford, w^{ch} is abuttinge vpon the Great River, vpon a due east line, & into the Countrey from the saide Pale vpon a due west line, as paralll to the saide east line as farr as they have now paled, & afterward the boundes to goe into the Countrey vpon the same west line. But it is to be soe much shorter towards Windsor as the place where the Grite that comes along att th^e end of the saide meadowe, & falls into the saide greate River is shorter then their Pale; & over the saide greate River the saide plantacon of Windsor is to come to the Riverrets' mouth, that falls into the saide greate River of Conectecott, and there the said Hartford is to runn due east into the Countrey, which is ordered accordingly."

This spring the contentions and negotiations between the Plymouth Company and the Dorchester People concerning the land at Mattamuck, upon the which latter had so unceremoniously *squatted* at their first coming, were brought to a close. (See *ante*, Chapter I, where, for the purpose of making a continuous narrative, we have placed the details outside of the usual chronological order of our narrative.)

These negotiations with the Plymouth people, however, were not the weightiest or most important matters which occupied the attention of the Windsor people. They, together with their neighbors of Hartford and Wethersfield, were now involved in a contest, upon the event of which their lives and welfare and all that is most dear to the human heart were staked. We refer to the breaking out of the Pequot War. Since the first approach of the white man to the valley of the Connecti-

¹The west side of the river.

²Connecticut River.

³Podunk River.

cut that tribe, whose seat was on the Mystic River, seemed to have nobbled a bitter hostility toward the English. As early as 1634 they began the work of murder and pillage, and in 1637 they conceived a design of extirpating and driving the whites from New England. The murders of Stone, Norton, and Oldham, and the garrison at Saybrook Fort, the horrible cruelties inflicted on Butterfield, Tilley, and others, greatly alarmed and exasperated the Colonists.

Wether's Journal (Vol. I, p. 200, edition 1825; p. 238, ed. 1853) preserves this account of the cruel fate of Tilley, who was a Windsor man:

"About the middle of this month [October, 1636] John Tilley, master of a bark, coming down Connecticut River, went on shore in a canoe, three miles above the fort [Saybrook], to kill fowl, and having shot off his piece, many Indians arose out of the covert and took him, and killed another who was in the canoe. This Tilley was a very stout man, and of great understanding. They cut off his hands, and sent them before, and after cut off his feet. He lived three days after his hands were cut off; and themselves confessed that he was a stout man, because he cried not in his torture."

The murderous attack on Wethersfield, on the 23d of April, 1637, finally aroused the English to strike a blow, as sudden as it was successful and decisive. At the court, convened on the first of May following, the deliberations were doubtless weighty and important. The first line of the record of this court is sententious but energetic: "It is ordered that there shall be an offensive war against the Pequots." Mark well the words, "an offensive war." No longer would they stand on the *defensive*, they had now drawn the sword, and that sword could only "be sheathed in victory or death." And then follows in the same terse and energetic language, "There shall be 90 men levied out of the three plantations, Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor, in the following proportion: Hartford, 42; Windsor, 30; Wethersfield, 18." Hartford was to furnish fourteen, and Windsor six suits of armor. Each soldier was to carry one pound of powder, four pounds of shot, twenty bullets, and a light musket "if they can." They were also directed to take a barrel of powder from the Saybrook Fort, and Capt. John Mason was entrusted with the command.

Supplies were also levied on the three towns as follows: Windsor was to furnish sixty bushels of corn, fifty pieces of pork, thirty pounds of rice, and four cheeses. Hartford was to furnish eighty-four bushels of corn, three firkins of suet, two firkins of butter, four bushels of oatmeal, two bushels of peas, five hundred pounds of fish, two bushels of salt. Wethersfield, one bushel of Indian beans, and thirty-six bushels of corn. Each plantation was to have its corn ground, and one-half baked in biscuit. It was furthermore ordered that there should be furnished "one good hogshead of beer, for the captain, minister, and sick

ment;" and "if there be only three or four gallons of strong water, two gallons of sack." Mr. Pyncheon's shallop was employed for the occasion. Thus equipped, the troops of the several towns rendezvoused at Hartford May the 19th, where they found a "pink, a pinnace, and a shallop" awaiting them. Here, also, they were joined by seventy Mohican and River Indians, under Uncas. The staff of command was duly delivered to Captain Mason by the venerable and reverend Dr. Hooker, of Hartford, whose colleague, the Rev. Mr. Stone, accompanied the expedition as chaplain. Dr. Thomas Pell of the Spy-brook Fort was the surgeon. The soldiers were "encouraged by the Rev'd ministers;" a night was spent in earnest prayer, and the next morning, followed by the tears and lingering gaze of the relatives and friends whom they left behind, that little fleet of "pink, pinnace, and shallop," with "many Indian canoes," dropped down the stream. Never before nor since did the placid bosom of the Connecticut bear a more precious freight.

It is not our purpose to accompany them during this short but decisive campaign, the details of which are to be found in every history of New England.

Let us, however, return to those who were left at home within the Palizadoe of Windsor. What their feelings and forebodings were in the absence of their friends we can learn from the following letter, written May 17th, two weeks after the departure of the expedition. It is addressed by Mr. Ludlow to Mr. Pyncheon, who, with a few others, had commenced a settlement at Agawam, now Springfield, Mass.* He says: "I have received your letter, wherein you express that you are well fortified, but few hands. I would desire you to be careful and watchful that you be not betrayed by friendships. For my part, my spirit is ready to sink within me, when, upon alarms, which are daily, I think of your condition, that if the case be never so dangerous, we can neither help you, nor you us. But I must confess both you and ourselves do stand merely on the power of our God; therefore he must and ought to have all the praise of it." Further on, in reply to Mr. Pyncheon's urgent request to have some assistance sent to him at Agawam, he says: "I can assure you it is our great grief we can not, for our plantations are so gleaned by that small fleet we sent out that those that remain are not able to supply our watches, which are day and night, that our people are scarce able to stand upon their legs: and for planting, we are in a like condition with you: what we plant is before our doors—little anywhere else. Our fleet went away tomorrow will be seven-night."

But the decisive battle of May 26th had been fought—the Pequod power was broken, the victorious little army was on its homeward march.

* See *Coll. Mass. Hist. Society*.

full of joy and gratitude for success such as they had hardly dared to hope. Mason was "nobly entertained with many great guns" by Capt. Gardiner at the Saybrook Fort, and the welcome which awaited his gallant troops on their arrival home was indescribably warm and enthusiastic. A day of special thanksgiving was proclaimed throughout the colonies, and everywhere the song of exultant victory was blended with prayer and praise to Him who ruleth on high. In all these rejoicings, we may well believe that the good people of Windsor had their full share. Captain MASON, the "very foremost man of them all" was their townsmen. So was brave SERGEANT ALVORD. So were THOMAS BARBER and EDWARD PATTISON, whose valiant right arm caused seven Indians to "bite the dust." So were lucky THOMAS STILES and JOHN DYER, who were singularly fortunate in escaping with their lives, being each of them struck by arrows, which struck in the knots of their handkerchiefs, a twin-like coincidence, which is justly commemorated by Capt. Mason in his account of the battle, as among the "wonderful providences" of the day.¹ Nor was the valiant Captain himself without his "special providences" in that fearful fray, though, with a modesty as characteristic as his bravery, he makes no mention of it. Yet we have it upon good authority, that, in the thickest of the fight, an Indian drew "an arrow to its head" full upon the Captain, whose life was only saved by an opportune thrust of a comrade's sword, which cut the bowstring.² We may well imagine that wondering child-

¹ See *Niles's Indian Wars*; also, *A Field History of the Pequot War*. Especially of the memorable taking of the Fort at Mistick in Connecticut in 1637, written by Major John Mason, a principal actor therein, as their chief Captain and Commander of Connecticut forces," published at Boston in 1796 and republished in the collections of the Mass. Hist. Soc'y, VII, 2d series.

² Trembull says that this was Sergt. Davis, but Capt. Mason himself mentions Davis as one of the party who attacked the other entrance of the fort, and were driven back by the flames of the burning wigwams. It seems certain, from accounts of the battle, as well as from tradition, that William Hayden of Hartford was the lucky man who saved the Captain's life. At the commencement of the attack, the Captain, Lieut. Seeley, and sixteen others, effected an entrance into the fort, and in the hand to hand fight which ensued, Wm. Hayden distinguished himself by his daring and prowess. Mason, in his own narrative, while modestly omitting any reference to himself, especially mentions the gallantry of Hayden; and Wolett, in a poetical account of the battle, written in 1721, thus intimates that Hayden came to the general's assistance at a very critical juncture:

"But fate that doth the rule of action know,
Did this unequal combat disallow,
For quite too much to force one man alone,
To beat an army, take a garrison,
Sent Hayden in, who with his sun-steel'd blade
Joining the general, such a slaughter made,
That soon the Pequots ceased to oppose
The matchless force of such resistless foes."

A sword, now in possession of the Conn. Hist. Soc'y at Hartford, is said to have

hood crept closer to the knee of manhood, and that woman's fair cheek alternately paled and flushed as the marvelous deeds and hairbreadth escapes of the "Pequot fight" were rehearsed within the Palizado homes of Windsor. Nor were they without more tangible proofs. The Pequots were so thoroughly subdued, that they were hunted down like wild beasts, by small parties of those very River Indians, to whom, but a few days before, their name had been a terror; and for a long time their ghostly grinning heads were brought into Windsor and Hartford, and there exhibited as trophies.

It would be interesting to have a complete list of the thirty gallant soldiers whom Windsor contributed to the Pequot expedition. Unfortunately, however, we can only name *fourteen*, who are certainly known to have belonged to the town.¹

Capt. John Mason,	Nathan Gillet,
Sergt. Benedict Alvord,	Thomas Gridley,
Thomas Barber,	Thomas Stiles,
Thomas Buckland,	Sergt. Thomas Staires,
George Clappel,	Richard Osborn,
John Dyer,	Thomas Parsons,
James Eggleston,	William Thrall.

Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull notes "a Mr. HEDGE, who was certainly in the battle, and was probably from Windsor." Capt. Mason, in his narrative, says: "A valiant, resolute Gentleman, one Mr. Hedge, stepping towards the gate [of the fort] saying, 'If we may not enter, wherefore come we here,' and immediately endeavored to enter." From Mason's account we also infer that Sergt. NICHOLAS PALMER of Windsor was engaged in this expedition.

In Dr. Trumbull's enrollment he gives EDWARD PATTISON (who originally came to Windsor with the Stiles party in 1635, and is credited to Windsor's Pequot quota, in our first edition) to Saybrook.

Capt. Mason states that there were but 77 white men actually in the battle: of the original 90 drafted for service, several were necessarily left to guard and man the vessels, while their companions went into the fight, and "none of these should be deprived of the honors of the expedition."

They were absent three weeks and two days. Every soldier received 1s. 6d. per day (reckoning six days in the week); Sergeants, 20d. per

been the one used by Wm. Hayden in this battle. Its line of descent from him is at least unimpeachable.

¹ This list is the result of much careful research, and may be depended upon as reliable, as far as it goes. By availing ourselves of the Yankee privilege of *guessing*, we could easily fill up our list, and probably with much correctness, but we prefer to state merely what we *know*, and no more.

day; Lieutenants, 20s. per week. The Captain 40s. per week. A large grant of land was also given to each soldier, and, to this day, the memory of an ancestor in the *Pequot fight* is an honorable heirloom in every Connecticut family.

The next month thirty men were raised from the three river plantations, who, under command of Lieut. Seeley, were "to set down in the Pequot County and River, in place convenient to maintain our right, that God by conquest hath given us." To this army of occupation, Windsor furnished ten men, also twenty bushels of corn, and thirty pounds of butter. By an order of the next court, June 26th, ten soldiers were added to this company, of which five were from Windsor. The town was also obliged to furnish the following additional supplies: "1 Ramsgoat; 20lb of butter; $\frac{1}{2}$ C of cheese; 1 gallon of strong water; 3 bushels of Malt." In the fall, also, Mr. Ludlow and Mr. Haines were deputed to visit the Bay, and enter into arrangements with the authorities there, for an offensive and defensive alliance against the enemy, and for a permanent settlement in the Pequot country. But though the cloud of war had passed, still a new danger threatened the Colonies. The necessary expenses and supplies of the late expedition, although promptly and cheerfully met, had left the country impoverished and burdened with debt. Every article of clothing and food was purchased only at the dearest rates; and the army had so drained the fields of laborers that their farms had been but partially tilled, and did not yield enough to supply their wants. The court, foreseeing the great scarcity of provisions, contracted (February, 1638) with Mr. Pyncheon to furnish the Colonies with 500 bushels of Indian corn, or more if it could be procured. The inhabitants were also forbidden to bargain for it privately, and it was limited to certain prices, lest individual speculation should interfere with the public good. A vessel, belonging to Elias Parkman of Windsor, was also ordered to be sent to Narragansett to buy corn of the natives there. The winter was very severe, and Winthrop says, that "the snow lay on the ground from the 4th of November to the 23d of March. It was sometimes four and five feet deep. Once it snowed for two hours together flakes as big as English shillings." It appears from the records of the next court, that Mr. Pyncheon, being apprehensive that he should not be able to procure enough corn, Captain Mason and Mr. Ludlow were authorized to "trade to supply their own necessities and the necessities of some others that are in want." In spite of these precautions, however, corn became so scarce that it rose to the extraordinary price of 12s. per bushel. Thereupon, a committee was sent to the Indian village of Pocumtuck (since Deerfield, Mass.), where they purchased so largely that "the Indians came down to Windsor and Hartford with fifty canoes at a time full of corn."

February 9, 1638, the court levied a war tax upon the towns, of which the Windsor proportion was £158 2s., to be paid "either in money, in wampum four a penny, or in good and merchantable beaver at 9s. per pound." Shortly after (March 8) the court order "that there shall be 50 costlets (or coats of armor) provided in the plantation, viz., Hartford 21, Windsor 12, Wethersfield 10, Agawam 7, within six months." These *costlets* were made of "heavy cotton cloth, lusted with cotton-wool and made defensive against Indian arrows" — and were worn outside of their skin, or tin, coats. Also "it is ordered that Captain Mason shall be a public military officer of the plantations of Connecticut, and shall train the military men thereof in each plantation, according to the days appointed; and shall have £40 per annum to be paid out of the treasury quarterly." All persons above the age of sixteen were ordered to bear arms, except excused by the court. Commissioners and church officers, and those who had filled those offices, were exempted "from bearing arms, watchings and wardings." Magazines of powder and shot were established in every town: that of Windsor consisting of one barrel of powder and 300 weight of lead. Every plantation neglecting to provide such a magazine, within three months was fined £2 (40s.) and 10s. every month until it was provided. Every military man was required to "have continually in his house in a readiness $\frac{1}{2}$ a lb. of good powder; 2 lbs. of bullets suitable to his piece; one pound of match if his piece be a matchlock," under penalty of 5s. for every default.

The following order of the court of April 5, 1638, marks the first highway in Connecticut:

"Whereas there is a desire of our neighbors of Hartford, that there may be a public highway, for cart and horse, upon the upland between the said Hartford and Windsor, as may be convenient, it is therefore thought meet, that Henry Wolcott the younger, and Mr. Stephen Terry, and William Westwood, and Nathaniel Ward, shall consider of a fitting and convenient highway to be marked and set out, and bridges made over the swamps, and then it being confirmed by the court, the inhabitants of Hartford may with making a comely and decent stile for roote, and fence up the upper end of the meadow, this to be done by Monday sevenights, upon penalty of 10s. every default."

On May 3, 1638, Lieut. William Holmes, by authority of a power of attorney executed on the 20th of October previous by the company of New Plymouth, sold to Mr. Matthew Allyn of Hartford, all the lands, houses, "servants, goods and chattels," of the said company, in the town of Windsor. And thus was extinguished the last vestige of Plymouth right and title upon the Connecticut River. (See *ante*, p. 41.)

June 1st. "There was a great Earthquake, about 3 of the Clock in the afternoon, and about a fortnight before, there was a great thunder, and a thunder bolt at Hartford went through a house, and melted a [bar] and hailstones as big as a man's thumb." — *Shorthand MS. Journal of Henry Wolcott, Jr., of Windsor.*

January 14, 1638-9, will ever be memorable in the history of Connecticut as the date of the adoption of its first constitution. Up to this time the necessary legislation of the three colonists had been transacted by the court, which first met at Hartford in 1636, and consisted of five magistrates, two from Windsor, two from Hartford, and one from Wethersfield, holding their authority from Massachusetts. The commission had, in strictness, no force, *proprio vigore*, after the settlers left the territory of Massachusetts, but it was useful as the basis of organization until a different form of government could be established. The commissioners were not usurpers; their authority was originally valid beyond cavil; they were rulers *de facto*; their powers exercised benignly and wisely and were submitted to with cheerfulness and promptness. They met from time to time, as occasion required, until May, 1637, when committees, afterwards called deputies, were elected by each town to assist the magistrates. From these two bodies grew our Senate and House of Representatives. In 1639, however, it being admitted that the people on the Connecticut were out of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and the patentees of Connecticut having abandoned their proposed undertaking, the people of Windsor, Wethersfield, and Hartford met at the last-named place, and adopted a constitution for Connecticut—the first written constitution, defining its own powers, which the world ever saw. This document recognizing no authority save God's superior to that delegated by the people, was drawn up by a member of the Windsor Church, Mr. Roger Ludlow, assisted by the magistrates. It was modeled on the constitution of the Congregational Church, and from the date of its adoption to the present day there has been a no radical change in the forms or principles of the government of Connecticut.

The men who formed this constitution deserve to be held in ever rising remembrance. They were not ignorant, or rash, or timid men. They were Ludlow and Haynes, and Wolcott, and Hopkins, and Hooker, and others of kindred spirits, men of clear minds and good hearts—men who, in their views of civil and religious liberty, were far in advance of their age, and who, under the guidance of a kind providence, introduced a form of government which, for two centuries, has secured to the people of this state a measure of peace, of liberty, of order, and happiness not surpassed by any other people on earth. I say emphatically *pro teo posteris*. For the charter, obtained from Charles II. in 1662, did little more than assume and ratify the constitution of 1639. It left its great principles unaltered, and Connecticut was still a republic in every thing but a name.

"The constitution adopted in 1818 is altogether conformable, in its principles, to the compact entered into by our fathers; differing from it chiefly in its adaptedness to a more numerous population, and to the interests of a more widely extended and complicated state of society."—*Dr. Hovey's Centennial Address* at Hartford, 1835.

"I find in an old Book that, March 10, 1638-[9], it was reckoned from the beginning of the plantation hitherto that there has died of old and young 27, but not their names expressed; but 2 that were members [of the church] and the Captain's [Mason's] wife.

Of children 16, of servants 8, and that there had been born of children from the beginning to this time 40, but have not their names." — *Matthew Grant's Old Church Record*.

In 1638-9, the annual flood, which succeeds the breaking up of the ice on the Connecticut River, seems to have been unusually heavy. Matthew Grant's *Church Record* states that he found it in the "old book," that "the great flood began on the 5th of March [1638-9]. On the 11th of March it began to fall, but by reason of much rain on the 12th day, it rose very high. On the 14th, two youths drowned, being in a canoe on the flood, gathering up pales swimming on the flood, against Thomas Dewey's house, Matthew Ramond and Henry Lush.² On the 15th and 16th days it [the flood] had fallen near two feet, but on the 16th day was much rain and great wind out of the southeast, which made it an exceeding great storm. It indamaged houses, and break down many trees, so that by the cause of which rain, all the 17th and 18th day the water rose very high, more than had ever before been known by the Indians. It drowned many houses very deep, and indamaged many cattle over [i.e. East of] the [Great] river, for all the ground there was drowned to one little ridge, where Samuel Grant now lives.³ It carried away much timber and hay, and beat up pales out of the ground, and posts and rails, and carried them away, and whole trees and all. On the 18th day at night there was great fear of another storm of wind and rain. It began, but it pleased the Lord, it ceased quickly, and by the morning one might perceive the water was begun to fall, and so it continued; on the 22d day at night it was well fallen, and yet it was as high as the highest flood we had known before."

"August 17th, 1639. Mr. Huit and divers others come up from the Bay to Windsor to settle." — *Matthew Grant's MS. Church Record*.

He preached to the Church of Windsor on the day after his arrival, from 1 Corinthians, 12th Chapter, the last part of the 31st verse. — *Henry Weldett, Jr., MSS.*

The arrival of the Rev. Ephraim Huit was an era in the history of the town. Hitherto, the godly Mr. Warham, bereft by the death of Mr. Maverick in 1636, had been without any associate in his arduous pastoral labors, amid the harassing cares and trials of a new settlement. We can imagine, then, with what feelings of devout joy he welcomed one who was to be a teacher to his little flock, and a co-laborer in breaking "the bread of life" to them. Mr. Huit was then in the prime of life, possessing acknowledged abilities and high attainments. He had been pastor of Wroxall in Warwickshire, England, and had been prosecuted the year before for non-conformity, by the Bishop of Worcester, with the intent "either to reform or to punish him," which was probably

¹ This inestimable Windsor Record is reprinted in APPENDIX A of this volume. — *H. R. S.*

² These names are somewhat indistinct in the original manuscript.

³ This was in the present town of South Windsor, just in the rear (or west) of the Theological Institute.

the cause of his coming to America. He was accompanied by the Griswolds and several other excellent families, members of his own church; and was joined by many others in Massachusetts, while *en route* for Connecticut, so that the arrival of his party formed a very considerable accession, both in numbers and wealth, to the Windsor colony.

In fact, at this time, real estate at Windsor was enjoying what is known as, in modern parlance, "a boom." We have, besides the evidence supplied by the town land records, the testimony of the brothers Griswold (Edward and Matthew) who came over with Mr. Huit, "that about the year 1653, . . . many passengers came over, severall of which settled at Windsor, and a generall expectation there was at that time, as appeared by discourse [among themselves, on ship-board] of many more passengers to come, and some of note . . . by which means land at Windsor, near the towne and redy for improument, was at a high price. But afterward people that were expected out of England not coming in such numbers as was looked for,¹ and some returning to England, and others removing to the seaside, the lands at Windsor fell very much in price."

Mr. Whiting of Hartford, Mr. Ludlow, John Bissell, and probably also the Allens, Newberrys, Wolcotts, Phelps, of Windsor, and G. W. Haynes of Hartford, seem to have been active dealers in lands; and that prices had risen to a "fancy" limit, is pretty evident from Matthew Griswold's statement, in regard to a contemplated purchase from John Bissell, that "I being not accommodated to my mind where I then lived at Saybrook, and haueing kindred of my owne, and my wiue's at Windsor, . . . Also, I went and aduised with my father-in-law Mr. [Henry, Sen.] Wolcott, who told me I *had bid high enough*." So, accepting the advice of so sound a counsellor, Matthew remained where he was; else he had probably added to Windsor's renown, the honor of his line, which abounds in governors, judges, and "men of high degree" to an extent unparalleled by any other American family.

The 19th of December, 1653, was probably "a high day" at Windsor, for then and there Mr. Huit was solemnly ordained or "called to office," Mr. Warburton preaching on the occasion from Titus, 1st Chapter, 5-9 verses, — *Henry Wolcott, Jr., MSS.* We are not told what terms of settlement were proposed to him, but we find on record several grants of land, which show that his people were not unmindful of his material interests.²

Under the impulse of this accession to their settlement, the people of Windsor now began the erection of a meeting-house. Hitherto their time, means, and energies had been taxed to the utmost with the necessi-

¹ Among these we may note Mr. John St. Nicholas, James Marshall, and others.

² See Chapter on *Distribution and Power of Windsor*.

ties of daily life -- the subduing of forest and field, the building of houses, and defenses for themselves; and, in the doing of this, they had been obliged to face dangers and obstacles most appalling. Indian war, with its constant and depressing sense of insecurity; thin crops and scarcity of food; winter in its severest aspects, and lastly, but not least, the *Great Flood* of the previous year, sweeping away all the results of their labors "with one fell swoop." Where they had assembled for worship, during all this time, we know not, but probably, like their brethren at Hartford, they found insufficient accommodation in some rude log church, perhaps in some humble private dwelling, or, it may be, in the open air, under the wide shadows of some monarch elm.

Be that as it may, in February, 1639-40, they had evidently commenced the building of the much-needed house of worship. "Mr. Hull moved the Court in behalf of Thomas Ford of Windsor, that in regard the workmen are much taken up and employed in making a bridge and a meeting-house with them, and his work hindered of impaling in the ground which was granted him by the Court for a hog-park, that there may be granted him a year longer time for the fencing it in; which was, upon the reasons aforesaid, condescended to." -- *Col. Rec.*

This meeting-house was located within the Palisado opposite the present Pearson House. It was not finished for many years, since the town was feeble and fully occupied with the more pressing necessities of daily life, and many individuals, who contributed their proportion in the labor of their own hands, worked upon it, of course, as they could find the leisure. It will help us, also, to appreciate the great labor of building a framed meeting-house, in those early days, to remember that there was then no saw-mill in the town, and probably not in the colony (at least we find no mention of any for more than forty years later), and every plank and every board had to be sawed by hand if sawed at all; and the nails had to be made, one by one, upon a blacksmith's anvil.¹

The bridge mentioned in connection with the meeting-house must have been over the Little River, connecting the upper and lower portions of the settlement. It was undoubtedly of a frail description, and probably soon carried away by freshets, as the earliest town records (1650) make no mention of it, but frequently refer to a ferry there. Apropos of this bridge, *tradition* has preserved an anecdote of its reputed master-workman, the Rev. Ephraim Huit. While engaged in its construction, he was honored with a visit from his clerical friends, the Rev. Messrs. Stone and Hooker of Hartford. Being very much occupied with his work, he failed to pay them as much personal attention as usual. This

¹ See very interesting *restoration* of the history, architectural peculiarities, etc., of the first Windsor meeting-house, by Mr. Jubel H. Hayden in APPENDIX B.

they noticed, and after watching his labors for awhile, they turned to go, Mr. Stone pleasantly remarking to Mr. Hooker, "Ephraim is joined to [his] idols. Let him alone."

Meanwhile, symptoms of disaffection and trouble among the Indians had begun to threaten the safety of the settlements. "The manifold insolences," says the court record of August 15, 1639, "that have been offered of late by the Indians, put the Court in mind of that which hath been too long neglected, viz.: the execution of justice upon the former murderers of the English." Accordingly, a levy of 100 men was sent down to Middletown to apprehend "several guilty persons" who had been harbored by the chief Sachage. In September following, the conquered Pequots at Pawtatuck (Mystic?) who had been given to Uncas and Miantonimoh, having violated their agreement by planting corn at that place, Major Mason was dispatched thither with 40 men, to confiscate and gather in the corn thus planted. He was accompanied by Uncas, with 100 warriors and 20 canoes. On his arrival at Pawtatuck he found the Indians somewhat disposed to show fight. It however finally resulted in nothing worse than a skirmish between his allies under Uncas, and the Pequots having burned the wigwams of the latter, the English returned to their homes in safety, bringing with them their vessel and some 50 canoes full of corn and booty. Windsor furnished thirteen men, twenty guns, and two shallops to this expedition. They were absent about nine days, and received each 2s. per day.

And, in June, 1640, the court passed an order that, as the Indians had grown "bold and insolent to enter into Englishmen's houses, and unadvisedly handle swords, and pieces, and other instruments . . . to the hazard of limbs or lives of English or Indian;" therefore, "whatsoever Indians shall hereafter meddle with, or handle any Englishmen's weapon of any sort, either in their houses or in the fields," they should be fined in $\frac{1}{2}$ a fathom of wampum; and be held strictly accountable ("life for life, limb for limb, wound for wound") for any damage to life and limb, "though accidental," thereupon ensuing.

Two years later, the conduct of the Indians gave rise to serious apprehension of trouble, and about the 20th of August, 1642, Mr. Ludlow, then residing at Uncowa (Fairfield), was visited by a neighboring sachem, who disclosed to him a plot of Miantonimoh, sachem of the Narragansetts, Sachage, sachem of Mattabesick, and Sequasson of Hartford, to rise and murder the English upon the Connecticut River, and throughout New England generally. The same plot was also disclosed to Mr. Eaton at New Haven, by a friendly Indian, and the matter was promptly brought before the General Court on the 26th of the same month. They immediately adopted precautionary measures. The Massachusetts General Court was duly warned of the impending danger.

Orders were issued that the troops, ammunition, and defenses of each town should be overlooked and reported. Each town clerk was required to hand into the town deputy an exact list of all the "Train men from 16 to 60 years;" and each town was ordered to furnish, within fourteen days, two half-pikes, ten feet in length. Several pieces of ordnance, recently brought from Piscataqua, were immediately mounted on carriages. A daily guard was also kept under arms in each plantation. The Windsor guard numbered thirty. A force of forty men in each town was ordered to come "complete in their arms to the meeting every Sabbath and lecture days." No Indians were permitted to enter into the houses, although magistrates might entertain "a sachem, if he come without more than two men." The inhabitants were prohibited from purchasing venison from them, and smiths were forbidden to work, or make, or mend any weapons for them without license from the magistrates. In short, every precaution was adopted which could preclude the possibility of any sudden attack. About this time, also, we find that cannon, (called "*sakers* and *minions*") were in use in the colony, of which "*Robert Saltmistill, of Windsor* (son of Sir Richard) contracted to furnish two."

"October the 4th 1642. Its ordered there shall be 90 coats p^rvided wthin these Plant^s within ten dayes, bascd wth cotton wooll and made defensing ag^t Indians: Hartford 40, W^{indsor} 30, Wethersfield 20."

Early in the year 1640 (Feb. 8), for the sake of promoting a trade in cotton, an order had been passed by the court, that upon the return of a vessel, which had been sent for a cargo of that article (presumably to Barbadoes, where, as early as 1628, a colony had stipulated that they would pay for their lands purchased of English owners, in cotton, forty pounds a year), "the Plantations by p^rportion shall take offe the said Cotton at such valuable consideration as y^e may be afforded," etc. "The pay for said cotton wool was to be made in English corne, or pipe-staves as the country shall afford. "The p^rportion to be denied and laid upon the severall Townes according to the division of the last Country Rate." The cargo seems to have come duly to hand, as "Septem. the 8th, 1642: Its agreed that Wyndsor shall take offe the worth of 90*l* in Cotton Wood, 1*rs* Mr. Hopkins; Wethersfield, the worth of 110*l*; Hartford 200*l*; wth liberty to the Plantations to p^rportion y^e according to their former Rate, if Wyndsor and Wethersfield shall wthin on month desire y^e."

The cotton wool seems to have arrived "in the nick of time," both as regards the military necessities of the Colony, and the interests of those engaged in the speculation: and the price of cotton visibly advanced in the colonial market.

1643. This year was not characterized by any very important event.

1644 However, was subdued by the death of the Rev. Ephraim Huit. Of his life and ministry we know nothing, save that his piety, character, and talents had greatly endeared him to the church and people of Windsor. Over his grave they erected a monument bearing the following inscription, sufficiently indicative of their respect for his character and sorrow at his loss:

"Here Lyeth Ephraim Huit, sometimes Teacher to ye church of Windsor, who dyed September 4th 1644

"Who When hee Liv'd Woe drew our viall Breath

Who When hee Dy'd Our day was our death,

Who was ye Stay of State, ye Chrishes Staff,

Alas the times Forbid an EPITAPH."

The stone which bears this inscription still exists, in a good state of preservation, in the Old Burying Ground at Windsor, and is supposed to be the oldest original monument in the State, if not in the Valley of the Connecticut. It consists of a slab of red sandstone, which is now inserted in one side of a monument, the other side of which bears a corresponding slab, with an inscription to the memory of the Rev. Jonathan Marsh.

Mr. Huit's only published work is entitled, *The whole of Prophecies of the World Explained, A Real Paraphrase, Analysis and briefe Comment: Wherein the severall Visions shewed to the Prophet, are clearly Interpreted, and the application thereof vindicated against dissenting opinions.* By Ephraim Huit sometime Preacher at Roxall in Warwickshire, now Pastor to the Church at Windsor in New England. Imprimatur,—Jam: Crawford, Printed for Henry Overton, and are to be sold at his shop, entering into Popes-head Alley out of Lombard Street, MDCXLIV. |

This now very scarce work, a small quarto, 5½ inches broad by 7½ long, and containing 358 pages, was published in 1644;¹ and it is a question of some interest to bibliophiles, whether it was written by Mr. Huit while in England, or after he came to Windsor. In the latter case, it is one of the earliest of our American Commentaries.

The Dedication is as follows:

"To the

"Right Honourable

"The Ladie

"Katherine Brooke;

"Dowager to the Right Honourable Robert Lord Brook, Baron of Beauchampe court.

"Right Honourable

"The authour of this book had long since intended the Dedication thereof to your dear husband and our noble Lord, now in heaven, who, after perusall of the copy, was

¹ Title and Dedication kindly furnished from the copy in the library of Mr. Howard Edwards of Philadelphia, Pa.

self reflected with, "that if money could have procured its freedom it had not lain so long under the power of a hard master, who though he had a good round summe with it, yet hath made it serve almost a double Apprenticeship; And indeed such was the iniquity and impiety of those times, that few workes of this nature were suffered to see the light, especially if they spoke anything freely of those opinions which were so much disliked and crushed down by the Prelatical party, as this doth, concerning the glorious calling and conversion of the Jews, which was a principall objection made against it. But the Lord in mercy hath sent us a Parliament, whose first study, and care, was to relieve the oppressed, and release the imprisoned; this also hath at length obtained its Maimed son, originally by the endeavours and favour of that truly Noble and Honorable Patriotic Parliament at Manchester; and is now come abroad into the world, and as we hope will prove very acceptable. The prophetic life is in many places very abstruse, and the author in his exposition hath shew'd much industry, and solidity of judgment in searching out the meaning of the Spirit, and in elucidating such difficulties as he met with in the Text, which we hope will give good satisfaction to all that read it. Had this life been present when by the Tyranny of the Prelatical party was diverse years since driven into New England, we presume that he would have chosen none other but your Lordship, to dedicate these his labours unto, the rather considering what right that most Honourable Lord, now a Saint in Heaven, had unto them. And therefore not only in that respect, but also in regard of our Relations and engagements to your Lordship we have presumed to make you the Patronesse hereof, which if your Lordship please to accept of, we have our desires, and shall account it a favour to be esteemed.

" Madam we are
" Your Lordships humble servants,

" SIMEON ASH
" SAMUEL CLARKE.
" WILL. OVERTON"

He left a widow and four daughters, but no sons. His property was inventoried at £653 19s. 1d. (a very handsome property for that day), of which £259 1s. 1d. is the value of his "Toll" at the mill. The town records show that an annuity of £20 was paid to his widow, from the time of his decease until 1650, or thereabouts.

1648. "This year," says *Winthrop* (ii. 253), "a new way was found out to Connecticut by Nashua, which avoided much of the hilly way."

1649. This year we find the first mention of any settlement of that portion of the town known as *Pogonook*. Thomas Holcomb, John Bartlett, Edward, Francis, and George Griswold, all of Windsor, had removed thither, and were living north of the point where Stony Creek crosses the highway, their home-lots bounding west on the brook. Griswold's lot was the first, bounding south and west on the brook, 29 acres; Holcomb's lot came next, 20 acres, 20 rods, west on "the brook before his house," his south line probably being about 20 rods from the top of the hill at the highway. The court, "taking into consideration the many dangers that their families are in and exposed unto by reason of their remote living from neighbors, and nearness to the Indians, in case they should all leave their families together without any guard," freed one soldier of the forementioned families from training upon every trainings-day: "each family aforesaid to share herein according to the number of soldiers that are in them, provided that man which carries at home stands about the aforesaid houses upon his sentinel posture."

CHAPTER III.

THE CIVIL ORGANIZATION OF WINDSOR ILLUSTRATED FROM THE TOWN RECORDS.

THE first act of the settlers of Connecticut, doubtless, was to provide for themselves a civil organization. They were no mere adventurers, but men of sober thought and strong intent, and nothing more clearly exhibits their character in its best and truest light, than the system of laws and regulations which they laid as the corner stone of their social fabric, and which remains, after the lapse of two centuries, as substantial and clearly defined as when first created. Their civil organization was purely democratic as regards those who, in the capacity of inhabitants, framed it. Inhabitants, in those days, were such, and only such, as by virtue of a good character, blameless life, and "honest conversation," and a vote of the town taken in public meeting, had been admitted to the privilege of residence and participation in town affairs.

Vicious and abandoned persons, idlers, vagabonds, and paupers were excluded from such privileges, and not even permitted to tarry in the town. So carefully did our forefathers guard themselves against the influx of bad members of society, that the General Court, in 1637, enacted that

"No young man that is not married, nor hath any servant, and be no public officer, shall keep house by himself without consent of the town where he lives, first had, under pain of 20 shillings per week."¹

"No master of a family shall give habitation or entertainment to any young man to sojourn in his family but by the allowance of the inhabitants of the said town where he dwells, under the like penalty of 20 shillings per week."²

We accordingly find, scattered along through the town records of Windsor, such entries as these:

"Dec. 1, 1651. John Moses had allowance to sojourn with Simon Miller in his house."

Also, "Sept. 13, 1652. It is assented that Isaac Sheldon and Samuel Rockwell shall keep house together in the house that is Isaac's, so they carry themselves soberly and do not entertain idle persons, to the evil expense of time by night or day."

¹ This law continued in force until the general revision of the statutes in 1821, being then the oldest statute provision on our records not previously repealed, expressly or by implication. (*Mss. of Thos. Day LL.D.*)

² This was embodied in the Code of 1650, survived the revision of 1673, but disappeared in that of 1702 — *Ibid.*

Also, "that John Bissell, was, and is entertained by William Hayden in his family. John Bissell was a soldier of war, and the order seems to refer to some previous one. Perhaps the town designated this piece because of his propensity to get into mischief. William Hayden's house was at the extreme north end of the town. Although several families lived near it. In 1618, three complaints had been entered against John Bissell in the same General Court. One for breach of covenant with John Bissell. One for detaining John's wife, concerning him with having false evidence in court. The other complaint would indicate that there was even among those favorable settlers of Windsor, an "strong opinion of court." It was of family sufficient at least, to forbid as it worthy a blow from detaining the reputation of "an old man's daughter" by reporting that she looked upon him as a slave. John Drake complains of John Bissell for saying that he had done it, stands down, and the decision is for D's daughter. At the next sitting of the court, John Bissell appeared and expressing his repentance and promising better than such future, the court is willing once more to pass by his corporal punishment, and he was bound over for his good behavior. Educated as these settlers were in a land where the grades of society were strongly marked, it is not strange that some distinctions should be observed even in the more unvarnished intercourse of this new country. John Drake was not a man of sufficient distinction to enable him to the appellation of "Mr." Yet his son John a shoemaker, won the heart and hand of the daughter of Mr. Henry Wadsworth, one of the first ministers of Connecticut, and probably, even the pastor, the most distinguished man in Windsor.

Also, 1656. "Intewhen among it was consented, that Nicholas Wilton should sojourn with John Owen, so long as he orderly with him. Again, "June 27, 1659. The towns men took it to court rather now, to prevent inconvenience and damage, that may come to the town if some order be not established about entertainment and admitting of persons to be inhabitants in the town. We therefore order that no person or persons whatsoever, shall be admitted inhabitant in this town of Windsor, without the approbation of the town or townsman, that may or shall be, from year to year, in being. Nor shall any man set or sell any house or land, so as to bring in any to be inhabitants in the town without the approbation of the townsman, or giving he such security as may be accepted to save the town from damage. Also, it is ordered by the townsman, that whereas Edward King, a Irishman, who at one time lived on the east side of the River, near Podunk, doth reside in a place remote from the Town where there has sometimes been recourses, of many persons near river, way which we find may prove pernicious to divers persons if not timely prevented. It is therefore ordered that on or before the first of October next he shall give in sufficient security for his good carriage in his family and also for his constant attendance of the court of this jurisdiction, and of the order of this town, or else shall continue there no longer than that time, upon the penalty of 20 shillings per week, &c. *Rec. 1. 166.*

"It is a second order that Edward Ryle, shall continue there no longer than the afore said time appointed, upon the same penalty."

"November 29th, 1667. The townsman granted liberty to Samuel Pincey that he should entertain David Crowl a sojourner in his family for a twelve month, and [and] enjoineth to see that he carries well, and keeps good order, as an honest man should do, to the best of his endeavor, by counselling him."

"Dec. 19, 1659. The townsman approved of that Thomas Gunn should entertain as a tabler, Capt. Thomas, in his family for this winter."

As late as "April, 1659 the widow Rix made application to the townsman for liberty to keep at the widow Philp's house, or other place in the Town. She saith that she lived with left Joshua Wills for wages, but now that they are parted she wants another place. The townsman do not see reason to grant her request, but have now warn her to remove out of this town to the town from whence she came, or to some other place, that she may prevent the townsman proceeding against her according to law."

These extracts serve to show how carefully the law interposed its authority to preserve the purity of social life.

"I, A. B. being by the Providence of God an Inhabitant within the Jurisdiction of Connecticut, do acknowledge myself to be subject to the Government thereof, and do swear by the great and dreadful name of the ever-living God, to be true and faithful unto the same, and do submit heartily my person and estate to the same according to all the wholesome laws and orders that either are, or hereafter shall be there made, and established by lawful authority; and that I will neither plot nor practice any evil against the same, nor consent to any thereof, all so done, but will lawfully live over the same to have the same fully established there; and that I will, as it duty bound, may and ought the honor of the same, and of the lawful Magistrates thereof, promoting the public good at it, whilst I shall so continue an Inhabitant there; and whensoever I shall give my vote or suffrage, or proxy touching any matter which concerns this Commonwealth being called thereunto, will give it as in my conscience may continue to the best good of the same, without respect of persons or favor of any man. So help me God in our Lord Jesus Christ."

At the first session of the General Assembly under the charter, Oct. 9, 1632, it was ordered that those who desired to be admitted freemen should obtain a certificate from a majority of the Townsmen, certifying that they are persons "of civil, peaceable and honest conversation, & that they have attained to the age of 21 years, and have £20 as rate (besides their rate Poll, in the list of Estate)" and such certificates should be presented to the court authorized to admit freemen. Provision was made at the same time for the disfranchisement of such as were convicted of scandalous offenses. It has been asserted by some that none but church members were admitted freemen in Connecticut, and that none were permitted to dissent from the faith and form of the established church order. A better acquaintance with the early history of the colony would do away with this erroneous impression.

During the administration of Cromwell the Colonists had been suffered to manage their own affairs much in their own way, and when Charles II. ascended the throne, he soon afterwards sent through his Commissioners to enquire into the administration of the Colonial Governments. At a session of the General Assembly, held at Hartford, April 20, 1668,

"His Majesties Honorable Commissr. propositions were presented and read to the court—as fell was:

Prop. 1st. "That all householders inhabiting this colony take the oath of Allegiance, and the administration of justice be in his Majesties name."

To this the Colony answered:

"This we return, that according to his Majesties pleasure expressed in our charter, our Governor formerly hath nominated and appointed meet persons to administer the oath of allegiance."

Prop. 2d. "That all men of competent estates and of civil conversation, though of different judgments, may be admitted to be freemen & have liberty to choose and be chosen officers, both military and civil."

To this, "our order for admission of freemen is consonant with that proposition."

Although the strictness of these first regulations concerning inhabitants, especially those relating to "young unmarried men," were after a time somewhat softened, yet the settlers always maintained a vigilant eye upon the character and doing of each member of the community. Their deep sense of the individual duties devolving upon every citizen, found expression in the Oath of Fidelity, which was framed by the General Court in 1640, and which was to be administered by any two or three magistrates to all males, above sixteen years of age, who could present a certificate of good behavior.

Prop. 3d. "That all persons of civil lives may freely enjoy the liberty of their consciences and the worship of God in that way which they think best, provided that this liberty tend not to the destruction of the publique, nor the hindrance of the mayntainance of ministers regularly chosen in every respective parish or township."

To the 3d Prop. "We say we know not of any one that hath been troubled by us for not attending his conscience, provided he hath not disturbed the publique."

Surely this is sufficient to refute the calumnies which have been hurled at the "Bible-religion" or the founders of Connecticut.

Thus constituted, the inhabitants themselves managed the affairs of the town and transacted its business. They established the town meeting -- which has been aptly styled "a little primitive nursery of republican truth," and made it the duty of every man who was an inhabitant to attend it -- subject to a fine for each failure without excuse. These town meetings were convened as often as business or convenience dictated. Sometimes by special appointment, "to publish some orders made at the General Court before," or "to read the Capital Laws;" sometimes "after lecture," or on "a day of training," when it was presumed that most of the inhabitants would be in attendance.

The first officers created by the inhabitants, as the executives of their will, were townsmen, constables, and surveyors.

The duties of *townsmen* were similar to those of our present selectmen, although more extensive and onerous. They were exempted from "watching, warding, and training," and were "chosen to order the affairs of the town," except cases of taxes, land grants, admission of new inhabitants, and making and repairing of highways. These matters were reserved for the town. It appears, indeed, that many acts which the townsmen were competent to perform were referred to the people in town meeting assembled; for we find the townsmen at one time issuing orders which are afterwards acted upon in town meeting. The town also held the power of *repealing* such actions of the townsmen as they did not approve, as for example:

"March 15, 1650. Also this day the order concerning sheep was published, and the town did not approve of the penalty set by the townsmen."

The selectmen had authority also under the Code of 1650 (see chapter on the Schools of Windsor) to see that every child and apprentice in their town was taught to read and write, and was educated to some useful "trade or calling," and to take charge of any whose parents or guardians neglected thus to educate them. Their supervision even extended to the somewhat minute, and, to us, laughable office of examining the town's children in the catechism! We wonder how our present worthy selectmen would look engaged as official catechumens?

The office of *constable* differed but little from that of the present day, except in its superior dignity. The very oath which he was obliged

to take betwixens the important duties and solemn obligations with which he was vested.

"I, A. of W. do swear by the great and life-giving name of the everliving God, that for the year ensuing, and until I am lawfully chosen, I will faithfully execute the office and place of a constable, for and within the said plantation of W., and the limits thereof, and that I will endeavor to preserve the public peace of the said place, and Commonwealth, and will do my best endeavors to see all watch, ward, executed, and to obey and execute all lawful commands or warrants that come from any Magistrate or Magistrates, or Court, so help me God, in the year of Jesu. Christ."

Among his other duties, the constable was captain of the watch, in chief of police, in the town where he resided.

He was indeed the *axis* of the town, and the embodiment of its majesty. For many years after the formation of the colony, the appointment of a constable by the court was considered as a valid incorporation of a town, which became thenceforth liable to taxation and entitled to representation.

Mr. Henry Wolcott, the first constable of Windsor, was appointed by the General Court in 1636, and John Porter became the next incumbent in 1639. The number was afterwards increased to two, and the power of appointment invested in the town. The following extract from the records would imply that it was an office much sought after: "February 6, 1666. This day was a town-meeting warned by the constables, wherein some of the Commonwealth Laws were read, and new constables chosen against the court in March next, and they were, after *much contesting*, John Strong and Benedictus Alvord for the year ensuing."

In 1639, the office of *town recorder*, or *clerk*, was first established by the court. He was to keep a record "of every man's house and land," of all bargains, mortgages, etc., and to present a transcript of the same, "fairly written," at every General Court, to be again recorded by the secretary of the colony. He was also to keep a record of births, marriages, and deaths — notice of which was to be handed in to him within three days, on penalty of 5s. fine. Dr. Bray Rossiter, a man of fine education and much distinction in Windsor, was the first occupant of the office, which he held until his removal to Guilford, in 1652. He was succeeded by Matthew Grant, and he by Timothy Loomis.

Surveyors. Of these, two were chosen annually, whose special duty was to survey the lines of fences and common lands, and to attend to the construction and preservation of highways, etc. It was an office of much responsibility, and was for many years most ably filled by Matthew Grant, who was also the second town clerk. In a deposition (now on file in the State Library at Hartford), concerning some disputed lands in 1675, he says: "I have been employed in measuring of land and getting out of lots to men, which has been done by me from our first be-

ginning here, from next September, is 19 years." Few men, indeed, filled so large a place in the early history of Windsor, or filled it so well, as honest Matthew Grant. His name figures in almost every place of trust, and the early records of the town show that his duties were always *conscientiously* performed.

The *chimney sweepers* is a sort of primitive fire-marshal, whose duty was to carefully examine all the chimneys of the town at regular intervals, and to exact a heavy fine for any failure to clean them. "Ladders were to be provided for every house, or trees in place of ladders," and the frequent orders of the town upon this subject show that great care was taken to prevent any accident by fires. One of the earliest orders remaining upon the Windsor records is to this effect:

"February 24, 1650. It was ordered by the townsmen that whereas there is form made that the said chimney sweepers shall be paid for each house a penny damage by fire, it is now further ordered that all chimney sweepers before the first of April next, not having received their money to reach to the tops of their dwelling houses shall pay the penalty of 12 pence a week for all the time they shall be delinquent."

There were *fence-viewers* also, who were to examine the fences and to see that they were "good and sufficient." They were to protect fences as well as the lands and crops which they enclosed, against the "felonious entrance" of untidy swine and cattle, or the equally felonious but more subtle "intent" of dishonest neighbors.

"At a County Court holden at Hartford Sept. 2, 1659: Present—Mr. Samuel Wallis, Mr. John Allen, Mr. James Richards, Mr. Ambrose Hewkins, Assistants.

"Nicholas Palmer complains of John Fitch for removing or lifting his fence, and putting them up in a disorderly manner, the said Palmer's land, which was taken when it was owned in court by said John Fitch. The court having heard and considered the complaint, do hereby declare an offence exceeding heinous nature, and that it ought to be duly borne witness against, and yet it is found there is no true oath, exactly declaring what punishment should be inflicted for such an offence; this court is willing to show what mercy they may in bearing witness against such evils, and therefore do adjudge John Fitch to be kept in prison till the first Monday in October, and then to be conveyed to Windsor, where the offence was committed, by their constable, and there to be publicly and severely whipped, that others may fear, and learn to do away such wickedness.

In May, 1654, Mr. Newberry and Thomas Orion [were chosen] to view the fences on the south side of the river. Nicholas Deanslow and Walter Fyler on the north side of the river."

Twin brother to the fence viewer was the *pounder*. Woe to the cattle of "high or low degree," who fell under the fence-viewer's condemnation, or were found innocently straying away from their proper sphere. All such were cruelly and summarily *juggled*. The records of the town show that the *pound* was a very important public institution. In Matthew Grant's annual exhibit of town expenses, in 1661, is mentioned "for making 2 new pounds, £4;" and in 1675 "there must be pay ordered to make 2 new pounds, £6."

There were *surveyors* then as now, for we find many such records as this: "May 10, 1654, Goodman Moore and Samuel Gaylord were chosen to be surveyors of the highways for the year ensuing."

The office of *perambulator, or bounder*, was one in almost constant commission, owing to the frequent disputes between different towns relative to their boundary lines. And although it was no sinecure, yet it seems to have been held in high honor, if we may judge from the perquisites attached thereto. The item of "Liquor for boundsgoers" occurs year after year among the town expenses, with almost unfailing regularity. In 1660 is charged, "Mr. Wolcott for liquors for boundsgoers," the small amount of 6s. 3d.; and the next year, "Mr. Wolcott for liquors going the bounds, 2s. 6d." In 1675 "Nathaniel Bissell for three days himself to run lines and a quart of rum & brandy, 10s.;" also, "John Bissell himself and horse 4 days east side of river 10s. and for 2 gallons cider he will have 2s."

February 14th, 1654. "Thomas Ford and John Strong chosen to be constables the next year. Also to go bounds or perambulation when Hartford men call, Matthew Grant, Jacob Decker, and Simon Wolcott."

February 19th, 1665. "At a town-meeting the capital laws were read. Also, Jonathan Gillet and Aaroniam Randall were chosen constables. Also, Thomas Backland and John Moses, way-wardens, and to go bounds with Hartford men, Thomas Stoughton, Nich. Loomis, Samuel Grant."

There were also *collectors, or bailiffs* as, for example: Dec. 31, 1672. "Ebeneser Dibble was by town vote chosen to town Bayliff for this year ensuing, to go forth when required by the townsmen to fetch in town rates of those that refuse or neglect to pay their rates when demanded, and the Bayliff is allowed to take three pence upon a shilling for his pains."

The *brander of horses* was a dignity of no small degree. First established by the General Court in 1665, in each town, he was not only to brand, but "shall make an entry of all horses so branded, with their natural and artificial marks, in a book kept by him for that purpose, who shall have 6d for each horse so branded and entered," and a penalty of £20! for every one who neglected so to do. The Windsor mark was the letter L. There is still in Windsor, a book kept by Timothy Loomis, whilom town clerk, containing all the marks, &c., of every man's horses, put down with a particularity which evidences the importance attached to it.

The office of *listor* (assessor), was one of the earliest created, but the mode of making assessments has somewhat changed since the olden time. In those days instead of appraising the value of the property assessed, the lands were classed into several grades, each grade being

entered in the list at a given price; so, also, of cattle, horses, swine, &c. An addition to this mode of taxing occurred in 1675, when in raising the tax for the horses and the cattle &c. it was thought more equitable to lay the tax on persons and such property as was to be the most benefited. The taxpayers were divided into five classes. The first class was headed "Family, horse, and two oxen." Of this class there were 20. Of "Family, horse, and two oxen," there were 12; of "Family and horse," 67; of "Only families," 15; "Single-men," 24, of whom 17 owned horses.

Those having only a horse and two oxen.

Mr. J. Allyn	Jos. Peckham	Stoughton	Jen. Stiles
J. B. Bell	Am. Hoskins	Ow. Tabor	Samp. Taylor
Nat. Blissell	Joseph Loomis	Am. Whitcut	John Terry
Job Peck	N. Loomis	H. Whitcut	W. Threlk
J. Thimmoth	I. Moss	S. Backwell	T. Thrall
J. Ostrom	Newbury	John Strong	R. Watson
Jacob Parker	John Porter, Sr.	Nic. Samsin	N. Winchell

And one other who has entered a horse and 2 oxen. Total, 20.

"Family, horse, and two oxen."

John Blissell	Ed. Dobbins	I. [unclear] Groat	I. Moss
Thos. Blissell	John Thimmoth	John Stuart	S. Moschell
Sam. Blissell	James Loomis	S. Thoms	J. Mundslly
Amos Buckland	Rev. V. Loomis	G. Gillet	Jos. Osborn
Thos. Buckland	John Tyler	W. Hoskins	Jos. Osborn, Jr.
Nich. Buckland	Wm. Tilly	J. Rustford	John Owen
Peter Browner	Jos. Griswold	D. Ripley	W. Phelps
Sam. Barber	Jos. Griswold	Min. Tobey	Mr. Pines
Mr. D. Clarke	Walter Gaylord	John Loomis	Jos. Phelps
Ed. Chipman	J. Gaylord	F. Loomis	
Job Parker, Jr.	S. Griswold & son	D. Moore	Total, 42

"Family and horse."

Ben. Alford	John Dobbins	Am. Phelps	R. Hayward
Dani. Blythe	N. Heron	Lo. Felt	T. Hill
Sam. Baker	Jos. Loomis	Zach. Fyler	N. Paine
W. Ball	Ed. Messenger	Sam. Filly	Tim. Fisher
Jo. Cross	and [unclear]	Ed. Galt, Sr.	Hump. Prior
[Rev.] Mr. Chancy	Per. M. R.	J. Galt, Jr.	Am. Roundell
N. Cook	James Owen	C. Allen	R. Strong
T. Dobbins, Jr.	John Porter	John Gillet	Her. Stiles
Thos. Fiddell	Tim. Phelps	Jos. Gaylord	[Rev.] Mr. Woodbridge
S. Wilson			Total, 37.

"Single-men."

Job. Alvord	Eph. Foy, horse	T. Hagston, horse	Elas. Parsons, horse
John Birge, horse and 2 oxen	and Felt	[unclear] Moses, Jr.	Jos. Sanders, horse
Jos. Birge, horse and 2 oxen	Jos. [unclear] and 2 oxen	and [unclear] [unclear]	T. Saxton, horse
T. Burnham, horse	and 2 oxen	Thos. Phelps, horse	W. Tisdale
E. Elmer	Hen. Tabor, horse	Nat. Pond, horse	D. Wilton
W. Filly	D. Treat, horse	Thos. Parsons, horse	One [unclear]
	Jos. Hilder, horse	J. Parsons, horse	Id. [unclear] Total, 24.

April 12th, 1654. There were four men chosen to take a view of the estate of the town for the year ensuing, according to the order of the Court.

David Wilton; Mr. Allen, Commissioners; Daniel Clark, Matthew Grant.

June 8, 1657. At a town-meeting there were chosen three men to take a list of the town estate according to order of court.

Mr. Wolcott, Commissioner; Mr. Terry; Mr. Hayden.

In this connection we present our readers with a curious piece of poetry composed by Governor Roger Wolcott, who not unfrequently amused himself in his leisure hours in "stringing rhymes." It is entitled, "*The List of Mr. Roger Wolcott's Rateable Estate in former times.*" -

Sparkish Listers, alias Misters
that do take the List
that you may here attend with fence
and be exceeding whilst

Acres of meadow land I've fourre
But know what all it is but poor
three quarters of one acre more
have I to add unto the score

I have a horse, but he's so thin
His bones appear most thren his skin
A winter milks, and new milk kine
I like wise have and two poor swine.

A yearling calf, a pretty creature,
handsom in carriage and in feature
another calfe I had last yeare
but where he's now I cannot heare

Which fills my heart with sighs and groans,
for feare the crows have picked his bones,
he was so poor before he died
they gather gauped for his hide
but now hee's gone both he and I
In sorrow both a sympathy.

Pray take this for a petted list
for I think there's nothing mist
that doth belong to my estate
for which I ought to bear a Rate.

Besides their town organization, the first settlers of Windsor had, in connection with their sister plantations, Hartford and Wethersfield, a *State* organization, dating from the very first month of their permanent settlement in 1636. Simple and almost patriarchal at first, enlarged by degrees as necessity or experience dictated, established and defined by the wise and admirable Constitution of 1639, and perfected by the Code of 1650, this organization has gradually developed itself into a State Government, which, by its permanency and efficiency at the present day, does honor to the wisdom, the Christian integrity, and the political sagacity of those who framed it. Moulded as it was by the exigencies

"Family only":

W. Adams,	J. Drake, St.,	M. Filley,	Thos. Sanders,
T. Burnham, Jr.,	Jo. Denslow,	Sam. Forward,	R. Vore,
J. Colt,	E. Elmer,	J. Hodge,	N. Wilton.
W. Morten,	J. Elmer,	N. Palmer,	Total, 15.

¹ This *nostrum* of gubernatorial poesy and humor, was copied by us from a diary or commonplace book kept by Timothy Loomis, whilom town clerk of Windsor, and is undoubtedly genuine.

of a new settlement, and reflecting as it did the peculiar sentiment and aims of its founders, no one can study the early judicial system of Connecticut without being convinced that it was far ahead of the contemporary legislation of its time, and that it was in every respect worthy of a people who *had learned to govern themselves*.

Plenty of courts they had: the General Court, the Particular Court, the Town Court, Colonial Magistrates, Arbitrators, and Committees, and among them all justice was amply satisfied.

The *General Court* was composed of the governor, the deputy-governor, the magistrates and deputies. These two last, answering to our senators and representatives of the present day, were annually elected from each town in the colony. This court made laws and prohibitions, gave counsel and administered censures, and occasionally attended, though extra-judicially, to questions of morals, manners, and religion, as well as matters of general interest.

The *Particular Court* was constituted by the substitution of twelve jurors in place of the deputies of the General Court. It dealt judicially in civil actions, debts, and trespasses of over 40 shillings in value; and with grave crimes and wrongs.

The *Town Court* was established as early as 1639, when the General Court empowered each town annually to "choose out three, five, or seven of the chief inhabitants, whereof one be chosen moderator, who, having taken an oath provided in that case, shall have a casting vote in case they be equal: which said persons shall meet once in every two months, and, being met together, or the major part of them, whereof the moderator be one, they shall have power to hear, end, and determine all controversies, either trespasses or debts, not exceeding 40 shillings, *provided both parties live in the same town*." The power of summoning parties before them for trial was granted to "any two or the moderator." Appeal from their decision to a higher court was allowed, although guarded to prevent unnecessary litigation: "But if it fall out there be no good ground for the appeal, the court to confirm the judgment, and give good costs, and fine or punish the party appealing." It appears that the higher court were simply to confirm the first decision, unless they found cause to reverse it: hence the necessity of providing some means to hold in check persons who might be disposed wilfully to annoy their neighbors with vexatious law-suits.

The following items in the Windsor Records probably refer to these town courts:

"The Court kept this 25th June, 1669, was by Mr. Wolcott, assistant, Captain Neubery, Commissioner, and two of the townsmen, Deacon Moore and Matthew Grant."

"Jan 6, 1650. William Bowdell, Plaintiff, against Joseph Loomis, Sen., defendant.

"An action for trespass and damage 7 bushell of Indian Corn.

"In this action we finde for the plaintive, damage 6½ bushells of Indian Corn and cost 2s. 6d.

"William Thrall, plaintiff, against Eltwed Pomeroy, defendant. An action for the damage £1 7s. 0d. In this action we finde for the plaintiff, damage £1 7s. 0d; Cost £0 3s. 6d."

Magistrates were the assistants, or judges, of the Particular Court. They had power of enforcing laws and administering justice in the town where they resided, as well as elsewhere; and also of arbitrating all controversies. Their functions were quite ample, and perhaps somewhat undefined. The oath of office was as follows:

"I, A W, being chosen a Magistrate within this Jurisdiction for the year ensuing, do swear by the great and dreadful name of the everliving God, to promote the public good and peace of the same, according to the best of my skill, and that I will maintain all the lawful privileges thereof according to my understanding, as also to assist in the execution of all such wholesome laws as are made or shall be made by lawful authority here established, and will further the execution of Justice for the time aforesaid, according to the righteous rule of God's words: so help me God," etc.

The list of Windsor Magistrates will be found in another part of the volume.

The duties of *arbitrators and committees*, offices which were very frequently in use in the early times, are sufficiently indicated by their names.

All these means and instrumentalities of justice were firmly based on the immutable principles of truth and liberty; and the rights of the people, both individually and collectively, were amply guarded.

THE CODE OF 1650.

As early as April, 1646, the General Court, finding a necessity of a more complete system of laws than the one then in use, requested Mr. Roger Ludlow of Windsor, the principal draughtsman of the Constitution of 1639, and "emphatically the jurisprudent of his day," to "take some pains in drawing forth a body of laws for the government of this Commonwealth, and present them to the next General Court, and if he can provide a man for his occasions while he is employed in the said service he shall be paid at the country charge." And at the May session, 1650, was formally presented and adopted the first code of laws in the history of our State; of which it has been well said that, "in view of the age in which it was formed, in view particularly of the circumstances of the Connecticut Colony, its newness, its family character, and its earnest and at times feverish estimate of the ends and claims of religion, no code was ever, upon the whole, more happily adapted to promote the interest and sustain the growth of fresh emigrants gathered in a new country to found a State."

By it every *personal right* was amply guaranteed, and every great

interest of commerce, trade, and agriculture was protected with a wise and fostering care. Of these things, however, we do not now propose to speak. But we may be allowed, perhaps, to dwell awhile on some of its more *peculiar* provisions, which, as reflecting the habits and spirit of our forefathers, are not only amusing, but instructive and appropriate to the purpose of our history.

We find that *capital crimes* were much more numerous then than now. It was a capital offense to worship any other than the true God; to practice adultery, or the crime against nature, or rape; or to blaspheme; or to exercise witchcraft; or to steal men or women; or for children, "unless brought up in unchristian negligence," to curse, or smite, or be stubborn and rebellious towards their parents. Horrible and barbarous! some readers may exclaim. And yet, when we consider that as late as the close of the last century there were remaining on the statute books of Christian, enlightened England, 168 crimes, declared by act of parliament to be punishable by death, we must confess that the Code of 1650 was far ahead of its age, — far more humane.

Lying was in those days deemed a peculiarly heinous offense. As early as 1641 the General Court stigmatized it as a "foule and gross sin," and "Mr. Webster [of Hartford] and Mr. Phelps [of Windsor] are desired to consult with the Elders of both Plantations, to prepare instructions against the next court for the punishment of the *sin of lying*, which begins to be practiced by many persons in this Commonwealth."

This committee brought into a subsequent court a report that it should be lawful for the Particular Court to adjudge and censure any such party (convicted of lying) either by fine or bodily correction, as they shall judge the nature of the fault to require. In the Code of 1650 it is again severely denounced, and all persons above the age of 14 years, found guilty, are made punishable with fines, stocks, or stripes; and all children under that age who "offend in lying" are to be punished by their parents in the presence of an officer, "if any magistrate shall so appoint." In the records of the Particular Court, May 18, 1664, we find that —

"John Bissell having made complaint of S—— D—— for reproachful speeches which she hath spoken against the wife of the said Bissell, the Court having considered the complaint do order that H—— D—— or his wife shall severely correct their daughter with a rod on the naked body in the presence of Mrs. Wolcott and Goode Bancroft this day, and in case it be not attended to this day, the constable is to see it done, the next opportunity, and the said S—— is to give in security for her good behavior till the court in September next."

Swearing, drunkenness, and contempt of the civil authorities were severely dealt with, as the following records will show:

"Sept. 5, 1639. Thomas Gridley of Windsor was complained of for refusing to watch, strong suspicion of drunkenness, contemptuous words against the orders of the

Court, quarrelling, striking Mr. Stiles's man. He was censured to be whipt at Hartford, and bound for his good behavior" for which he entered a recognizance of £10. (*Col. Record*)

Dec. 2, 1652. Henry Curtis, fined 5s. for neglecting his watch.

Edward Messenger, for his unmercifulness towards his servant and lying to extenuate his fault, to be severely whipped when he shall be called forth by the Governor. (*Rec. Particular Court*)

1654. William King, his Scotchman, for cursing, contrary to order, 10s. and set in stocks. (*Ibid.*)

1 Feb. 1654. Walter Fyler having charged [Rev.] Mr. Stone [of Hartford] with the breach of a fundamental law, and upon the Elders in general sin and wickedness, opportunity given [to prove his charges] but he could not make it out, but did multiply offences in open Court, fined £5, bound with David Wilton and Thos. Ford in £20 to appear at next court: next year was freed from his recognizance. (*Ibid.*)

6 Sept. 1655. On complaint of William Hayden, John Griffin, Jacob Drake, and John Bancroft, all of them for their riotous misdemeanor in William Hayden's family and thereby frightening his wife, the Court adjudgeth they all find securities, £20 each for their good behavior to the next Court and then to make their appearance. John Griffin adjudged to pay 20s. to the common treasury, John Bissell bound each £20. 10. 0. (*Ibid.*)

Mrs. Hayden had died July 17, only a few weeks before — was the "frightening" followed by serious consequences? All were neighbors, and whatever the "misdemeanor" was, there was probably no evil intent in it.

11 Dec. 1655. Mr. John Witchfield complains of Mr. Matthew Allyn for rescuing of hogs when they were driving to pound. In the complaint of Mr. Witchfield contra Mr. Allen, about the rescuing of hogs, though several things look very suspicious to be a rescue yet this court doth not find the complaint legally proved. (*Ibid.*)

"June 2, 1664. Mr. Nicholas Stevens for his cursing at Windsor before the Train band last Monday is to pay to the public treasury 10 shillings."

"May 12, 1668. Nicholas Wilton for wounding the wife of John Brooks, and Mary Wilton, the wife of Nicholas Wilton, for contemptuous and reproachful terms by her put upon one of the Assistants, are adjudged, she to be whipt 6 stripes upon the naked body, next training day at Windsor; and the said Nicholas is hereby disfranchised of his privilege of freedom in this Corporation, and is to pay for the Horse and Man that came with him to the Court this day, and for what damage he hath done to the said Brooks his wife, and sit in the stocks the same day his wife is to receive her punishment. The Constables of Windsor to see this attended."

"1668. John Porter having been accused by this court for defaming of some who have been in authority in this court, do order that he make full acknowledgment of the same and manifest his repentance the next training day at Windsor, or else that he appear at the next county court to answer for his miscarriage therein."

In 1670, Owen Tudor "of Windsor was deposed from his office of Constable for swearing and drunkenness."

Open contempt of God's holy word or ministers was rigorously dealt with. The first offence with public reproof and bonds for good behavior, the second by a £5 fine, and standing in the pillory upon a lecture day, bearing on the breast a paper duly labeled in capital letters, "AN OPEN AND OBSTINATE CONTEMNER OF GOD'S HOLY WORD."

Absence from church was visited by a fine of 5 shillings, thus: "Thomas Stoughton for his unnecessary withdrawing of himselfe from the publique preaching of the Word, on the Lord's day, is fined 5s." (*Rec. of Particular Court*, ii., April 18, 1654.)

Forgery was punished by three days in the pillory, payment of double damages to the injured party, and disqualification as witness or jurymen.

Fornication, by fine, whipping, or *prohibition to marry*.

To nearly all these various punishments was added that of disfranchisement of all civil qualifications in town and commonwealth, "until the Court manifest their satisfaction."

The censure of the General Court, the stocks, and the whipping post were "*peculiar* institutions" of "the olden times," the latter two of which, thank God, are unknown to the moderns. Windsor, of course, possessed a pair of stocks from a very early day. In the annual exhibit of town payments, in 1663, we find that worthy old carpenter, William Buell, charging "for a *pair of stocks* and mending some seats, 9s. 6d." In May, 1679, "Jacob Drake demands for making a pair of Stocks;" and as late even as May 15, 1724, we find it recorded that "Friend Shivee sat in the pillory and his right ear cut off for making plates for bills." When the stocks were abolished in our town we do not know.

The *whipping post*, as tradition says, stood upon the green (Broad street) where the present sign-post stands, and was in use certainly as late as 1714, when Timothy Loomis records that "John F. was whipt at ye sign post, T. G. Whipper.

From this extract we might infer that it then served the double office of sign-post and whipping post. Whipping was generally performed upon a "lecture" or "training" day; and very often "at the cart's tail," a peculiarly aggravating feature of the punishment. For example, in the first case of bastardy tried in the colony, in 1639, the court ordered as follows:

"John Edmonds, Aaron Starke, and Jno. Williams were censured for unclean practices, as follow: Jno. Williams [Edmonds?] to be wipt at a Cart's [tail] upon a lecture day at Hartford. John Williams to stand upon the pillory from the ringing of the first bell to the end of the lecture, then to be whipt at a *Cart's* [tail] and to be whipt in a like manner at Windsor within 8 days following.

"Aaron Starke to stand upon the pillory and be whipt as Williams, and to have the letter R. burnt upon his cheek, and in regard of the wrong done to Mary Holt, to pay her parents £10; and in defect of such to the Commonwealth, and when both are fit for that condition, to marry her.

"It is the mind of the Court that Mr. Ludlow and Mr. Phelps see some public punishment indicted upon the girl for concealing it so long."

Women, it will be seen, received less consideration, on account of their sex, than they now do, when convicted of wrong-doing. Even as late as 1767, a mulatto girl called Peggy was convicted of stealing and ordered to be whipped six stripes on the naked body in some public place in Windsor.

In a communication to the *National Issue* (a temperance campaign

paper published in Windsor) of July 1, 1886, Mr. Oliver Hayden, of East Granby, Conn., says: "I remember, when quite young, of seeing a post, about eight feet high, standing opposite the road north of the Pearson house [Palizado Green], near the main road, said to be the whipping post; and a very indistinct recollection of seeing the remains of the old stocks, which in "ye olden times" used to adorn most of the village greens."

It is quite probable that Mr. Hayden's recollections are not as "indistinct" as he thinks, concerning his having seen the remains of the old stocks on Windsor Green "some seventy years ago." Mr. John Warren Barber, author of the *Connecticut Historical Collections*, informed me once that he saw, when a boy, in 1806, what was then left of the old stocks on Broad Street Green.

Branding was a form of punishment not uncommon. *Burglary*, or highway robbery, was blazoned with the letter B. A second offense was followed by a second branding, and severe whipping. If the offense was committed on the Lord's day, one of the culprit's ears was to be cut off. If repeated on the same day the other ear suffered likewise. If a third time, death followed.

Sept. 1644. "James Hallet, for his theft, is adjudged to restore fourfold for what shall be proved before Captain Mason and Mr. Wolcott, and to be branded in the hand, the next training-day at Windsor." (*Col. Rec.*)

Hallet was probably incorrigible, for he had previously been remanded by the court from the house of correction, and given in charge to his master Barelet, who was "to keep him to hard labor and coarse diet, during the pleasure of the court, provided that [the said] Barelet is first to remove his daughter from his family before the said James enter therein."

Our chapter would hardly be complete without some notice of the *sumptuary* policy of our ancestors. And here we are well aware that we tread upon disputed ground. Upon this feature of their legislation have been heaped obloquy, ridicule, and contempt; and the so-called Connecticut Blue Laws have been the butt and scoff of scores of writers of later generations, whose reverence for their forefathers was as slight as their knowledge of history. For, however foreign and repugnant to our ideas those laws may be which restrain or limit the expenses of citizens in apparel, food, furniture, etc., it must be remembered that they were perfectly in accordance with the best and highest views of the political economy of that day. They existed in every civilized government of Old Europe, as well as in every American colony, then and for more than a century after. They had their origin in the then prevalent belief that simple habits and frugality were essential to the healthy growth of sound civil liberty, and that private and social extravagance

in any form tended to check that growth, and thereby embarrassed and destroyed the State. And, even as late as 1778, in Connecticut and some other States, the prices of labor and its products, tavern charges, etc., were regulated by law, while in England many such laws remained in force until 1824.

Following out, therefore, the line of policy in which they had been educated, and which the customs of the age sanctioned, our fathers, from time to time, enacted such laws as in our day would be universally resented as an unwarrantable interference with private affairs. In 1641, noticing an increasing and, as they deemed it, "an unseemly" increase of extravagance in dress, which they term an "excess of apparel," and desiring to nip the nascent evil in the bud, the General Court required the constables of each town to take notice of any person so offending within their several limits, and present them to the Particular Court.

Yet, there are sufficient indications that even the much-dreaded "censure of the Court" could not entirely check the growing evil, and that some little "innocent finery" would, from time to time, *crop out*, in spite of spying constables.

The General Court, in June, 1641, regulated the scale of laborers' prices, etc. They ordered that "able carpenters, plowwrights, wheelwrights, masons, joiners, smiths, and coopers, should not take above 20*d.* for a day's work, from the 10th of March to the 9th of October, nor above 18*d.* a day for the rest of the year."

The working day was set at nine hours per day in the summer time, "besides that which is spent in eating and sleeping," and nine hours in winter. Mowers were only allowed 20*d.* for a day's work. Artificers, handicraftsmen, and chief laborers were not to take above 18*d.* per day from 10th of March to 9th of October, and 14*d.* per day the remainder of the year. When work was done by the job, its price was to be valued in the same proportion. -

Sawyers could "not take above 4*s.* 6*d.* for slit work or three-inch plank, nor above 3*s.* 6*d.* for boards per hundred." The price of boards was also regulated at 5*s.* 6*d.* per hundred.

The hire of four of the "better sort" of oxen and horses "with tackling," should not be valued at above 4*s.* 10*d.* per day, for six and eight hours' work (according to time of year), except they be employed in breaking upland ground, for which they were allowed 4*s.* 15*d.* for six hours.

In May, 1647, the court passed the following curious order, which would in these days seem very harsh to the *tobacco-growing* settlers of Windsor, and the *tobacco-loving* Yankee nation in general.

"Forasmuch as it is observed that many abuses are crept in and committed by frequent taking of Tobacco, it is ordered by the authority of this Court, that no person under

the age of 21 years, nor any other that hath not already accustomed himself to the use thereof, shall take any tobacco until he have brought a certificate, under the hand of some who are approved for knowledge and skill in physic, that it is useful for him, and also that he hath received a license from the Court for the same. And for the regulating those who either by their former taking it, have to their own apprehensions made it necessary to them, or upon due advice are persuaded to the use thereof, it is ordered, that no man within this Colony, after the publication hereof, shall take any tobacco publicly in the street, nor shall any take it in the fields or woods, unless when they are on their travel, or journey of at least 10 miles, or at the ordinary time of repast commonly call'd dinner, or if it be not then taken, yet not then above once in the day at most, and then not in company with any one. Nor shall any inhabitant in any of the towns within this jurisdiction, take any tobacco in any house in the same town where he liveth, with and in the company of any more than one who useth and drinketh the same weed, with him at that time; under the penalty of 6 pence for each offence against this order, in any of the particulars thereof, to be paid without gainsaying, upon conviction by the testimony of one witness that is without just exception before any one Magistrate."

The constables of each town were to make presentment of such offense to each particular court. Puritanic and *blue* as this may seem, Connecticut was not alone in pronouncing against the weed. Queen Elizabeth of England enacted edicts against its use; James I. not only followed her example, but added the weight of his pen and personal influence; and Charles I. made another attempt to put it down. Russia made its use a capital offense: popes have thundered against it and threatened excommunication, and in nearly every great power of Europe it has been made a matter of penal legislation. But in spite of all, and over all—tobacco, filthy, poisonous, useless—is triumphant, and counts its votaries by tens of thousands.

About the same time, "for the preventing of that great abuse which is creeping in by excess of wine and strong water," the court "order, that no one shall remain in any common victualling house in the same town where he liveth above half an hour at a time in drinking wine, beer, or waters," nor should they be allowed to drink more than three pints at a time. Venders of the same were forbidden to deliver wine to any one "who came for it unless they bring a note under the hand of some one master of a family, and an allowed inhabitant of the town."

This law is in some respects identical with the famous *Maine law*, which, some two centuries later, so widely agitated the public mind of America.

We have thus endeavored to present our readers with a clear summary of the *government* under which Windsor and her sister plantations in the colony had their beginning and their growth. It is an interesting subject to every student of American history, and especially so to those who reflect that these laws under which their fathers lived were the work of Roger Ludlow, Wolcott, and others,—men whose names, through long lines of descent, have been honorably associated with the town of Windsor.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION OF WINDSOR.

THE first Church of Christ in Windsor, "now the oldest Evangelical Church in America; and, except the Southwark Church, London, the oldest Orthodox Congregational Church in the world,"¹ possesses a history which is both interesting and instructive. The first twenty-nine years of its existence in Windsor were uneventful. As far as we can learn, it fulfilled its mission by an active course, abounding in good works. Happy in its minister, strong in its members, powerful and salutary in its influence, it could not have been otherwise than as "a light set upon a hill." And the fact that in those early days, the town was emphatically the church, and the church was the town, and that the records of the latter necessarily embrace the history of the former, renders its unnecessary, as well as impracticable, to treat the ecclesiastical history of Windsor as distinct from its civil history.

But a few words concerning the nature of the organization which prevailed among the churches of New England at that day may not be inappropriate. That our fathers were Puritans was to them a reproach, but to us it is a "crown of honor." Their ecclesiastical polity was republican in principle, and congregational in form.² Dissenters, not from the faith of the established church, but from its liturgy and ceremonials, and recognizing no head but Christ, they claimed the right to form and govern themselves as a church, according to the rules laid down in his New Testament. Each church was supplied with a pastor, teacher, one or more ruling elders, and deacons.³ These latter possessed the same functions as now, but the duties of the pastor and teacher were held to be distinct. The *pastor* was to exhort, persuade, and sympathize with his people, "and therein to administer a word of wisdom." The *teacher*, or

¹ I quote the words of my friend, Mr. Jabez H. Hayden of Windsor Locks, Conn., whose able argument on this point will be found in Appendix C.

² This is the commonly accepted view of this subject. Our own opinion (strengthened by our researches on the subject, as connected with our present history) is, that the early churches of New England were *Presbyterian*, rather than Congregational, in form and organization. See Appendix D.

³ Offices clearly indicated, it was thought, by these passages: Romans xii. 7; 1 Corinthians xii. 28; 1 Timothy v. 17, and Ephesians iv. 11.

doctor in ecclesia, as he was termed, was to teach, explain, and defend the doctrines of Christianity, "and therein to administer a word of knowledge; and either of them to administer the seals of the covenant." From the former they expected pastoral visitations and friendly counsels; from the latter carefully studied sermons in elucidation and defense of the great truths of religion — a most judicious division, in our opinion, of the labors of the pastoral office, evincing a self respect for their own interests, and a consideration for the necessities of those who filled it. How much in contrast with the general custom of the present day, when one weak but willing man is burthened with the work of two, and however faithful he may be can hardly escape being impinged upon either one or the other horn of complaint, viz.: that his sermons lack study, or that he visits too little.

The *ruling elder*, who was regularly and solemnly ordained, was "to assist in the government of the church, to watch over all its members, to prepare and bring forward all cases of discipline, to visit and pray with the sick, and in the absence of the pastor and teacher to pray with the congregation and expound the scriptures." In short, he was "to join with the pastor and teacher in those acts of spiritual rule which are distinct from the ministry of the word, and the sacraments committed to them." Ruling elders, though not salaried, were commonly men of education and superior gifts. Mr. John Witchfield, Mr. John Branker, "the schoolmaster," and Mr. William Hestford, were the first and probably the only ruling elders which the Windsor Church ever had. Henry Wolcott, Jr.'s, shorthand MS., deciphered by J. H. Trumbull, Esq., shows that these gentlemen frequently delivered the "weekly lecture" before the Windsor Church. We have called them the *only* ruling elders of that church, in lack of other evidence, and because the office fell into very general disuse at an early date.

Personal religion, consisting of a degree of conformity of the heart and character to the precepts and requirements of the Bible, was the qualification for church membership. The examination of applicants for admission was conducted, at first, by the officers of the church privately. It afterwards became the custom to conduct them in the presence of the whole church. Still later, it was the practice to present a relation of personal experience, by the men orally, by the women in writing. This becoming, in few years, a mere form, was dispensed with, and a return was made to the original method of examination by the church officers, to whom is now commonly added a committee of the brethren.

Each church was united in a very solemn *covenant*, wherein "avouching the Lord Jehovah, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be their Sovereign Lord and Supreme God," the members dedicated themselves to Him, to one another, and to the life that is in Christ. And it was a

frequent and beautiful custom with the churches to *renew* their covenant, on which occasion each and all the members solemnly renewed their obligations to the Lord, and to each other, in the same manner as when first admitted to the number of his visible people. This they often did by recommendation of the court, on days of public humiliation, and especially when threatened by wars, trials, and calamities; for in *all* things our pious fathers recognized the hand of God.

Fasting was often observed by them. Public fasts enjoined by authority, particular fasts of individual churches, and private fasts were considered very eminent means of grace. *The Sabbath* was also to them "holy time," and kept with a strictness and pious fervor of which we know but little in these days. Its sacred hours were carefully improved in public worship, family instructions and prayer, in studying the Scriptures, and in secret retirement and meditation. Around it the law threw its authority, and woe to the unlucky wight who forgot either in word, or look, or act, the respect which was due to its sanctity.

Catechetical instruction was another very prominent feature in the religious policy of our ancestors, and was practiced in many ways. Sometimes the minister, or ruling elders or deacons, in their frequent parochial visits, would catechise the assembled family group. Frequently the *church* was catechised, either in special meeting for the purpose, or during the intermission of public worship on the Sabbath. And it was an indispensable portion of *home* instruction, most rigidly adhered to by parents. The catechism most in use previous to 1700 was the one composed by the eminent Mr. William Perkins; after that time, however, the Westminster Assembly of Divines' Catechism took a hold upon the affections of New England, which it has not yet wholly lost.

Psalm singing, both in public and private, was a very essential part of the divine worship of those days, and one which was much delighted in by those pious people. The version first used by them was that by Sternhold and Hopkins, which was printed at the end of their Bibles; after which came the New England Psalm Book, made principally by Mr. Welde, Mr. Eliot, and Mr. Mather. This version was printed at Cambridge in 1640, and was more distinguished for its exact conformity to the original Hebrew and Greek than for its poetic merits. It was long in use—even, by some congregations, until the close of the American Revolution. The church of Plymouth retained Ainsworth's version until the latter part of the 17th century. It was common for the minister to expound a little upon the Psalm before singing. Some congregations sang psalms in course. The practice of "lining" the hymn was introduced subsequently to 1680.

Gospel discipline, as tending to preserve the purity and proper humility of the church, and frequent *meetings for social conference* and

prayer, as a means of keeping alive the warmth and efficiency of experimental religion, were highly esteemed by the Christians of New England.

In short, we cannot but admire the high *ideal* of religion which they proposed for themselves. Theirs was not a *dead* religion, but a "life of faith with works." It was a life of principle, sustaining them through many trials, guiding them through this world, rendering their death beds scenes of holy triumph, and blessing their children and "their children's children, even to the third and fourth generation."

This chapter would hardly be complete without some reference to a functionary, whose office, however important in the olden time, has become almost obsolete in the "fast days" in which we now live.

The *tythingman* was a parish officer, annually elected to preserve good order in the meeting-house during divine service, as well as to make complaint of any disorderly conduct, travel, or other violation of Sabbath time and ordinances. In early days, the young folks and children were seated in the galleries of the meeting-house: and being removed from the watch of their parents, required the constant attention of the tythingman, whose patience and watchfulness were often sorely tried by their mischievous antics. In some churches, also, he seems to have had the additional charge of keeping the "old folks" awake; in which case a gentle rap with the end of a long pole or staff of office was generally sufficient to bring the "lapsing senses" of the offender to a "wide-awake" position. His eye and ear were also keen to detect the sound or appearance of any Sabbath traveler on the high road, and such a one quickly found their onward course arrested "in the name of the commonwealth," unless they could prove that necessity was their excuse.

About the beginning of the present century, a General Armstrong (?) having been ordered to report himself promptly at Boston, was passing through Windsor on the Sabbath, when suddenly his carriage came to a stand. Surprised and impatient, he called to his driver to know why he stopped: the reply was, "A man here refuses to let us pass." Putting his head out of the carriage window, the general beheld the late Mr. Lemuel Welch, holding the horses firmly by the head, and very earnestly insisting that they should proceed no farther—that day at least. Angry at the supposed impertinence, the general ordered him to stand off, at the same time drawing and presenting his pistol at the intruder. But Mr. Welch was not so easily frightened. Maintaining his hold upon the horses, he firmly retorted: "I've seen a bigger gun than that, sir; you can't go no farther. I've been in the Revolution and seen a bigger gun than that, sir. I'm tythingman in this town, and you *can't go no farther*." Finding the officer inexorable, the irate general concluded

that "discretion was the better part of valor," and accordingly went back and laid the matter before Judge Oliver Ellsworth, who, in his capacity of magistrate, and in view of the urgency of the case, gave him a pass, which secured him against any similar arrest within the jurisdiction of Connecticut.

The occurrence, however, had a marked effect upon the observance of the Sabbath in this town. Mr. Welch called on the judge next morning for an explanation of the case. He felt much chagrined at the escape of his prisoner, and wished to know if it was expected that he was to "fish with a net that would catch the little fish, and let the big fish run through." He resigned his office in disgust, and his successors for several years neglected to perform their duties. Finally the leading men of the town became justly alarmed at the increase of Sabbath travel, and with the judge at their head made strenuous efforts to restore the execution of the Sabbath laws, but with only partial success. Some years later, among the conditions which entitled a man to the elective franchise was the holding of civil office, and demagogues found this a convenient office to give those not otherwise qualified for admission; and twenty-five years ago, the office of tythingman was given to men, who, if they executed the laws, would have indicted themselves every Sabbath.

Tythingmen, we believe, are yet appointed; but, it may with truth be said, that when the gallery pews in the meeting-house ceased to be the playground for ill-governed boys on the Sabbath, the office of tythingman had fulfilled its mission.

CHAPTER V.

INDIAN HISTORY.

THE number of Indians in Connecticut, although undoubtedly over-estimated by historians, was larger in proportion to the extent of territory than in any other part of New England. "The seacoast, harbors, bays, numerous ponds and streams, with which the country abounded, the almost incredible plenty of fish and fowl which it afforded, were exceedingly adapted to their mode of living. The exceeding fertility of the meadows upon several of its rivers, and, in some other parts of it, the excellence of its waters and the salubrity of the air, were all circumstances which naturally collected them in great numbers to this tract. Neither wars nor sickness had so depopulated this as they had some other parts of New England." Numerous as they were, there is little doubt that all the Connecticut clans were only fragments of one great tribe, of which the chief branches were the Nehantics and Narragansetts. It was not uncommon for the son of a sachem, when he had arrived at manhood, to leave his home with a few followers, and establish a new family or clan, subordinate to his father's. Or, perhaps, two brothers of the "blood royal" agreeing on a division of sovereignty and hunting lands, would form in time distinct tribes, closely linked by intermarriages, and maintaining a firm alliance in matters offensive and defensive. "The Nehantics of Lyme, for instance, were closely related to the Nehantics of Rhode Island; Sequassen, chief of the Farmington and Connecticut River countries, was a connection of the Narragansett sachems; and the Indians of Windsor, subjects of Sequassen, were closely united to the Wepawangs of Milford. Thus various connections might be traced between the Narragansetts and the tribes of western Connecticut, while both united in holding the Pequots in abhorrence, and seldom bore any other relation to them than those of enemies or of unwilling subjects."

The Connecticut tribes, indeed, at the coming of the white man, presented the singular and pitiable spectacle of a whole nation, numerically large and capable, in a state of abject fear and submission to two powerful and savage enemies. Those inhabiting the eastern part of the

colony (excepting the large and powerful clan of Narragansetts) were subject to the Pequots, a branch of the great Mohegan nation, whose principal seat was on the east bank of the Hudson River, and who, by superior prowess, had established themselves in that fine country, along the coast from Nehantic on the west to Rhode Island on the east. Inasmuch as *Pequottôog* (as Roger Williams wrote it) means "destroyers," or "ravagers," it is probable that the name Pequot was applied to them by their less powerful enemies.

It was their exactions and cruelties that induced Wahgunnacut and others of the River Sachems, in 1631, to seek the aid of the English. And their bitter hostility toward the white man, because they accepted that invitation, provoked the terrible retribution which overtook them at the Mystic Fort in 1637, and which utterly blotted the Pequot race, and power from the face of the earth.

The tribes west of the Connecticut River had been similarly conquered and made tributary to the lordly Mohawks or Iroquois. Two old Mohawks might be seen, every year or two, issuing their orders and collecting their tribute, with as much authority and haughtiness as a Roman dictator. Their presence inspired the western tribes of Connecticut with dread and fear. If they neglected to pay this tribute, forthwith the Mohawks would come down upon them, like wolves upon the fold. As soon as the Connecticut Indians discovered their approach, the alarm was raised from hill to hill, "A Mohawk! a Mohawk!" and with the terrible battle-cry of the enemy "We are come, we are come to suck your blood," ringing in their ears, they would fly without attempting the least resistance. If the fugitives could not escape to their forts, they would immediately flee to the English houses for shelter, and sometimes the Mohawks would follow them so closely as to enter with them, and kill them in the presence of the family. If however, there was time to shut the doors, they never entered by force, or on any occasion offered violence to the English. — *Trumbull, Hist. Conn.*

Gladly then did the unfortunate River Indians receive the white man as a neighbor and a protector; gladly did they witness the extinction of their dreaded foe, the Pequots, by his prowess; but, how little did they imagine that their own fate was sealed, that thenceforth they themselves would gradually disappear before the arts and civilization which he brought with him. Could they have obtained one glance into the dim and dusky glass of the future, their joy would have changed to mourning, and the sweetness of friendship would have turned to the wormwood bitterness of hate.

The Indians, at the coming of the English settlers, were a nomadic race, subsisting chiefly on fish and the products of the chase, together with such little stores of corn, beans, and squashes as they could raise

in their rude way,¹ and nuts and berries which they gathered. Their wigwams or habitations were rude, and their domestic manners and morals loose. They believed in two deities. One, the Good Spirit, was benevolent in disposition and gave them their corn, beans, and squashes; but, as they imagined that he did not trouble himself about the affairs of men, he received but little veneration from them. The other deity was the author of all evil; and, as they entertained a salutary fear of his power and malignant spirit, they honored him with the greatest respect, which was evinced in frequent dances, feasts, and, it is believed, sometimes by human sacrifices. The language which they spoke was the Mohegan, a language with some variations of dialect common to all the aboriginal tribes of New England.

We now come to the consideration of that part of our subject which is more intimately connected with the purpose of our history, viz., the Indians of Windsor. With regard to these, tradition, rather than research, has been the basis of our previous knowledge. And, in the investigation which we have made, historic truth compels us to differ widely from the commonly accepted opinion as to their numbers and influence. The most that has hitherto been known about them is contained in the following extract from Dr. Trumbull's *History of Connecticut* (i. 27):

"Within the town of Windsor, only, there were ten distinct tribes, or sovereignties. About the year 1670 [nearly forty years after the first settler], their bowmen were reckoned at two thousand [and but 150 (?) volunteered from the three towns to go with Capt. Mason to fight their old enemies, the Pequots]. At that time, it was the general opinion that there were nineteen Indians in that town to one Englishman. There was a great body of them in the centre of the town. They had a large fort a little north of the plat on which the first meeting-house was erected. On the east side of the river, on the upper branches of the Podunk, they were very numerous."

That the above statement is founded on "old men's tales" and "old women's fables," and that it is unsubstantiated by any *record* evidence whatever — a very little criticism will show.

The statement, that in 1670 there were 19 Indians to one Englishman in the town, can be traced back pretty conclusively to the Rev. Mr. Hinsdale (pastor of the North Society in Windsor, 1766-1795), from whom there is evidence to show that Dr. Trumbull probably obtained it.

¹ They attempted to cultivate little of anything else than Indian corn, and that only in the rudest manner. Their domestic implements were made principally of stone, and adapted chiefly to culinary purposes. Mr. Jabez H. Hayden of Windsor Locks has a little of the corn raised by the Windsor Indians, which bears strong marks of the manner of its culture. See Note 2, page 27.

If, however, Mr. Hinsdale kept historical facts as loosely as he did his church records, his testimony is worth little. But we have weightier testimony than any traditionary lore. We have in the *Old Church Record* (unknown to either Trumbull or Hinsdale) a list of the number of births and deaths in Windsor from its settlement in 1635, down to 1677.¹ In 1650, twenty years earlier than the date of Trumbull's estimate, there were certainly 116 houses in Windsor, and probably more. If we call the average family 5, we have a population of not less than 600, in 1650. In 1677, Matthew Grant (*Old Church Record*) says the births in Windsor "which have come to my knowledge" (he was Town Clerk) were "1025, of these 128 had died." The families removing from Windsor took with them about 120 of these children, leaving in 1677 about 775 persons in Windsor born here. There could hardly have been a population in 1677 of less than 1,000; but we will suppose that in 1670 there were but 800. Multiply these by 19 and it gives an Indian population of 15,200, or 1,220 more than the total white population, as per census of 1880, in all the territory then comprised in Ancient Windsor, viz., Windsor, Windsor Locks, Bloomfield, East Granby, East and South Windsor, and Ellington! The absurdity, therefore, of Trumbull's estimate is apparent. If it had been correct, there certainly is no reason why the Windsor Indians should have invited the English to the banks of the Connecticut to aid them in resisting the attacks of the Pequots, for they alone could have overpowered and conquered the latter in a single campaign.

That "there was a large body of Indians in the centre of the town," we also find no evidence except the assertion of Trumbull. As early as 1640, all the lands where the "large fort" stood was laid out into house lots and occupied as such. There is not the slightest allusion in any of the town or colony records to such a fort, or to the presence of any considerable body of Indians at this spot. We know that the English, in 1637, even doubted the fidelity of the savages who accompanied them in the Pequot expedition, until it was tested in the engagement with the enemy; and common sense assures us that the Windsor people were never so imprudent as to allow the Indians as neighbors under the very walls of the Palisade. In King Philip's war in 1675, it is well known that the Windsor Indians remained faithful, and were mostly situated on the eastern banks of the Connecticut. In short, all the evidence, both real and presumptive, which we have been able to collect, strongly disproves the existence of any very large number of Indians, either in the center or within the limits of Ancient Windsor.

In our opinion, moulded on a careful examination of the subject, the facts are these: We believe that the Indians in this vicinity were

¹ See Appendix A.

once numerous. Arrow heads, stone axes, and parts of stone vessels are often met with, particularly near the river. Indian skeletons are often discovered in making excavations, or by the breaking away of the river's bank. It will also be remembered that the "number of warlike Indians" was one of the chief dangers which deterred the Massachusetts Colony, in 1633, from joining in the trading enterprise proposed by the Plymouth Colony. It is not improbable that *at that time* the Indians may have had a fort upon the spot mentioned by Trumbull.¹ The position is certainly favorable for such a purpose, as our fathers thought, for they too built their Palisado there. But after Holmes had set up his trading house in Plymouth meadow, the Indians mostly settled in his immediate neighborhood, that they might better avail themselves of his assistance against their mutual enemy, the Pequots.² While here, they were attacked, in the spring of 1634, by the small-pox, and "very few of them escaped." Their chief sachem, together with nearly all of his kindred, were among the victims of this pestilence, which almost broke up the tribe. The survivors returned with their remaining sachem, Aramamet, to their old home (near Wilson's Station) in 1639. The Rev. Frederic Chapinan used to relate that he once saw, when a boy, and living in the south part of the town, an old Indian woman, the last of Aramamet's tribe, and who was supported by the town.

So thinned were their numbers, and so effectually was their power broken, that the Massachusetts people gained confidence to attempt the colonization of the country, which was commenced by the Dorchester people in the following year. At the time of their arrival, then, it is more than probable that the whole number of Indians, men, women, and children, within the *present* limits of Windsor, did not exceed three hundred. There could not, at this time, have been any Indian tribes in Windsor *west* of the river, except that of which Aramamet was chief, in 1636, at the head of the Hartford meadow, and the remnant of a tribe at Poquonock, under Sheat, afterward Nassahegan. That they were few in number is evidenced by their reserving, in 1642, "a part of a meadow at Poquonock now in occupation of the Indians," a meadow hardly capable of supplying an ordinary English family; and the references which we find to Windsor Indians during the half century succeeding 1636 proves them to have been very few in number.

¹ Some years since Epaphras Mather, while making an excavation near his house opposite and a little north of Mr. James Sill's) dug up an Indian skeleton, accompanied with various bits of wampum and copper beads, evidently of Dutch or European manufacture. In digging a cellar to the same house, several other skeletons were found. This is near the spot where Trumbull locates the "large fort."

² This is evident from *Bradford's Journal*, and also from the deposition of Sequassen (Conn. River Sachem) before the court in 1649, in which he says that he was "neither at any time conquered by the Pequots, nor paid any tribute to them; and when he sometimes lived at Matainuck (Windsor) and hard by his friends (the English) that lived here, that he and his men came out and fought with" the Pequots.

The Podunks of South Windsor were probably more numerous than either of the tribes mentioned on the west side, and there was a little remnant of the Namerick Indians a mile below Warehouse Point, too insignificant as a tribe to have had a sachem.

That there were more living *east* of the river than on the west side we are quite certain: but we much doubt whether all the Indians dwelling within the *original* bounds of *Ancient Windsor*, viz., between Simsbury Mountains and the hills east of Ellington, exceeded *one thousand*. The restless Pequot and the pestilence had prepared the way for the advancing wave of civilization, and before that wave the red sons of the forest disappeared as footprints on the seashore are effaced by the rising tide.

Adrian Block, the first white discoverer of the Connecticut River, in 1614, found its valley from the north part of Haddam, northerly to and probably somewhat above Matianuck (or Mattaneaug) in Windsor, in the possession of Indians whom he calls Sequins. Between 1614 and 1631 we have no information concerning these river tribes. But in June 8, 1633, the Dutch bought from the Pequot sachem, Wapyquant, the flat land ("Suckiage, Sicaog") comprising "Dutch Point" and the "South Meadow," on which the city of Hartford was afterwards erected, and, "for greater security, *Sequeen* and his tribe went to dwell close by Fort Hope." This *Sequeen* (for the name in the Dutch records seems to be applied indifferently both to the tribe and its sachem) was probably he who was known to the English as "Sowheag;" and though the strength of his tribe had been much broken in its wars with the Pequots, still he was "a great sachem," selling the sites of Middletown and of Wethersfield to their English settlers. The date of his death is not known, but probably before 1650, as in a report made by Governor Stuyvesant of New Amsterdam to the States General, in 1649, he is referred to as "*the late Sequeen*," (*Holland Doc.*, i. 543, 546, *note*; *Conn. Col. Rec.*, i. 434; see Judge Adams' Hist. Wethersfield, *Hartford County Mem. Hist.*, ii. 432); and in 1664 there is mention of land reserved at Wongum (the great bend of Connecticut River between Middletown and Portland) for his posterity. His successor was Turramuggus ("Cataramuggus") who died before 1705, and was succeeded by his son, "Peetoosoh," living at Wongum (now in Chatham) in 1706.

The *Sicaog* or *Suckiage* Indians, so named from the "black earth" (sucki-auke) of the Hartford meadows, were probably a sub-tribe of the Sequins. Their sachem, at the arrival of the English 1633-4, was *Sauckquasson* (generally written Sonquasson, and *Sequassen*¹), whose

¹ Alias "Sasawin," a son of Sowheag. — Sonwonequawsir, old Sequin's son" (Roger Williams, 1637, *Moss. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 4, vi. 207.) "Sonquassen, the son of the late Sequeen," named, 1649, in *Holland Doc.*, i. 543.

seat was at or near Hartford, who held the sovereignty of the Windsor, Hartford, Wethersfield, and Farmington tribes.¹ He seems to have been a brave and talented but unprincipled person, whose fame has been somewhat tarnished by his alleged conspiracy against the English in 1646. His only immediate connection with our Windsor history, which we know of, is his interest in the first land in Windsor sold by the Indians to the Plymouth Company in 1633. The latter had purchased the same "for a valuable consideration" from *Seipassan* and *Nattawanut*, who are described as "the rightful owners." Nattawanut was the actual sachem of the Matianuck or Windsor tribe. He fled to the English for protection from the Pequots, and was brought back by Captain Holmes in 1633, who purchased of him the land on which he settled at Windsor.² He is probably the sachem who died from small-pox the next spring, as his name does not again appear after that time. He was succeeded as early as 1636 by *Aramamet*, whose residence was on the high ground at the upper end of Hartford Meadow, opposite to the mouth of the Podunk River. It seems that he afterwards removed to the immediate vicinity of the Plymouth House, where he could easier avail himself of assistance if attacked by the Pequots. After the transfer of the lands of the Plymouth Company to the Windsor settlers, in 1638, Lieutenant Holmes, the agent of the former, refused permission to the Indians to plant on the small tract of land which was reserved to the Plymouth House, whereupon "Aramamet and the Indians cohabiting with him" complained to the court about it, and the court, after a full hearing of the case, decided that the Indians might "plant the old ground for this year only, and they are to set their wigwams in the old ground, and not without."—*Col. Conn. Rec.*, ii. 16.

Aramamet afterwards, 1670, resold or confirmed to the Windsor people all the land which his predecessor Nattawanut had sold to the Plymouth Company nearly forty years before, and which they had transferred to the Windsor people. This extended from Hartford to Poquonock, and probably marks the limit of the Matianuck tribe. Aramamet, although the successor, was not the son of Nattawanut. He was either a Podunk by birth, or intimately connected with that tribe by marriage, as he figures in several of their land sales on the east side of the river. He claimed, and the Colony recognized his title to, the greater part of the Podunk lands (South Windsor and East Hartford), which he willed in 1672 (being then resident at Podunk) to his daughter, Sougonosk, wife of Joshua (*alias* Attawanhood), son of Uncas.³

¹ De Forest, *Hist. of Conn. Inds.*; *Conn. Ed. Records*, and other authorities.

² Bradford's *Hist. Plymouth Colony*, 311, 313: "I brought in *Attawanut*, & there left him where he lived & died upon the ground, whom Tatobam, the Tyrant, had before expelled by war." *G. Windsor's Letter to Winthrop*, 1641.

³ *Windsor Land Records*. Chapin (*Hist. of Glensbury*) erroneously calls Aramamet a son of Uncas.

North of the Tunxis or Farmington River was another distinct tribe called the *Poquonnocs*. Their seat was upon the beautiful meadows of that portion of the town which still bears their name. Amid the charming scenery of that pleasant valley of the Tunxis dwelt the largest number of Indians collected at any place in Windsor west of the Connecticut. Their first sachem known to the English was *Sheat*, who died soon after the settlement, and was succeeded by his son *Coggerynossett*, and his nephew *Nassahegan*.¹ These twain seem to have held joint sovereignty until the death of the former, about 1680. After this date Nassahegan was the chief sachem of the Poquonnoc tribe.² He was a good friend to the English, for we learn from a deposition made by Coggerynossett before his death, that Nassahegan "was so taken in love with the coming" of the white man that he gave them certain lands "for some small matter." His name, with the prefix of *captain*, is found among those Indians who went up with the English to the relief of Springfield in 1675. The next year he seems to have somewhat fallen under suspicion, and was confined at Hartford.³ Most of the lands of his tribe passed away from their possession before 1700. *Sepanquat*, his son, is only once mentioned as deeding a certain tract in Poquonnoc to Samuel Marshall in 1670, in consideration of a fine which he had incurred at the county court, and which the said Marshall had agreed to liquidate. Remnants of the Poquonnoc tribe lingered for many years around the homes of their fathers, and some have dwelt there even within the memory of people who are now living. A place in Poquonnoc meadow, bordering on the river, is still called The Old Indian Burying Ground.

The only one of the tribe who is in any way prominently connected with our history was *Toto*, a grandson of Nassacowan. This friendly Indian, during King Philip's war in 1695, having learned the purpose of the savages to attack Springfield, disclosed the plot to the Windsor people on the very evening preceding the attack. Messengers were promptly sent to Major Treat at Westfield, and *Toto* (so tradition says) was himself sent to bear the news to Springfield. Tradition further relates that he accomplished this perilous feat, running the whole distance there and back, in a single night. Be this as it may, his timely warning was all that saved the town of Springfield from utter destruction. The people of Farmington have erected a monument to the memory of the "ancient warriors" of the Tunxis Valley. Surely it would not be inappropriate if, either at Windsor or Springfield, some marble

¹ Or Nassacowan — which we consider as a different spelling of the same name.

² It is probable that the Poquonnoc Indians were owners of Simsbury, as the deed of Simsbury, in 1680, is given by Nassahegan, *Toto*, and Seacett — and there are other evidences of their being closely allied with the Massaco and Farmington Indians.

³ *Col. Rec.*, ii. 470.

column should preserve to posterity the name and the fame of faithful Toto.

Tradition tells us that the Indians who resided on the high grounds bordering on the Pine Meadow (now Windsor Locks), between Pine Meadow Brook and the foot of the Falls, numbered one hundred warriors. We learn from a deed of confirmation, signed in 1687 by the widow of Coggerynosset, sachem of Poquonnoc, that all the land north of that bought of the Plymouth Company (two and a half miles north of the meeting-house) to "Stony Brook, opposite the great Island at the falls" was bought by the Windsor people of her father, *Tehano* (or *Nehano*), previous to the Pequot war, in 1637. It is not improbable that Tehano resided at Pine Meadow, but we feel confident that not an Indian family lived in Pine Meadow at the time of the English settlement at Windsor.

"There was a time when Pine Meadow, as other river meadows above and below, was cultivated by the Indians. Corn was their principal crop, and this received only the rudest cultivation. About thirty years ago, the encroachment of the river on its west bank in the "great meadow" in Windsor, exposed one or two bushels of charred corn. It had been buried two or three feet deep, probably by the grave of some one. It was probably charred to prevent its decay. The kernels were very many of them like those growing on a stalk standing by itself, where there is not enough of pollen that reaches the ear to fill the cob. Many of the kernels of that charred corn were rounded on one or both sides, showing that the kernels grew separately or in patches on the cob. It must have been a starved field of corn that did not furnish tassel enough to produce full ears. Of course, there was no plowing for corn, for the Indians had neither plows nor teams to draw them. They had no steel or iron for spades or hoes. The squaws cultivated the ground, and they probably had nothing better to work with than a sharpened stick, and they had no edged tool to sharpen it with. Stone axes and arrowheads are turned up occasionally in and around Pine Meadow, as they are almost everywhere, but they may have been lost as long before Pine Meadow was settled by the English as the time that has elapsed since.

"Indian graves have been discovered at several points in and around the meadow. About fifty years ago the breaking of the river bank a little below Pine Meadow brook, exposed an Indian skeleton, and with it a little copper kettle, having a capacity of about two gills. Several skeletons were uncovered while digging sand on the brow of the hill south of Mr. Francis's. About twenty-five years ago this town graded and "stoned" the river bank near the Osborne house. A little to the north was the highest point in the meadow, and had been an Indian burying place. In digging material from the road to grade the bank a dozen or more graves were discovered; some contained only a little discolored earth; one or more skeletons or parts of skeletons were found. Three years ago, two skeletons were found in the sand bank on the south side of South street, nearly opposite Mrs. Prouty's. There was a rare collection of Indian relics found in these graves but, unfortunately, most of them fell into the hands of those who failed to appreciate them. Among the articles saved was a stone whistle, probably a call whistle. It was an inch or more in diameter, and had a tapering hole through its length. By placing the widest end on the palm of the hand, and blowing into the other end a singularly shrill call was sounded. There was a piece of plumbago (black-lead), used for war paint, curious shaped stones for knives and other purposes, beads made from pottery and bone and a considerable number of copper beads, etc."—*J. H. Hayden.*

Another tradition relates that the Indians who resided in this vicinity had a custom of burying the aged and decrepit members of their tribe before life was extinct. When old age had enfeebled the stern warrior, when he could no longer follow the chase, draw the bow, or wield the tomahawk in defense of his people, he requested his friends to accompany him to the place of his burial. An excavation was made in the earth on Sandy Hill, in which the old man stood erect, while his friends replaced the earth about him to the top of his shoulders. Then, placing the implements he had carried in war and the chase, with a little provision before him, they bade him a final adieu, and returned to their wigwams. Nor did they visit the spot again, until the wretched devotee had taken his last look on the dark woods which overshadowed him, and his ears had ceased to catch the voice of the Great Spirit whispering among their branches.

This is all very well for a *tradition*—and such it undoubtedly was one hundred years ago—but we do not believe a word of it. It is entirely unsupported by any evidence whatsoever, and, although, as the reader is aware, we place no very high estimate upon the Indian character, we believe that by giving credence to this tale of the “olden time” we should do the Indians of Windsor a very serious injustice.

As we have previously remarked, the greatest number of Indians, within the bounds of Ancient Windsor, resided on the east side of the Connecticut River. These were the *Podunks*,¹ situated at or near the mouth of the Podunk, a small stream entering the Connecticut in the southwest corner of the present town of South Windsor. Here, just north of the stream where it crosses the road to Hartford, and on the west of the road, is still visible an elevation of some twenty-five feet, and about half an acre in extent, which was the site of their fort. On the same side of the road, south of the stream, and beyond the swamp, is an elevation, now occupied by the house of Mr. Eli Burnham, which was once the ancient burying-ground of the Podunks.² This was

¹ Spelled (1636) *Potaucki*; later (1671). *Potaucke*, *Potauk*, *Pabusk*, meaning fire or warmth under the trees, or place of fire or warmth if we accept an *inference* from Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull's “Indian Names” (p. 57), that “*potu*” means *fire* or *heat*; and “*unk*,” standing tree, or “place of.” Located on the southern slope of a range of low hills, beside a stream protected on the north and surrounded by a thick ever-green growth, this Indian village may well have derived its name thus.

² Barber's *Hist. Coll. of Conn.* says: “A few years since, a number of skeletons were discovered by digging from one to four feet. These skeletons were found lying on one side, knees drawn up to the breast, arms folded, *with their heads to the south*. A covering of bark seems to have been laid over them, with some few remains of blankets; in one instance a small brass kettle and hatchet were found in good preservation; the remains of a gun barrel and lock, a number of glass bottles, one of which was found nearly half filled with some sort of liquid. . . . There were also found a pair of shears, a pistol, lead pipe, wampum, small brass rings, glass beads, a female skeleton

their summer residence, but their winter home was a mile and a half eastward over the high land.¹ Their jurisdiction extended over the present towns of East and South Windsor and East Hartford, where they had another fort. They bore the reputation of being a ferocious and warlike people. *Tontomino*, their first sachem with whom the English had any acquaintance, commanded two hundred bowmen.² The *Scantics*, a small tribe residing in the present town of East Windsor, near the mouth of the Scantic River, were either a part of the Podunks, or so closely allied to them that there is scarcely any distinction to be made between them.

Dr. H. C. Gillette, in his *Historical Sketches*, in the *Hartford Times*, (Nos. 1 and 2), says :

"Their ancient places of burial are rich in antiquarian relics. Of these there are two: the north one is the most ancient, and is situated half a mile north of the Congregational meeting-house on the east bank of the Connecticut River, opposite the mouth of the Farmington. As the river has cut into the bank, many skeletons have been disinterred. This, with the excavations that have been made, has revealed the position which the bodies occupied at burial. They were all buried with their heads to the

with a brass comb; the hair was in a state of preservation wherever it came in contact with the comb. After the Podunks had removed from these parts, in one instance they were known to have brought a dead child from towards Norwich and interred it in this burying place. There was also another burying place on the river bank, on either side of the mouth of a small brook or drain known as Moore's drain. The pottery and articles found in the graves on the north side of this drain were of superior workmanship to those in the graves on the south side, which possibly may be considered as indicative of some difference of rank in those there buried.

Barber also mentions a well on the bank of the Connecticut River, at Bissell's Ferry, near the mouth of the Scantic River, "supposed to have been made before any English settlements were attempted in Connecticut. The lower part of the well is walled by stones hewn in a circular manner, and the manner in which they are laid together is believed to be entirely different from that in which any Englishman would lay them." *Barber's* version is the one generally adopted by the inhabitants of the town—who consider the well as having a Dutch origin. As the well is now destroyed, having been gradually washed out and broken up by the river, we have not had an opportunity of examining it ourselves. We have conversed, however, with several careful investigators, in whose judgment we have entire confidence, and who have at various times examined it. These gentlemen concur in stating their conviction that there was nothing unusual in its formation. The stones which were represented as "hewn in a circular manner," were simply hewed—slightly and roughly, as is often done in these days—for better adaptation to their places, and there was nothing in the appearance of the well which necessarily indicated an origin anterior to the date of the English settlements on the river.

¹ *Barber*, who also says, "the path between these two places still retains the name of the 'King's Path.'" This name, I think, is not an Indian name, as is generally supposed, but is derived from Edward King, an Irishman, one of the first settlers in this vicinity, who owned land here.

² *Trumbull's Hist. Conn.* *DeForest* considers Wabquinnacut, who first visited the English at Boston in 1631, with an invitation to settle in Connecticut, as a chief of the East Windsor tribes.

north, the body lying on the right side, facing the river, and the average depth of the graves was about two feet.

Many of these skeletons are of gigantic size, as indicated by the specimens preserved. The teeth are in a fine state of preservation, and rarely was one found defective. From the remains of ashes and coals found in these graves, it may be inferred that some combustible substance was placed upon the body after it was covered with soil. The skulls and horns of elk and deer were found in these graves, and most of them contained shells of the fresh-water clam, according with the Indian tradition that food was placed in the graves of the departed to sustain them in their dark journey to the spirit land. Rude stone hoes, axes, skinning hatchets of curious make, arrowheads, and figured pottery, are yearly washing from this bank. No wampum has been discovered.

"The south burial ground is in the south part of the town of South Windsor, on the banks of the Podunk stream, on the farm, at present (1890), of Wilbur G. Burnham, which farm was also crossed by the Indian trail used by the Podunk tribe in passing between their summer and winter villages. It is a mound, evidently formed of surface earth to the depth of several feet. It is more modern than the other burial place, and contains many articles that must have been obtained from the Dutch or English, such as guns, knives, bells, buckles, etc. The dead were buried in a semi-erect position, facing the south, their lower extremities flexed and supported on one knee; some held the remains of a gun in their hands. Specimens of the bones from these graves may be seen at the Athenæum, Hartford. Pottery, unbroken, evidently made of the same material as the Dutch tiles, and holding about a quart, were found in these mounds. The writer of this article, twenty-five years ago, in company with the late Dr. William Cooley of Manchester, took out of these grounds what was supposed to be a female skeleton. A short blanket, interwoven with wampum, enveloped her shoulders, and a wampum belt encircled her waist. Attached to the belt on her right side were six or eight small round bells fastened with a string composed of raw deer skin. A band of brass, two and a half inches broad, scalloped at the top, and bearing evidence that it had been decorated with feathers, encircled her head. Underneath the band the raven locks of the dead female were as perfect as when she was placed in her grave. These articles were in Dr. Cooley's possession until his death, when, with other effects, they were sold at auction at Hartford, and purchased by Erastus Smith and R. G. Drake, Esq., for the Connecticut Historical Society. Placed temporarily in the State House, they were unfortunately lost, and have never been received by the society."

It will be seen by reference to the deed of the land between Podunk and Scantic, that Tontonimo is called a sachem of the Mohegans. On our early records, this tribe is never called "the Podunk Indians." The first settlers undoubtedly called them Mohegans, which has led some writers to infer that the friendly Indians who accompanied Capt. Mason in the Pequot war, resided near New London. *Uncas*, their leader in this expedition, was indeed a Pequot or Mohegan, of the "blood royal."¹ Previous to the coming of the English, however, having quarreled with the Pequot monarch, *Sassacus*, he had found a home with the river tribes, among whom his high lineage, talents, and the dominant characteristics of his race, rendered him an important personage. He identified himself at an early day with the interests of the white settlers, whom his sagacious mind foresaw it would be safer to have as friends

¹ Both in the paternal and maternal line. Trumbull thinks that the Mohegans were a part of the Pequot nation, so named from their location.

than as enemies. And when the Pequot expedition was proposed, the wily savage eagerly seized the opportunity which it offered, to testify his allegiance to his new friends, and at the same time to avenge his own wrongs upon his kindred.

Nor from that hour, whatever may have been his faults, is there any reason to doubt his fidelity to the whites. He was probably, for a longer or shorter time, a resident in this neighborhood; and at all events allied by marriage to the Mattanuck and Podunk Indians. We are therefore inclined to believe that the seventy Mohegan warriors who followed Uncas into the Pequot fight, were mostly, if not all, from the Podunk and Scantic clans. This opinion is strengthened by a sentence in a letter written by Mr. Ludlow of Windsor, during the absence of that expedition, wherein, speaking of the latest advices from the army, he says that the enemy had killed "one *Siccock* Indian that went with us."² The word *Siccock* we think was a synonym for Scantic.

Be this as it may, however, Uncas and Tontonimo were not always on friendly terms. In 1656, "a Podunk Indian, named Weaseapano, murdered a sachem, who lived near Mattabeseck, now Middletown. Sequassen, the existing sachem of that tribe, complained of the outrage to the magistracy of Connecticut, and said that the Podunk Indians entertained the murderer and protected him from merited punishment. Sequassen at the same time engaged Uncas in his cause, who also complained that Tontonimo enticed away many of his men, and protected an Indian who had murdered a Mohegan. Upon these complaints the magistrates summoned the parties before them. Sequassen and Uncas, after observing that the murderer was a mean fellow, and that the man murdered was a great sachem, insisted that ten men, friends of Weaseapano, should be delivered up, to be put to death, as a satisfaction for the crime. Tontonimo insisted that the satisfaction demanded was excessive, particularly as the murdered sachem had killed Weaseapano's uncle. The governor endeavored to convince the complainants that the demand was excessive, observing that the English, in cases of murder, punished only the principal, and such as were accessory to the crime.

Tontonimo then proposed to make satisfaction by the payment of wampum: but it was refused. They fell, however, in their demands to six men, instead of ten. This proposition was rejected by Tontonimo. The magistrates then urged him to deliver up the murderer. This he promised to do. But, while the subject was in agitation, he privately withdrew from the court, with the rest of the Podunk sachems: and retired to the fortress belonging to his nation. Both the magistrates and

¹ Aramamet, chief of Mattanuck in 1672, deeded lands on which he resided at Podunk, to Nantahan, *alias* Joshua, his son-in-law, the son of Uncas.

² See *Massachusetts Historical Collections*.

the complainants were offended by this behavior of Tontonimo. However, the magistrates appointed a committee to persuade the Indians to continue at peace with each other. At their solicitation, Uncas at length consented to accept the murderer, and promised to be satisfied, if he should be delivered up; but the Podunk Indians told the English they could not comply with the condition, because the friends of Weasapano were numerous and powerful, and would not agree to the proposal. The governor then addressed them in form: urging them to continue in peace, and endeavoring to persuade the complainants to accept the wampan. Thus they again refused and withdrew, after it had been agreed on all hands that the English should not take any part in the controversy, and after the Indians had promised that they would not injure either the persons or possessions of the English, on either side of the river.

Soon after, Uncas assembled an army for the purpose of avenging his wrongs: but being met near Hoekanum River by an equal number of the Podunks, and considering the issue of the battle as doubtful, he prudently retired, after having sent a message to Tontonimo, in which he declared, that if the Podunk sachem persisted in withdrawing the murderer from justice, he would send to the Mohawks to come and destroy both him and his people.

Not long after, the crafty Mohegan accomplished his purpose in the following manner: He sent a trusty warrior, furnished with some Mohawk weapons, to Podunk, directing him to set fire in the night to a house near the fort, and then to leave the weapons on the ground in the vicinity, and immediately return. The warrior executed his commission. When the Podunks came in the morning to examine the ruins, they found the weapons: and knowing them to belong to the Mohawks, were so alarmed with the apprehension that Uncas was about to execute his threat, that they delivered up the murderers and sued for peace.¹

The independent and fearless character of the Podunks kept them constantly embroiled in war, not only with their weaker neighbors, but

¹ This is the story as told in *Dr. Dwight's Travels*, and is authenticated by the colonial records.

Presideat Stiles, however in his *Itinerary*, preserves the following version of the story: "About 1654, he [Uncas] had a quarrel with Arramemet, sachem of Mussaco or Simsbury, which brought on a war. Uncas sent one of his warriors to take and burn an out-wigwam in the night, kill and burn, and leave the marks of the Mohawks. His orders were executed. Arramemet, supposing the Mohawks had done the mischief, went in search of them to the northwest. Uncas gained time to equip his men, and afterwards subjugated Arramemet. *Podunk, near Hartford, was ever afterwards tributary to Uncas.*"

It is easy to see that this is a garbled account of the affair, and not so well entitled to credence as Dwight's. Pres. Stiles was somewhat credulous, and not always a safe guide in matters of tradition. Yet however mistaken in the name, it is quite possible that there may be a germ of truth in the last line, which we have italicized.

even with the powerful and dreaded Mohawks. Tradition says that a party of the latter once visited the tribe who resided at the mouth of the Scantic River. As one of the Mohawk women was crossing the river on a log she was pushed off into the stream and drowned; upon this the Mohawks withdrew, determined upon revenge. In the meanwhile the Scantic Indians sent a runner to the Podunk Indians for assistance; after collecting their forces, a battle took place, in which the Mohawks were defeated and fled; they remained in the vicinity, and whenever they found a straggler from either tribe, they inflicted summary vengeance. As one of the settlers by the name of Bissell was at work at hay in the meadow, a Scantic Indian came running toward him and implored his protection. Directing him to lie down, Mr. Bissell rolled a cock of hay upon him, and he was in this manner effectually concealed. He had hardly done this, before the Mohawks came running furiously in pursuit, who wished to know of Mr. Bissell if he had seen the fugitive. He pointed in a particular direction, in which he gave them to understand he had seen him run, which they eagerly followed, and thus the life of the poor Scantic was saved.

"The feud which had thus arisen between the Podunks and the Mohawks at length resulted in the utter defeat of the former. It seems that a young Indian and a squaw of the Podunks having been to gather whortleberries, it was so late before they had gathered a sufficient quantity, that they were afraid to cross the meadows after dark on account of the Mohawks, who were prowling in the vicinity. They accordingly remained for the night at the house of Rev. Mr. Williams of East Hartford, and early in the morning the young woman set out upon her return. Soon after, the report of a gun was heard by the inhabitants in the neighborhood, and they immediately set out to ascertain the cause. They found the young squaw weltering in her blood, having been shot by two Mohawks. The Podunks were aroused, and having mustered some sixteen or eighteen warriors, went in pursuit. After being out several days, they came to a corn-field, and began plucking the ears. A party of Mohawks, who were lying in ambuscade, rose upon them, and killed the whole party, with the exception of two who made their escape. This severe blow had the effect of breaking up the Podunks as a distinct tribe. They separated into two parties, one of which joined the Pequots towards New London."¹ The time of this occurrence cannot be very accurately stated. A remnant of the tribe existed in East Windsor, in 1745, but had quite disappeared in 1760. Tradition says that Coggerly, the last male survivor of the Podunks, lived in a swamp not far from the site of the church in the First Society, and while intoxicated murdered his

¹ *Barber's Hist. Coll. of Conn.*, 78.

squaw, and then stabbed himself to death.¹ Thus ignobly perished the last of Tautonimo's tribe, the most fearless and warlike of the clans of Ancient Windsor. It was also somewhere in the *Podunk* wilds of Windsor that Miantonomah, the great Narragansett chief, met his death at the hands of Uncas, his Mohegan conqueror, probably Sept. 28, 1643. For, as recorded in *Winthrop's Journal*, the Commissioners from Connecticut on their return to Hartford from the general meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies at Boston, where the fate of the captured chieftain had been decided, sent for Uncas and announced their decision. Miantonomah was delivered into his hands, and two Englishmen from Hartford were directed to remain with the prisoner as witnesses of the deed. Uncas lost no time in obeying the order. "Taking Miantonomah along with him, in the way *between Hartford and Windsor* (where Onkus hath some men dwell), Onkus' brother, following after Miantonomah, clave his head with a hatchet." Miss Caulkins' *Hist. Norwich*, p. 35-37, says, "this slaughter of the Narragansett chief undoubtedly took place on that tract south of the Podunk which was claimed by Uncas and inhabited by scattered families under his jurisdiction. The narrative of Winthrop is explicit in stating that Uncas led his captive to this district, and that he was executed suddenly on the way, probably as soon as they had passed the English boundary and entered upon Indian territory. We cannot doubt that the Commissioners had this special tract in view when they directed Uncas to carry his captive 'into the next [*i. e.*, the nearest] part of his own government' and there put him to death." Winthrop, who records the event, understood evidently that the execution took place in this Mohegan claim between Hartford and Windsor — that is, in the present East Hartford and East [now South] Windsor; and he probably derived his information from the Englishmen that were designated to witness the act and see that it was done without failure. We are thus, in a manner, compelled to admit that Miantonomah was executed in some unknown spot, near the old boundary line of Hartford and Windsor." Miantonomah's monument, it is true, is erected near Norwich on the site of a monumental stone-heap — doubtless originally a Mohegan pile — a trophy erected by the tribe on the spot where they were victorious, and where Miantonomah was captured. But the 'place of sacrifice' in the woods of Windsor — the spot where he received the fatal blow — was left unmarked, and must remain forever unknown."

It cannot be supposed that the extinction of the Podunks was any great cause of sorrow to the now rapidly increasing whites. Their ferocious temper and unbroken spirit firmly resisted all the friendly over-

¹ *Dr. McClure's MSS.* in Conn. Hist. Soc'y — the church referred to was probably Rev. Mr. Edward's church, near the old burial ground in South Windsor.

tures of the latter, who never felt quite safe from some unexpected outbreak of savage violence.

In 1637, the pious Mr. Eliot, hearing of the Podunk Indians, desired that the tribe might be assembled, so as to afford him an opportunity to give them some religious instruction. They were at length induced to come together at Hartford, where Mr. Eliot preached to them in their own language, and endeavored to instruct them in the knowledge of a Saviour. Having closed his sermon, he asked them if they would accept Jesus Christ as a Saviour, as he had been offered to them. But the intractable warrior chieftain, turning from him with great scorn, utterly refused, saying that the English had taken away their lands, and were now attempting to make them servants. — *Trumbull*.

In King Philip's War several of their young warriors were suspected to have gone off and joined the enemy.¹

We have been unable to satisfactorily ascertain the existence of any considerable tribe of Indians in the present town of Ellington. There is a tradition that, at the time of Samuel Pinney's settlement there, about 1717, there was a part of a tribe of Indians dwelling a few rods north of where the grist and saw mills now stand, and that they were sometimes troublesome. Our own opinion is that it must have been a portion of some Windsor tribe, and that they occupied the ground rather as a hunting ground during particular seasons of the year, than as a permanent residence.

Tradition tells us that the Indians on the east side of the Connecticut River were intimate friends of the Tunxis (or Farmington) Indians. Whenever the latter made them a visit they returned with them to the west side of the river at parting, bringing with them provisions for a feast, consisting of pounded corn, and, if in the spring, maple sap, and such other simple luxuries as they possessed. And having arrived at the meadow hill, they feasted together and smoked the pipe of peace.

This is probable, for it is very evident that all the Windsor tribes were intimately connected, not only with each other, but with all the other Connecticut clans. Any one who attempts, from deeds and the slender data which remain, to define, with any degree of positive accuracy, the boundaries and distinctions of these tribes, will find himself in a labyrinthian maze of doubt and confusion. Misspelling and the ancient orthography of names; indefiniteness of the boundaries mentioned, and the changes which time has wrought in them, are some of the difficulties which will assail him. Added to this he will find, as will be seen in our next chapter, that our ancestors, when they purchased land from the natives, were in the habit of procuring the signatures, not only of the

¹ Dr. McClure in *Mass. Hist. Society Collections*, vol. x., says that the tribe contained between 200 and 300 men, who went off in that war, and never returned.

owners, but of all the relatives and friends, and, sometimes it would seem, of all the Indians in the neighborhood, whether they had any interest in the property or not. This was done for the sake of greater security, and however politic in that day, is sometimes exceedingly annoying to the patient investigator of later days. These remarks may serve to explain the apparent discrepancies which sometimes appear in the discussion of these subjects; and the author trusts that they will sufficiently apologize for any mistakes which the critic may hereafter discover in these pages. Confident we are that those who are most acquainted with the subject and its inherent difficulties will be the most lenient in their criticism.

The subsequent history of the Windsor Indians is both melancholy and brief. They seem to have gradually removed to Farmington, Salisbury, and Sharon, where, in 1730, they became united with the remnants of the Simsbury, Farmington, Wethersfield, and other Connecticut River tribes, and finally, in 1763, were removed to Stockbridge, Mass. About the year 1786, by invitation of the Oneidas, they moved to Stockbridge, N. Y. Here, on a tract three miles long by two miles in breadth, granted to them by the hospitable Oneidas, they, together with a number from the Mohegan and other tribes of Connecticut, formed a tribe called the *Brothertons*. Their first pastor was Sampson Occum, a native Mohegan, who removed to New York State with them, and died there in 1792.

In 1834 they commenced, together with the Stockbridge tribe, to emigrate to Calumet County, Wisconsin. By 1840 there were 300 of the Brothertons and 230 Stockbridge Indians in the county, and had commenced to build saw and grist mills. In 1839 the Brothertons obtained the rights of United States citizenship. In 1850 they numbered 400 out of a population of 1746 in Calumet County, where they now form a large, civilized, and prosperous community.¹

In 1774 there were but *six* Indians residing in Windsor, and in 1786 there was but one old squaw, *Betty Mommashash*, who was supported by the State and who died the same year.

In East Windsor there were but *six* Indians (probably Scanties) in 1774, and in 1806 there was one family who were unable to trace their origin or tribe. Within the whole limits of Ancient Windsor but *one* Indian is known to have been converted or baptized. This was *Sarah*, whose life has been made the subject of a tract, published by the American Tract Society, an abridgment of which was also published in London. This individual resided at the north end of Shenipset Pond in Ellington. The publication referred to is little better than entire falsehood. Although she was a full-blooded Mohegan, possessing the natural

¹ *Wisconsin Hist. Society Coll.*, I. 103.

² *Mass. Hist. Society Coll.*, 1st Series, x.

self-respect of the aborigine, and spoke the English language as well as old people generally, the author, apparently to give zest to the narrative, attributed to her the abject spirit and broken speech of the African race, which, in the opinion of those who knew her, was not only far from the truth, but also degrading and unjust to the individual herself.

As a matter of interest to our readers, we subjoin the translation of some of the Indian names which occur in the previous chapters, derived from the *History of Glousterburg, Conn.*, by the late Rev. Alonzo B. Chapin. We are not versed in Indian philology, and therefore cannot vouch for their entire accuracy, but we believe that they are the result of much laborious and conscientious research into the subject, and, as far as we are competent to judge, are supported by good authorities.

UNCAS, signifies *the bold*. UNQTS wonk, *boldness* (Cot. 8); ONEQUE, cruel tyrant (Cot. 21).

ARRAMAMET, signifies *dog's tongue*. Seems to be compounded of ARUM, the Indian word for dog (R. W. 96) and MEENAT, or WEENAT, a *tooth* (compare Ell. 10; R. W. 59). The change which this etymology supposes the word to undergo is precisely like that in the Indian word WUTUMMAGEN, a *pipe*, from WUTON, *mouth*, and EGUN or EAGEN, *thing, instrument, etc.*

NESSAHEGON, signifies *instrument of death*, from NISSIH, *killing*, and EAGEN, *instrument* (R. W. 115, 122. See also Schoolcraft Miss. App. 200).

WEQUASH, *see* (R. W. 86).

SEAKOT, *ribbed*.

SEQUASSON, *hardstone*; SEQUIN, SOWHEAG, *King of the South Country*.

TUNNIS SEPUS, signified the *Little Crane River*, from TAUNCK, *crane* (R. W. 8), SEPOSE, *little river* (R. W. 89).

POQUONNOC, signified a *battle field*. Poquonnoe, Pequonnoe, Pughquonnuce, Pocatonnuce, derived from PATQUA, *to kill or slaughter* (R. W. 118, 151). These words apparently denote a *slaughter place*, and probably *in battle*.

PODUNK, *the place of fire, or place of burning*, from POTAW, *fire*, and UNCK, *place of* (R. W. 48), hence POTAUCK, or PODUNK, or POTUNK (T. C. R. II. 347).

SCANTIC, seems to refer to the *low watery country* in that neighborhood, from SOKEN, *to pour out* (R. W. 34), and SOKENUM, *rain* (R. W. 81); evidently the same words from which some of the New England tribes had ASQUAN, *water*. SOKENTUCK, ASQUANTUCK, *place of water*, might very readily change to SCANTIC.

SHENIPSET, SNIPSIC, NIPSIC, from NIP, *water*, and SIC, *place of*.

HOCCANUM, *fishing ground*.

CHAPTER VI.

NOTES ON THE PURCHASES OF WINDSOR'S LANDS FROM THE INDIANS.

West of the Connecticut River.

FROM reasons alluded to in the previous chapter, it is now almost impossible in many cases to define the *exact* boundaries of the different purchases. The Indians, when selling their lands to the whites, were parting with that which had no great value in their own eyes, and of which they had a superabundance; consequently they did not haggle about a mile or so, more or less, and adopted the *natural* features of the country as the most *convenient* landmarks and boundaries. The ancient names of these various localities are now obscure, and often lost; and the appearance of the localities themselves has undergone some change during the lapse of years. Many of these purchases, also, *overlap* previous purchases, and land was often repurchased by our honest ancestors — in cases where some doubt seems to have existed as to the validity of a former title, or of the full terms of the contract having been properly fulfilled.

We have, therefore, rather than attempt any very close and accurate adjustment of these various purchases, preferred to set the matter before our readers in its simplest light, by presenting the different deeds, either in full or in abstract, just as we find them on the Land Records of Windsor, simply arranging them in the order of time, and connecting them by a slight framework of suggestions and notes. Thus, we believe that, with the aid of the Map of Indian Purchases, the reader will be able, easily and satisfactorily, to trace out and comprehend the whole subject. In the construction of this map we have been greatly indebted to the researches and labors of our friend, Mr. Jabez H. Hayden of Windsor Locks, Conn. Indeed, the outline or skeleton, so to speak, of the chapter is his work: ours has been its arrangement and the elaboration of detail, in every step of which we have to acknowledge his aiding and guiding hand.

We have not thought it worth while to give the references to our extracts of deeds, etc. They are derived from the First and Second Book of Land Records of Windsor. The first volume was carefully

copied by order of the town in 1716-12. From the *original*, which is still in existence, although somewhat the "worse for wear," we have made our notes, supplying all lost words and passages from the better conditioned *copy*. The Indian signatures, having no uniformity, have no value as *autographs*, and are, therefore, not reproduced.

One fact is most conclusively proved by this array of documentary evidence, that the *whole of Ancient Windsor was honestly bought*, and *even rebought* by our ancestors, of the native proprietors. A strict sense of justice actuated our fathers in all their dealings with the Indians, and, so far as we can learn, no taint of dishonesty or over-reaching rests upon the broad acres of old Windsor.

I.

When the Plymouth Company erected their trading house at Matianuck, in 1633, they purchased "for a valuable consideration," from Sequassen and Nattawanut, "the rightful owners," a tract of land west of the Connecticut River. This purchase, extending from the great swamp near the bounds of Hartford on the south, to about a quarter of a mile above Mr. Francis Stiles's (the Ellsworth Place) on the north; bounded east by the Connecticut, and on the west extending "into the country as far as Sequassen and Nattawanut's properties," was the first land owned by the English within the present town of Windsor, and was transferred to the Dorchester settlers in 1637.

This whole tract was afterwards (July 14, 1670) repurchased by the town of Windsor from Nattawanut's successors, Arramanett and Repaquam. In this sale, which was probably a mere matter of confirmation, the lands are described as extending from Hartford to "Nassahegan's propriety already sold to the inhabitants of Windsor" (Poquonnoe), and from the Connecticut River running seven miles westward "into the wilderness." They were sold, "with all the trees, woods, underwood, brooks, rivers, waters, and ponds lying therein, for a valuable parcel of Trucking cloth." — *Windsor Land Record*.

The north line of this purchase is indicated on the accompanying map by a dotted line.

II.

The land described in the foregoing deed of confirmation as "Nassahegan's propriety already sold to the inhabitants of Windsor," was situated in the Poquonnoe District. It was bought some time in 1635, by William Phelps, Sen., who afterward, not being able to prove full

payment of the same, honestly bought it over again. The transaction is thus detailed in a deed, dated March 31, 1665:

"These presents testify, whereas there was a parcel of land purchased formerly by Mr. William Phelps, Sen. living at Windsor, about 30 years since, of Schat, an Indian, a Paquanick sachem, and I [Phelps] not being able to prove full payment of the said purchase, in consideration whereof I now engage to make up the full payment by paying to the said Schat's kinsman, Nassahegan, sachem of Paquanick, 4 trucking coats, or what upon agreement shall satisfy them to the value thereof. The said Nassahegan engaging to make said parcel of land free as shall be expressed from any challenge or demands for future time of himself, his heirs, or successors, or any other Indian or Indians whatsoever. And Coggerynosset, Schat's son and his sister, and the said Nassahegan's own sister shall subscribe to the said premises. The said parcel of land is thus bounded, as it takes in all the first meadow bounded by the rivulet, the Indian name being Tau-chag; and half the 2d meadow according to the running of the river, the Indian name being Pabachimusk, the parcel of land bounds south by a little brook that falls into the river, about 40 rods from my now dwelling house, and to extend in length from the river westward upon a line three miles, all the breadth the said land from the south brook to the middle of the 2d meadow; which said agreement is made and assigned to by us whose names are underwritten this year of the Lord, 1665, March 31st. Owned already paid in two coats and 40s, in wampum for a third coat, and six bushels of Indian corn, and fifteen shillings in wampum for the fourth coat, and fifteen shillings in wampum is at six a penny.

"[Signed by]

"Witnesses

SAMUEL PHELPS.

MATTHEW GRANT.

JOHN BARTLETT.

TIMOTHY BUCKLAND,

COGGERYNOSSET.

ASUTHEW, *Coggerynosset's sister.*

PATAKHOUSE, *Nassahegan's sister*

AMANNAWER, " "

NASSAHEGAN."

In February, 1666, "whereas there are several men that have land within the limits of it [the purchase aforesaid] both meadow and upland, besides Mr. Phelps and his sons, it was therefore concluded that each man according to his proportion of land capable of plowing or mowing, should pay 12 pence per acre to Mr. Phelps." And each one paying to Mr. Phelps should afterwards have a clear title to their several shares of land. We much doubt whether that land could now be purchased for *twelve pence per acre*.

III.

The next slice of land acquired by our ancestors extended from the north line of the Plymouth purchase of 1633 to Stony Brook, and from the Connecticut River to the west side of the Simsbury Mountains. This large tract, as will be seen, covered the whole of the present town of *Windsor Locks*, the northern third of *Windsor*, and the southern part of *Suffield*. It was purchased "about the time of the Pequot war" (1637) by Messrs. George Hall, Humphrey Pinney, Thomas Ford, and Thomas Lewis, for the inhabitants of Windsor, from the sachem Tehano or Nehano. In a deed of confirmation given May 19, 1687, by his

daughter, Quashabuck, widow of Coggerynosset of Poquonock, deceased, she testifies that "her father received full satisfaction therefor," and as she is his only child she makes over her right and title to Capt. Benjamin Newbury, Capt. Daniel Clark, Mr. Simon Wolcott, Mr. Henry Wolcott, and Return Strong, as representatives of the town of Windsor. Aushqua, her son (by Coggerynosset), also confirms the same. This land is more fully described in the deed as "between Gunn's Brook down to Connecticut River, which brook falls into the river at a place called New Brook [present Hayden's Station], at upper end of land formerly William Hayden's, deceased, and since to his son Daniel, and from the brook it runs north to the Stony Brook (which enters Connecticut River opposite the great island on the falls), and bounds easterly on the Connecticut River, and thence runs west to the westward side of the mountains, and continues all along the same breadth as at the east end."

IV.

"Know all men by these presents, that I, Nassahegan of Paquanick, sachem, have freely given and granted and do hereby alienate and assign unto John Mason of Windsor, all my right and interest in all my land lying between Powquamock and Massaqua [Massacoe, or Sinsbury] westward and south and eastward as far as he has any right, only excepting a part of a meadow at Paquanick now in the occupation of the Indians, there to be enjoyed fully and freely without any future disturbance, by the said John Mason, or his assigns. Witness my hand this 13th of March, Anno Domini, 1642

"Signed and sealed in the
presence and witness of

NASSAHEGAN.

WILLIAM PHELPS,
WILLIAM HILL.

"This copied from the original by me, Matthew Grant Register, February, 1865 "

This deed evidently extinguished Nassahegan's title to all the land (except the reservation at Indian Neck above mentioned) in Windsor south and west of the Tunxis, not included in the previous sale to Phelps.

Even the small "part of a meadow at Paquanick," mentioned in the foregoing deed, was soon absorbed by the insatiable white man, for we learn that in

V.

"April 21, 1659 George Griswold hath by purchase of certain Indians, by name Wattowan, Quockhom, Waunappoush, the wife of Wattowan, otherwise called Towanno [Nehano or Tehano] a certain neck of land lying at Poquonock made over in a conveyance under the hand and marks of the Indians, now in the keeping of George Griswold; the land in quantity by the Indian's estimation, is nine acres more or less, since by more exact measure is found 10 acres more or less, as it is bounded northwest by a small swamp in a straight line from river [to riv]er: every way else it bounds by the river. Which said parcel of land it shall be lawful for the said George Griswold, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns forever to have and to hold, possess and enjoy, as freely as we the said Indians above named, had both liberation and counsel from,

our friends of a long time,¹ and we now do engage ourselves and heirs to maintain and defend [all] right and claim that we have sold and made over unto George Griswold, confirming the said land to be good and right, and that we are the true owners of the said land, and stand bound, both we and our heirs, to make good our part of sale and delivery, and free the said land from all claims, demands, debts, dues of every nature or kind whatsoever that are or have been upon the said land, from the beginning of the world to this present day." &c.

"George Griswold hath reserved to himself, in the Indian neck of land, out of the general purchase that he made with the Indians, two acres and a half and ten rods as it is now bounded, besides an allowance for a way to go by the river side on the east end of it, bounded on the north by the land of James Enno, south by Edward Griswold, west and east by the river." Perhaps this is the land referred to in the following town vote of Dec. 10, 1659:

"It was voted that if the corner of land that is in the Indians' possession be judged by the town meet to be purchased, that then their neighbors of Poquonock, jointly, shall purchase, and none other shall buy it from them, but these shall have it to themselves." *Town Acts*, i, 32.

VI.

"Sept. 11, 1662, I, Nassahegan, of Poquonock, do own myself indebted to George Griswold 43: 7s. which should have been paid him in the year 1659, in March, which I delaying to pay do now give for full payment to the foresaid George Griswold, all my land in the Indian Neck, which parcel of land by estimation is two acres, more or less, as it lies bounded east and west by the river, north by the land of Samuel Phelps, south [by] the land of Josiah Ellsworth, and also all the islands lying in the river from the land that is Aaron Cook's to the lower end of the Indian neck."

May 26, 1670: "Deed by Sepanquet son of Nassahegan, in consideration of a sum of money to be paid by Samuel Marshall in my behalf of me for a fine to the County of Hartford, and 8s. more that I am to pay to Jacob Gibbs, of an island upon Windsor Rivulet, at a place called by the Indians Matumpseck."

This island is supposed to be the one about opposite the point called Indian Neck.

April 19, 1659, Cowcherowind sold to George Griswold, 200 rods of marsh or mowing land under the east side of Massaco [Simsbury] Hills, bounded by a little brook which divideth the land of Samuel Phelps, west by the foot of the mountains, also the upland to the top of the same.

April 28, 1665, Nassahegan, sachem of Poquonock, sold to Jonathan Gillet, Sen., of Windsor, a piece of land, swamp, or marsh, containing twelve acres, called by the Indians Matacomacok. This was situated without the west bounds of Windsor, southerly of the swamp belonging to John Moore and Edward Griswold.

¹ The term "liberation and counsel" may perhaps be thus explained. Indians then, as now, were mischievous and would get drunk. Thus they not unfrequently got into trouble and were either mulcted in fines, or imprisoned in the *lockup* at Hartford. There is sufficient evidence to our mind that the speculative whites sometimes *paid their fines*, or obtained their *release*, receiving in return for the favor the title to some coveted piece of land, which doubtless, at the moment, seemed of less importance to the captive red man than his personal freedom. The deed of Sepanquet to Samuel Marshall (see Section VI, this chapter) is another case in point.

VII.

In April, 1663, James Eno and John Moses purchased from Nassahegon, land on both sides of the Rivulet, from Windsor to Massaco. This land, which had descended to him from his uncle Sheat, extended toward Massaco, "as far as his right extends," namely, on the south side of the Rivulet to the foot of Massaco Mountain; and on the north side to the "mountain that answers the foresaid mountain;" and eastward to a new way [or road] passing out of Pipestave Swamp going to Westfield;" and southward from the Rivulet to the Millbrook "as it runs into the Wilderness and so to the Mountains." This tract containing some 28,000 acres was confirmed to the purchasers, December, 1669, by Rippaquam and Seect, with the exception of two islands in the Rivulet, one of which Nassahegon claimed was given to his son, and the other to his sister by his uncle Sheat, deceased. Eno and Moses, the same year, released this purchase to the town of Windsor, whose agents they were, and received £15 14s. 2d. (the amount expended by them) in lands situate under the Simsbury Mountains above Salisbury Plain, near the river, and known as Tilton's Marsh.

VIII.

The Great Island, in the Connecticut River, on Enfield Falls, was sold to John Lewis of Windsor, June 26, 1678, "it now being out of our way to live upon it," by Seeket, Toto, Toutops *alias* Notabock, Waronyes, and William Rohnick, the "true and proper heirs and owners," who claim the "right as descended from one generation to another." They acknowledge having received "full satisfaction, except £3, which was to be paid on or before June next, in Indian corn or shoes, at the current Windsor price." Nassahegon and Coggerynosset were afterwards present, and signed the agreement. The £3 was divided as follows: Totaps 30s., Nassahegon 10s., Coggerynosset's squaw, 10s., Margery, her papoose, 10s. It was transferred, Feb. 27, 1683, to Daniel Hayden. It is now called King's Island, is about a mile long by one-quarter of a mile wide, and contains nearly 150 acres, more or less cultivated.

This island was first owned by the Rev. Ephraim Huit, who in his will, 1644, left it "to the Country."

East of the Connecticut River.

I.

"This is also a record of the purchase made of the Indians of the land on the east side of the Great River, between Scantock and Podunk.

"Know all men by these presents, that we whose names are underwritten, viz.: Cassoecum, Sachem of the Mohegeneake; Towtonnomen, Sachem of the aforesaid Mohe-

gans, Pozen of Mohegan; Nepeasescateke son of Towtonnomen; Nagonce Scattapcs Pockettercote, children of Sassowen; Wanochocke, a Mohegenake; Arramemet of Matianuck; Toquash of Matianeke; Rewen, Arramemet's father, and his wife, Sheat of Paquanuck, Cockeronset of Paquanuck, which are all the Indians that hitherto claim to that ground called Nowashe, bounded with the river Scantok over against the now dwelling house of Mr. [Francis] Stiles, situate on the east side of the river called Quenticute [Connecticut], bounded on the south with the brook or rivulet called Potaecke [Podunk] over against the now dwelling house of Arramemet or thereabouts, near the upper end of Newtown [Hartford] meadow, we before mentioned do acknowledge that we have sold unto Dorchester plantation who are now resident at Quenticute all our right and interest in the aforesaid ground, for and in consideration of twenty cloth coats, and fifteen fathoms of sewan [wampum] of which their being paid in hand eight coats and six fathoms of sewan, the other twelve coats and nine fathoms of sewan to be paid at the coming up of our next Pinnace, we also the foresaid Indians do avouch that we have not formerly sold the said ground to any other, and we do also promise and bind ourselves by these presents to make good and maintain this our sale against any that shall make challenge or lay claim, either to the whole or any part thereof, viz: the ground between the two brooks or two rivulets before mentioned in breadth, and so eastward into the country one day's walk. Neither will we ourselves disturb or molest the said English inhabitants or their successors forever, by sitting down, planting, or giving away to any other whatsoever, that shall any way molest the said English inhabitants before named.

"In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seals even the 15th day of this Instant, second month; commonly called April, Anno Domini, 1636, being the eleventh year of the Reign of King Charles. Hereunto annexed the names of eleven Indians which assigned hereunto."

"In witness,

JONATHAN BREWSTER,
EDWARD PATTISON,
WILLIAM BREWSTER.

SASSOWEN [or *Cissowen*],
TOWTONNOMEN,
POZEN,¹
WANOCHOCKE,
ARRAMEMET,
CUEWINE,
NAGONCE,
POCKETTERCOTE,
SHEAT,
TUCKQUEASE,
COCKERONSET.

"This copied out of the original by me

"Matthew Grant, Register, Feb'y, 1665.

This evidently comprised the whole of the present town of South Windsor—called *Nowas* by the Dutch, or *Nowashe* by the Indians—see p. 17.

II.

The following note, or affidavit, without date, occurs on the Land Records of Windsor:

"Coggerynosset [Poquonock] testifies that the land on the east side of the Great

¹"Pozen of Mohegan," or, as the English called him, "Foxen," was the crafty "councillor" of Uncas.

River between Seantick and Namareck [Mayhew Brook¹] was Nassacowen's, and Nassacowen was so taken in love with the coming of the English that he gave it to them for some small matter, but he knows of none but the meadow.

"Witness,

MATTHEW GRANT,

JACOB DRAKE,

STEPHEN TAYLOR.

COCHECTYNOSET.

In September 26, 1687, Toto (of Windsor), grandson of Nassacowen, deceased, *conveys* to Captain Benjamin Newbury, Mr. Henry Wolcott, John Moore, Sen., Return Strong, Sen., Daniel Hayden, and Abraham Phelps, agents of the town of Windsor, a tract of upland (or woodland), between Namareck Brook and Seantie River on east side of the Great river, which was sold to Windsor people by his grandfather, Nassacowen.

"It [the said land] bounds north on John Stiles's (deceased) lot, by south side of small brook that falls into Namareck, and becomes a part of it; thence runs east by south side of said brook to the head of the brook, and thence easterly, varying a little to the south, till it runs over Seantick near where Goodman Bissell [built] a saw mill, and runs over the old road or highway that formerly went to Lead Mines, crossing Ketch Brook, and so to the mountains near Frog Hill,² and then butts or ends on the top of the 3d bare mountain or hill, the northernmost of three hills, and so runs along to the ridge of the mountain till it comes to the path that leads to Cedar Swamp³ and thence south, near a half mile to another bare hill, which is the southeast end or

¹ This ancient name, now obsolete, was derived as tradition affirms from a party of the early emigrants to the Connecticut, who came through the woods in the month of May, and following the course of the brook struck the river—hence its name *Maybrook*. It is now known as Prior's Brook, and is about a mile below Warehouse Point.

² There is now a place beyond Ellington, somewhere in Tolland County, called *Frog Hill*—probably the same as Frog Hill.

³ Mr. Stoughton, in his *Windsor Furnaces* (p. 117), says: "Cedar Swamp, is a locality to which frequent reference is made in the affairs of the neighborhood [East Windsor], and to it the people resorted for clapboards and shingles. The latter were made of various widths and two standard lengths, viz., eighteen inches and three feet, and in the absence of machinery were split or rived from the blocks. The slow methods of manufacturing lumber made it comparatively expensive; therefore in the earlier accounts, shingles were sold at so much per shingle. The late Maj. F. W. Grant's house in East Windsor is covered with rived, narrow, cedar clapboards, fastened by hand-made nails; and although put on before the French and Indian wars, are perfectly sound. This swamp may have been identical with what was known as 'Ye Great Swamp.' The latter was in the parish of Ellington, and covered all that now productive grass and tillage land which lies to the south and east of Ellington Church, and is drained by the Hockanum river. It was about one third to three-quarters of a mile in width, and from its northern limit, in the vicinity of the present 'Windermere Hills,' extended south toward Vernon, where its waters were increased by the contributions of the Tangueren. Upon the highlands, west of the swamp, the Pinneys settled upon their Indian purchases, about the time that the eastern border was occupied by the Ellsworths. Under the combined efforts of these families and their descendants large tracts of land were made useful. There are remains of a very extensive swamp northeast of the present Windsorville that may be identical with the ancient 'Cedar Swamp.'"

corner; and then turns west bearing a little to the north, and so south to some ponds known as Porson Ponds, and from there near the head of Podunk Brook, and then crosses Lead Mine road at a place called Cart Hill, and from thence it comes to Connecticut River on the south of John Birge's lot."

We have been unable fully to trace out the ancient localities mentioned in this deed, but the reader, with the aid of the Map of Indian Purchases, will find no difficulty in understanding the general boundaries of the purchase.

III.

In September (20), 1660, John Bissell, Jr., bought of Watshemino all his "planting land from Namelake [or Namerick] Brook, upward by the Great River, to the land of the said John Bissell, Jr., only the grass land excepted that Goodman Hayden hath formerly to mow, 10 acres more or less, for 50 fathom of wampum." At a Particular Court, held at Hartford, May 13, 1662. "This court orders that William Heyden, of Wyndsor, shall for future cease to improve the lands at Nameleek that belongs to Spaniunk wch is by the Bounds of John Bissell's Lottments. And y^e neither the said William nor any other shall any way hinder, or directly or indirectly prevent John Bissell's compounding with y^e Indian for that land" (*Rec. Part. Ct.*, ii.)

In September 19, 1671, Nearowanoeke (alias Will) a Namerooke [Namerick] Indian, sold "for a certain sum of money already received of Thomas and Nathaniel Bissell," a parcel of land, "lying without the bounds of Windsor, on the East side of the Great River, bounded on the south by Potunke River and land that was Tantonimo's; on the east by the hills beyond the pine plains [probably *Ellington*], on the west by the Scantock as it runs till it comes to bear due east from the mouth of Fresh Water River [Connecticut] till you come to the hills beyond the pine plains, which said line marks the north bounds," "reserving only the privilege¹ of hunting beaver in the river of the Scantock."

¹ We may mention in this connection, that similar reservations in many Indian deeds have apparently given rise to the very prevalent opinion among the people of New England, that the Indians of the present day have still a claim or right to certain privileges within the domains once owned by their ancestors. Even the damage done to young wood-lands, etc., by strolling bands of Indians, are often submitted to in silence, from a general undefined impression that they have a sort of hereditary right to make free with such property. An amusing anecdote is told which illustrates this point. One of the selectmen of a certain town once included in Ancient Windsor, a man who boasts that the blood of the Mohegans courses in his veins, in giving directions respecting the improvement of the highway, ordered certain trees cut away. The owner of the land opposite denied the right of the selectmen to cut down the trees. Warm words ensued, when the selectman, feeling the dignity of his position, exclaimed, "Mr. —, I have a right to cut the trees just where I have a mind to."

The claim so broadly stated reminded the other of the tradition to which we have referred, and which he supposed legitimate law; and quick as thought he replied, "I

This extensive purchase, covering the greatest part of *Enfield*, two-thirds of *East Windsor*, east of Seautie, and all of *Ellington*, was obtained by the Bissells for the town of Windsor, to whom it was afterwards transferred. The Bissells received two hundred acres (in the present town of Ellington) for their share in the transaction.

March 23, 1692-3. Towtop's, son of Wicherman of Windsor, for and in consideration of the sum of £5, by him received, sold to Nathaniel Bissell 100 acres, on the east side of Connecticut River, at the foot of [Enfield] Falls, viz: in breadth next to the river, which bounds it on the west 50 rods, and runs east one mile with the same breadth, and abutts east and north on Totap's land, and south on Daniel Hayden's land.

This purchase covered all the south part of the present village of Warehouse Point.

IV.

In 1659-60, Thomas Burnham and partners having bought all the Indian lands at Podunk, of Tontonimo, in which deed Jacob Mygatt had an interest, the court, then in session at Hartford, upon the report of a committee appointed to investigate the transaction, set the deed aside by calling it a lease, and decided that the lands belonged to Foxen's (or Posen's) successors, by gift of Foxen to his allies, and that Burnham could only hold that which Tontonimo could prove to be his own particular property.¹ In 1661, Burnham *alone*, purchased *all* the Podunk lands of Arramamet, Taquis, etc.. Foxen's successors and allies;² and Uncas, the supreme Mohegan sachem, in his will (1684) gave Thomas Burnham, Sen., with others, a very extensive tract covering very many of the present townships east of Hartford bounds.

know it, I know it, *you've a right to cut them for baskets and brooms, but for no other purpose; but the other selectman has no right at all to cut them for that purpose.*"

It is needless to add that the Indian of the present day has no legal right to commit any trespass upon the now alienated land of his forefathers, nor can he have any claim except by the favor of the present owners. Yet as we have said, there is a very prevalent impression to the contrary, an impression which the Indians themselves are by no means slow to improve to their own advantage, and under cover of which they steal from the forest with perfect impunity the materials for the manufacture of their basket, willow, and fancy wares.

¹ Subsequently (March 14th) the court ordered "that no persons in this colony shall directly or indirectly buy or rent any of the lands at Podunk, that are laid out and possessed by the Indians there." But, if the Indians should leave the place, Thomas Burnham was to be allowed (with their consent) the use of their lands in their absence, and whenever they returned he was to relinquish them again.

² *Forsimile* of this deed given in *Burnham Genealogy*, 40, as also copies of the Uncas bequest of 1684, and a number of Indian deeds, Burnham deeds, Acts of Assembly, etc., relating to the Burnham purchases at Podunk — of much interest to those who wish to study the original South Windsor lines.

"Thomas Burnham, Sen., before his death, gave the greater part of what he was enabled to retain of these Indian lands to his children by deed, as a token and in consideration of y^e true love and good affection that I do now bear unto my son ——— (naming a child and lands now in South Windsor or East Hartford), but with this proviso, that I do hereby oblige y^e s^d ———, his heirs, &c., not to make any sale or other alienation of y^e above s^d land except it be to some of his own brothers, or their children," thereby entailing the lands as far as possible, on his descendants." — *Burnham Genealogy*, 39. And some of this land is yet in Burnham ownership.

It is very evident by the old Burnham deeds, etc., that the Burnham purchase extended north into South Windsor.

In May, 1666, Jacob Mygatt, Burnham's partner, sold his share of the lands at Podunk to William Pitkin and Bartholomew Barnard, who demanded from Burnham a division of the land and surrender of possession. To this he demurred, and the case was brought into court. The final issue, made May, 1668, was "that Pitkin and Barnard shall stand quietly possessed of the said land" against any claim of Thos. Burnham, but the latter was to reap the wheat, and have the peas upon the land, he paying rent for the peas 8s. per acre.¹

May 14, 1679, Thos. Burnham, Sen., of Podunk, received a deed from Shebosman and Naomes, of two acres, "more or less, at Podunk, in Indian Meadow, on the south side of Podunk Brook, runs by the Indian Meadow only on the north side within two rods of Bartholomew Barnard's land, and the said Burnham hath already paid the sum of £6 and what Obadiah Wood paid for us also."

¹ State Archives, Private Controversies, I., Doc. 29-47.

Deacon William Gallow

Thomas Fox & George Griswold

Samuel Eyster Henry Woolcott

Matthew Grant

James and Humphrey Wind

Thomas Debbell Smith

Walt Tyler

John Rogers owner of

Simon Hobbs Mitchell Humphrey

John Gifford

CHAPTER VII.

DISTRIBUTION AND PLAN OF ANCIENT WINDSOR

THE first record of the division of lands in Windsor was undoubtedly a simple designation of lots by figures. The General Court, however, in September, 1639, enacted that every town in the colony should choose a town clerk or register, "who shall, before the General Court in April next, record every man's house and land already granted and measured out to him, with the bounds and quantity of the same," and "the like to be done for all land hereafter granted and measured to any, and all bargains or mortgages of land whatsoever shall be accounted of no value until they be recorded." (*Col. Rec.*, i. 37.) To this order the first volume of Windsor Land Records owes its origin, and the earliest entry on its pages is under date of October 10, 1640. Under this and subsequent dates are entered and fully described the *home-lots* and other lands belonging to the various inhabitants. Indeed it is almost certain that it comprises the names of *all persons* having dwelling-houses in the town at that time, and therefore forms our fullest and most reliable source of information as to the *first settlers* of Windsor.

In addition to the Land Records there is an ancient little volume in the town clerk's office, entitled *A Book of Records of Town Ways in Windsor*, compiled in August, 1654, by Matthew Grant, who prefaces it with these words: "Forasmuch as it hath been desired that I should enter upon record several *highways* that have been formerly laid out, to express what the several breadths were appointed to be, and so to continue for Public use." This little record, besides preserving several interesting items not contained in the Land Records, affords considerable explanatory and elucidative assistance in tracing out the plan of Ancient Windsor.

Tradition also has been listened to with a *cautious* ear, and in some instances has helped us to a clue which subsequent investigation has corroborated. Such are the sources and aids of the present chapter. Now let us consider a few of the hindrances and obstacles with which we have had to contend.

Aside from the great changes which time and the march of improvement have wrought in the face of the country and the appearance of the town, we have to regret the loss of many local names and once familiar

expressions, which have gradually lost their significance, and have therefore become almost obsolete and unmeaning in the present day. *Salisbury Plain* and *Tilton's Marsh* may perhaps be cited as examples of many local names once familiar as household words, now scarce to be discovered or identified by the most painstaking antiquary.

A well-known proverb intimates that it is not polite to "look a gift horse in the mouth," and it may perhaps be rather ungracious in us to find any fault with the old Land Records, to which we are so much (or solely) indebted for all that we know about the *locale* of Ancient Windsor. Yet we have felt, in many instances during our investigation, that there were some very bad *gaps* in those records, which we could not but wish had been filled up. Often have we felt as if—could we have invoked that most excellent and conscientious of all town clerks and surveyors, Matthew Grant, from his grave in the old cemetery—that we would cheerfully pay him better "day's wages" for "running" a few lines *over again* than ever he received for similar services in his lifetime. Had we been believers in spiritualism, we should have promptly put ourselves *en rapport* with his spirit, and questioned him earnestly about many items of needed information. But as it was, we were obliged to trust to our own unaided efforts: and in truth, if honest Matthew had as much trouble in "running lines" for the first settlers through the virgin forests and tangled undergrowth of old Windsor as we had in "running" them over again, after the lapse of two centuries, through his crabbed handwriting on the crumbling pages of the old books—he must have had a hard life of it. We are now fully prepared to believe the tradition that old Matthew was wont to say, as he returned at sunset, wearied and jaded, from his day's labor at surveying, that he "wouldn't accept all the land he had bounded that day as pay for his labor," although he might "change his tune" somewhat in these days if he could see those same lands *under tobacco*.

But to return to our subject—the deficiencies in the records themselves. We find that some lands are bounded by those of persons who had previously removed from Windsor, which lands had subsequently reverted to the town. Or, we find that others have their lands bounded by neighbors whose lands are not recorded. Or, again, lands seem to have passed from a first owner to a subsequent one *through* two or three *intermediate* owners, whose names do not appear on record, and are only accidentally found in some other connection.

Now these are great obstacles, but not insuperable, and before patient investigation the mist of doubt is gradually dispelled, and "the crooked paths made straight." Mainly, then, through the perseverance of our coadjutor, Mr. Jabez H. Hayden, whose familiarity, from boyhood, with the topography as well as the local history of his native town

and its records, abundantly qualifies him for this "labor of love," we are able to present our readers with a Map of Ancient Windsor.¹

Without attempting to point out the *exact spot* whereon each house stood, we are yet reasonably confident that we have correctly located each man's *homestead*; and it may be taken as a fair picture, *not of all we wish to know*, but of all we *do* know — of the "distribution and plan of Windsor," two hundred and forty-one years ago.

The Dorchester party first settled on the *north* side of the Rivulet, or Farmington River. Saltenstall's party, under Mr. Francis Stiles, evidently made their beginning at and near the present Ellsworth place. And, aside from the prudential motives which would have induced the first comers to settle, as much as possible, *near together*, it is natural to suppose that their settlement on the *north* side of the stream would afford less cause of complaint on the part of the Plymouth Company than to have trespassed on Plymouth meadow.

Matthew Grant, also, in describing the origin of the ancient Palisado, which was erected at the beginning of the Pequot war on the northern bank of the Rivulet, states that it was built by "*our* inhabitants on Sandy Bank," who "gathered themselves nearer together from their remote dwellings to provide for their safety." *Sandy Bank*, as it was anciently named, is synonymous with the *Meadow Bank*, which overlooks the Connecticut River Meadows; and "their remote dwellings" extended northward along this bank in the line of the present street. There is also to our mind a significance in the use of the word *our* (which we have italicised) as applied to the Dorchester settlers in contradistinction to the Plymouth Company. The dispute between the two parties was not adjusted until after the beginning of the Pequot war, and we find no evidence whatever of any settlement *south* of the Rivulet by the Dorchester party until after the close of that war. When that event brought safety to the English homes they were not slow to improve the rich lands to which their Plymouth neighbors had reluctantly yielded their right.

We commence, then, at THE PALISADO GREEN, the veritable *shrine* of Windsor history and romance. Very pleasant it is, as we see it now in the warm sunset light of a summer day, lined with noble trees, behind whose waving tracery neat and elegant dwellings assert the presence of happy homes. On this spot, more than two centuries ago, our fathers dwelt. Here, protected by the rude log defense which their own hands had thrown up, they slept secure from savage foe. Here stood the meeting-house wherein the gentle Warham and the earnest Huit preached

¹ The map here given is not the same as that published in the first edition of this work, but is a copy of a later and corrected one, prepared by Mr. J. H. Hayden for the *Memorial Hist. of Hartford County*, 1886.

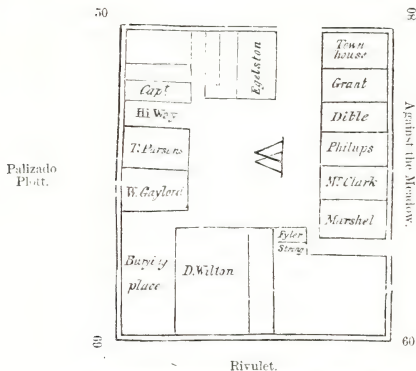
and prayed. Here, too, was the little village graveyard close under the palisado wall, where, one by one, they put off life's toils and cares and laid them down to an eternal rest.

The history of this interesting locality is as follows:

Upon the breaking out of the Pequot war, in 1637, the Windsor people, as a precaution against surprisal by the Indians, surrounded their dwellings at this spot with a fortification or palisado. This consisted of strong high stakes or posts, set close together, and suitably strengthened on the inside, while on the outside a wide ditch was dug, the dirt from which was thrown up against the palisades, and the whole formed a tolerably strong defense against any slender resources which the uncivilized Indian could bring to bear against it. It was, of course, necessary to keep a constant guard within the enclosure, to prevent the enemy from climbing over or setting fire to the palisades. It was the fatigue of supplying these watches that so exhausted the men (as Mr. Ludlow sorrowfully wrote to Mr. Pyncheon during the absence of the Pequot expedition), "that they could scarce stand upon their legs."

The whole length of this line of palisades was more than three-fourths of a mile, enclosing an irregular parallelogram of considerable extent. From the southwest corner of the burying-ground it extended along the brow of the hill overlooking the Farmington eastward to the Meadow Hill. This south line was 60 rods long; and along the south side of the passage leading from the meeting-house to the burying-ground are now (1891) to be seen the remains of a ditch, believed to have been a part of the south line of the fortification. Its west line extended northward 60 rods along the brow of the hill west of the burying-ground. Its east line ran along the brow of the Meadow Hill, 80 rods northward, and its north line ran across from hill to hill near the present residence of Mrs. Giles Ellsworth, and was 50 rods in length.

When the first palisado was built, those who had their home lots within its limits resigned their title for the benefit of the whole community. Matthew Grant, for instance, says that he originally had six acres, but resigned it all up except where his buildings stood. This was the case with others. The following *Plan of the Palisado* was drawn in 1654 by Matthew Grant, who was at that time recorder. He thus discourses concerning it:



Plan of the Ancient Palisado Plot in Windsor, 1654.

"And sooner I am entered into the palisado, I will speak a little of the original of it: about 1637 years, when the English had war with the Pequot Indians, our inhabitants on Sandy Bank gathered themselves nearer together from their ramsted dwellings, to provide for their safety, set up on fortifying, and with palisado, which [land] some particular men resigned up out of their properties for that end, and [it] was laid out into small parcels, to build upon, some four rods in breadth, some five, six, seven, some eight—it was set out after this manner.

"These building places were at first laid out of one length, that was sixteen rods, but differ [in breadth] as aforesaid. Also on all sides within the outmost fence, there was left two rods in breadth for a common way, to go round within side the Palisado" to the rear of the building lots. This left an open space in the center (marked W in the plan) nearly 20 rods wide and 30 rods long.

When peace was again restored, the divers men left their places [in the Palisado] and returned to their lots [outside] for their conveniences. Some that staid by consent of the town enlarged their gardens. Some had 2, some 3, some 4 plots to their own property, with the use of the two rods in breadth round the outside, every one according to his breadth, only with this reserve. Concerning the two rods, that is, in future time there be need of former fortification, to be repaired, that then each man should resign up the aforesaid two rods for a way only for common use. *Note*, that in the west corner of the aforesaid plot there is reserved for a common Burying Ground, one particular parcel that is six rods in breadth, all the length on one side, and one end take it together, it is eight rod in breadth, and eighteen in length."

This plan shows the division of lots and owners *seventeen years after the Pequot War*. We now propose to show its distribution and inhabitants *previous* to 1650.

Along the *southerly* side of the Palisado, beginning with the burying-ground in its southwest corner, we find the lots of FRANCIS GIBBS, THOMAS BASSETT, WILLIAM HILL, and Lieut. DAVID WILTON. These lots cover the ground now occupied by the new part of the burying-ground, and by the First Congregational Church. Also, on land now occupied by the road to the bridge and the residence of the late Misses Stiles, etc., were the lots of Sergt. WALTER FILER and THOMAS THORNTON, the latter lot being that now known as the Deacon Morgan place, and occupied by Dr. Samuel Wilson. Past this place, a road turned down out of the southeasterly corner of the Palisado, to the meadow—the old Rivulet Ferry road—as it does even now.

Beginning at this road, along the *easterly* side of the Palisado, as we go north, were the lots of Capt. JOHN MASON (present Howard place), HENRY CLARKE (Fowler place), Rev. Mr. HUIT (Chaffee place), Sergt. STAIRES, GEO. PHILLIPS (about Holcomb place), WM. HUBBARD, MATTHEW GRANT, and the TOWN HOUSE, located where the present Congregational parsonage now stands.

The TOWN HOUSE lot was originally Nicholas Denslow's, who resided thereon during the Pequot war. He sold it to Capt. Samuel Marshall, who "dabbled in real estate" considerably in those days, in 1654 (though not recorded until 1656); and he sold it to the "inhabitants of Windsor, for a town house" (probably it had been previously rented by them for the same purpose). In the deed it is described as his "dwelling-house, barn, orchard, and land about it one acre more or less," together with a wood lot of twenty acres, etc., which the said inhabitants were "forever, fully and freely to enjoy *for the benefit and entertainment of a minister successively.*" Shortly after, however (Feb. 10, 1656-7), at a town meeting, it "was called into question the legalness of the record of the town house, whereupon it was voted that the Townsmen should cause the whole town to meet as conveniently as they would, giving sufficient warning of the particular occasion to each man engaged in the purchase, that so there might be a joint debate for future settling of it. Also, in the meantime, Matthew Grant [who occupied the adjacent lot] was appointed by vote to see to the preserving of the house and orchard, and when any fruit came to ripeness the Townsmen should have the disposing of it for the benefit of the Town" (*Town Acts*, i. 33). The orchard, indeed, seems to have been a more important matter than the house, and hence the property is frequently designated as the "Town Orchard."

The matter dragged somewhat, for, "September 28, the Town met to answer the appointment on the 8th of June before, but in the meeting little was done, but only the major part manifested themselves desirous to have the house sold, and every one to have his pay returned back to him which he had laid out, if the sale of the house would reach to it," and

the presumptive evidence is that the sale did not take place. The same town-house was in existence in 1669-70, when it was refitted and occupied as a meeting-house by the party under the Rev. Mr. Woodbridge. Six years later it was in a ruinous and dilapidated state, and the refusal of the town to repair it "upon a town cost," formed a serious "bone of contention" in the ecclesiastical dissensions which raged so fiercely at that period. It was occupied by the Woodbridge faction until the settlement of the controversy in 1681; and was then "finished and made suitable" for the residence of Rev. Mr. Samuel Mather, who became the pastor of the reconciled and united churches. At the end of another decade, however, the building had outlived its usefulness, for, "at a Town Meeting in Windsor, the 28th of December, 1692, it was voted that the Town *would not* repair the town house. At the same meeting, it was voted to give to Timothy Thrall, Sen^r, the town house." But the lot has ever since been used as the parsonage lot.

On the same lot, perhaps, was the TOWN BARN, a very necessary accommodation as a place of deposit to which the inhabitants could bring the corn, peas, wheat, etc., in which they paid their taxes. Probably it was the old barn on the place, mentioned in Marshall's deed of sale to the town: for in January, 1659, "it was voted that the town barn should be put to sale, and that Mr. Allyn and Mr. Clarke should do it on behalf of the Town:" but they evidently did not effect a sale, for in December of the same year, it was "agreed by the Town that the town barn shall be repaired and thatched." Finally, December, 1659, the old barn was sold to Samuel Marshall for £13 10s., he is to "give bill for the payment, either in wheat, pease, Indian corn, or pork at £3: 10s. the barrel."

The north line of the town-house lot marks the northern boundary of the Palisado, and here, says Matthew Grant, "also from the Palisado, runs a way northeasterly, called the common street, and is to be four rods wide" — the present main street.

Across, on the west side of this "common road" as it emerges from the Palisado, we come, on the *northerly* side of the Palisado, to the lots of JOHN TAYLOR, THOMAS NOWELL, and BEGAT EGGLESTON. Separated from them by a little lane, and in the northwest corner of the Palisado, were the lots of ELIAS PARKMAN and Capt. AARON COOK, and another lot of Mr. Huit's. In the course of time, the shape of the interior of the Palisado has become a long triangle instead of a square, and these lots on the west and north sides (*viz.*, Taylor's to Huit's) are now represented by the Dr. Pierson place and Dr. Wilson's former place of residence.

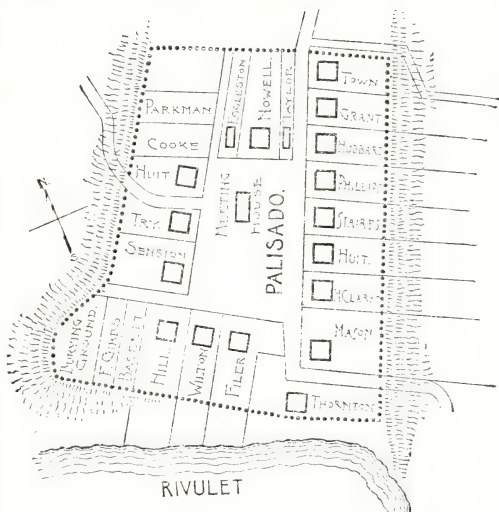
South of the Pierson place was the road leading westerly, thus described by Matthew Grant: "There goeth out of the Palisado towards

northwest a highway two rods wide; when past the house plots it is larger." This leads out towards Sandy Hill and to Hoyte's Meadow.

South of this road, and on the *westerly* side of the Palisado, were the lots of MICHAEL TRY and NICHOLAS SENSION; south of Sension's was a lane, marked on the old Palisado plan, which was evidently the access to the burying-ground. Huit's place is the present Gen. Pierson place; Sension's and the lane, the present Wid. Anson Loomis' property; which brings us to our point of beginning, in the Palisado Green.

The ancient MEETING-HOUSE stood in about the center of the open central space, the spot being marked by a telegraph pole in front of the Pierson residence. About seven rods in front of Michael Try's lot, as originally laid out, and facing the western side of the meeting-house, stood the BLACKSMITH'S SHOP. This was three or four rods in the rear of the present Pierson house. We learn from the *Town Acts* (Bk. i. 4), that, in 1650-1, March 17th, "the Town did order by a vote that there shall be a plot of ground laid out within the Palisado by Thomas Parson's house to build a house for the Smith upon it." The smith, thus favored, was probably Thomas Mattock, who, by a previous vote of the town, had been granted an appropriation of £10 to "help him set up his trade in the town, provided he continued his trade." If not, he was to refund it again (*Town Acts*, Bk. i. 4). From some unexplained cause, however, Mattock seems not to have settled in Windsor. Tahan Grant, son of our old friend Matthew, is the first blacksmith on record, and occupied the place "by Thomas Parsons," granted by the town. In 1662, he purchased from Parsons' widow, Lydia, her dwelling-house, with the land about it (about three acres, part of the present Pierson estate), and had "also, by gift of the town, a small parcel of land near about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an acre in the street that lies between that which he bought [*i. e.*, in front of it] and the smith's shop. He has all the breadth against his own [property] and [it] runs according to the range betwixt him and Walter Gaylord [Sension lot], up to range with the foreside of the shop, and is 6 rods, 2 feet in breadth as it faces against the Meeting-house;" by which we are to understand that he was permitted to extend his lot east into the Palisado common about seven rods, in a line with the east side of his smith's shop, which faced the meeting-house.

Next south of this lot of Grant's there stood (though at a period subsequent to the date of the Palisado map) a BARBER'S SHOP, kept by James Eno, who came to Windsor about 1646. In the *Land Records*, under date of Nov. 28, 1663, is "recorded the grant of a stray of land of James Eno in the Palisado, to build him a shop upon to barber in, and he has now built it." This grant was one rod in breadth next to that of Tahan Grant's, and ran back a rod till it met Walter Gaylord's fence, which was its west bound. It will be seen, therefore, that it was quite a



PLAN OF THE PALISADO (ENLARGED BY J. H. HAYDEN.
(By courtesy of the publishers of "The Memorial History of Hartford County.")



OLD STONE FORT, OR STOUGHTON HOUSE.

small lot, bounded northerly by Grant, west by Gaylord, southerly and easterly by the Palisado Common.

Having completed our survey of the Palisado, we pass out at the northeast corner, along the "common road"¹ or "Main Street," tracing the lots of the following early settlers (the houses of most being on the east side of the highway, between it and the river), THOMAS DEWEY, Capt. AARON COOKE, WILLIAM HOSFORD, NICHOLAS DENSLOW, Mr. STEPHEN PERRY, Mr. GEORGE HULL, THOMAS BUCKLAND, Dea. WILLIAM ROCKWELL, JOSEPH CLARKE, and ROBERT WINCHELL, where we come to the *present* Bissell's Ferry road.

Then we come to the home-lots and residences of JOSHUA CARTER, WILLIAM TILLY, WILLIAM HANNUM, RICHARD SAMWAYS, PHILIP RANDALL, THOMAS HOLCOMB, THOMAS GUNN, and "Ancient" THOMAS STOUGHTON, whose stone house, or "old Stone Fort," as it was called, deserves a special mention.

This ancient edifice, (which, in 1859 — while we were engaged in preparing the first edition of this work — was only remembered by Miss Lucretia Stiles, and one or two other very aged persons,) was situated about a mile north of the Congregational meeting-house, on the east side of the street, opposite to and a few rods north of Mr. Lemuel Welch's residence. It stood back from the road, near the brow of the hill overlooking the meadows, where an old well still marks the spot, — the building itself having been pulled down about 1899. From the description of the before-mentioned old people, living in 1859, we "reconstructed" a picture of the old building which will afford the present generation a pretty fair idea of its appearance.

The Old Fort, or Stoughton House, was composed of two portions, one builded of stone and the other of wood. The *stone* part, which was probably somewhat the oldest, stood parallel with the road, and its walls were constructed of heavy, uncut stones, pierced with two small diamond-paned windows, set in lead, and with numerous lurking port-holes, which peeped suspiciously out from under the eaves of the high-peaked roof. At the northern end, or gable, of the house, a gigantic chimney was built into the wall. At the east, or back part of the house, as we should now consider it, was the door, framed of heavy oaken tim-

¹ Roads, which at first were barely passable, were located where they could be most easily built. Streams which needed bridging, or swamps, were to be avoided at the expense of distances. The records of Windsor, under date of 1656, define the street or road running north from the Palisado, as "four rods wide as far as any house lots are laid out, viz., to the upper side of William Hynden's lot." The serpentine course of that road is not because of swamps; but, as each of the first settlers north of the Palisado built his house and barn near the brow of the meadow hill, the road was built to accommodate the settlers, rather than the generations of travelers who were to come after them.

bers, strongly studded and clinched with iron spikes; and bearing, if we may credit tradition, sundry sagg stove hacks and cuts of Indian tomahawks.

Joined to, and at a right angle, with this stone building, with whose front its gable-end was parallel, stood the larger and more modern frame-dwelling—in general appearance similar to the other part, except that its windows and doors were more numerous; and in its huge chimney was a stone on which were rudely sculptured the initials T. S. M. and the date of its erection, 1669. These were the initials of THOMAS and MARY (Wadsworth) STOUTINGTON, his wife, whose descendants retain the property unto this day.

Since our first edition was published we have received, through the kindness of Mrs. Waldo Hutchins, of New York city, a description of "the Old Fort," written in 1802, when it was still standing, by Oliver Ellsworth, Jr., son of the Chief Justice. He says, "This ancient building is still inhabited and in a pretty good state of preservation, having been covered probably several times. The old frame still remaining is very large, strong work, and the old walls of the house, in many places now remaining, were built only of mud and stones filled in between the joists or timbers, and then on the outside covered over with boards. The north front of the house is built of stone. On the chimney is marked the time when the present sack was built, viz., "1669," with the figure 3 upon the same chimney, denoting, it is said by people living in the neighborhood, that this is the third sack of chimneys built since the house was raised, the first sack said to have been very rough."

But if the exterior of the Old Fort was grim and quaint, its interior seems to have left upon the minds of those who knew it a still stronger impression of mysterious and romantic interest. They love to dwell upon the pleasure which they experienced as children in roaming about its rambling apartments; in climbing the ancient winding stairway, which ever in their day was "tottering to decay," thus endangering both life and limb to obtain the happiness of a peep through the loop-holes in the wall. They particularized especially the many queer nooks and dark corners with which the place abounded, as well as divers grim and curious prints and articles of furniture which excited their childish wonder and admiration. The old house also contained an ancient helmet and piece of armor, undoubtedly used by some valiant Windsor soldier in the Pequot wars; but these valuable relics, as they would be to us now, were sold, ignobly sold, to a peddler, for—mention it not in antiquarian ears—old iron! Shade of valiant Thomas Stoutington, or possibly even of Worshipful Major John Mason! this steel cap and breast-plate which perhaps protected thy stalwart form in the "battle's heat and roar," sold, regardless of its inspiring associations, *at one cent and a half a*

pointed! A curious bow and sheaf of arrows, of gigantic proportions, were also contained in the building, and afterwards passed into the Ellsworth family, but are now lost.

Above Stoughton's were the places of ANTH. HOSKINS, WILLIAM GAYLORD, GEORGE HULL, HUMPHREY PINNEY, JOSIAH HULL, JOHN ROCKWELL, JOHN HAWKES, ANTHONY HAWKINS, PETER TILTON, RICHARD OLDAGE, JOHN, FRANCIS, and THOMAS STILES, WILLIAM GAYLORD, Jr., which brings us to the old Bissell's ferry-road.

The lands of the Stiles brothers and of Wm. Gaylord comprised what afterwards passed into the hands of Lieut. Josiah Ellsworth, and is still held in that family. Oliver Ellsworth, Jr., writing in 1802, speaks of a fort, or fortified house, which stood "about a mile and a half North of the Little River, and about a quarter of a mile West from Connecticut River [on, or near the meadow bank] within a few rods of the house of Oliver Ellsworth, Esq." (the Chief Justice, his father). This "Ellsworth Fort," as he calls it, "appears to have been inhabited by Sgt. Josiah Ellsworth, grandfather of Judge Ellsworth, who has been told by an old man in Windsor, now about 90 years of age, that he remembered his (*i. e.* Deacon Hayden's) mother¹ telling him that she had been down to the old fort to sleep nights; for it is said that the inhabitants of the town were in dread of Indians at times for many years after the settlement of the place. The remains of the old Ellsworth house or fort are still visible in the hollow of a cedar a few rods south of the house of Judge Ellsworth."

Mr. Ellsworth also records that "at that time [*i. e.* the time referred to by the tradition which he is recording in 1802] there was a house which stood a little North of Judge Ellsworth's, inhabited by one STILES, who lived an old bachelor, within the memory of my uncle David and my father: this house, my uncle says, was used as a fort originally, as appears probable from the following circumstance, viz.: that the sides of the house were built of timbers put one by the side of the other com-

¹ Deacon Hayden's mother was Anna Holcomb, born at Poquoneck, 1675 (time of "King Philip's War"), was married to Sergt. Samuel Hayden, 1704. They lived at Hayden Station, opposite the present residence of Samuel B. Hayden nearly a mile north of the "Fort" here designated. I have a story of this great-great-grandmother of mine which I think may be of interest in this connection. When her first child (born 1706) was an infant, a man reputed to know too much about witchcraft came for her husband to go to watch with a sick neighbor; she demurred because theirs was the last house, and she was afraid of the Indians. The witch man upbraided her for objecting, and the husband went, and the dear old grandmother "raked up the fire," pushed the bed back against the wall, and went to bed with her baby between herself and the wall. Waking in the night, the baby was gone. "Raking open the fire" and lighting her candle, she found little Anna lying under the bed fast asleep, close to the wall where she had fallen; and the bed was so close to the wall that the mother could not get her hand between them.

partly, then covered over the timbers quite thick. However my father [the Chief Justice] thinks this was only the mode of building at that time."¹

The Stiles referred to was undoubtedly THOMAS (son of Henry, son of Sgt. Henry, son of John the emigrant, born 1690, and who died aged about 70), thus spoken of by Miss Lucretia Stiles (who d. 1879, æ. 92), "There was a man by the name of Thomas Stiles, that my grandmother used to call 'Uncle' when she spoke of him. He had a farm and a lonely house on Rocky Hill. I do not know that he ever had a family, but I know that in the after part of his life he lived almost alone there. His house was standing when I was a child, and I used to visit it often. It was a ruin then." Mr. Oliver Ellsworth, Jr.'s, *manuscript* further says, "All, or about all of these lots in our neighborhood belonged originally to the Stiles', even our own lot."

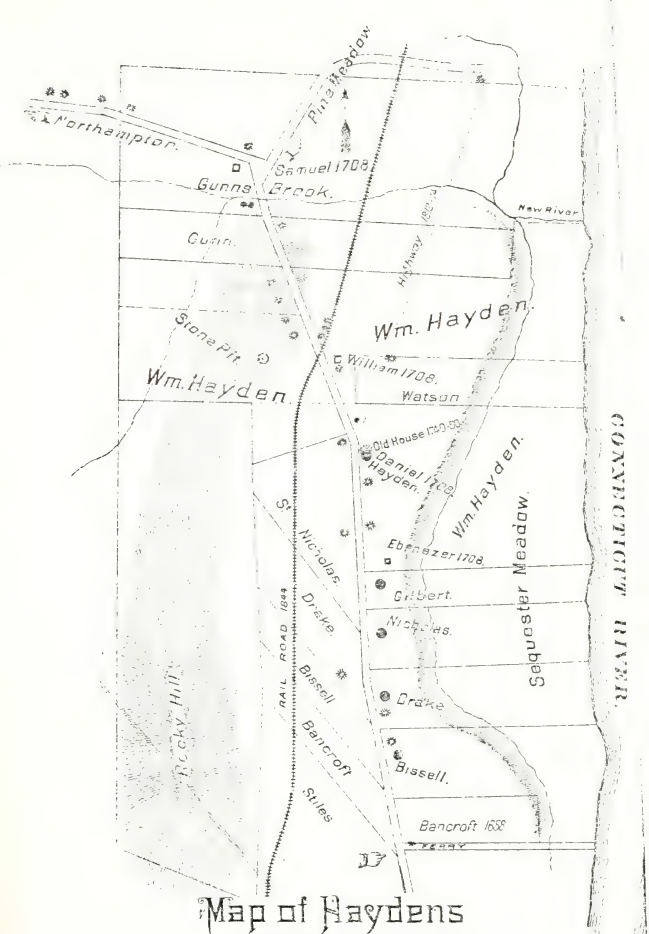
Above the *old* Bissell's ferry-road dwelt JOHN BISSELL, Sr., JOHN DRAKE, Mr. JOHN Sr. NICHOLAS's lot, THOMAS GILBERT, and WILLIAM HAYDEN, the then "outpost" of the Windsor settlement to the north. Above him and beyond the crossing by Gunn's Brook, the road divides into two, one "running northwesterly to Norwoet." Northampton; the other through the upland "to Pine Meadow," present Windsor Locks.²

West of the main road, and extending from Hayden's home-plot to John Stiles's place on the south, was an eminence (less than 100 feet at its highest point) known then and now as *Rocky Hill*, which was, according to the old records, a common land of about 54 acres, at the upper end of which was "William Hayden's stone-pit," or quarry, from which Rev. Mr. Huit's and most of the early Windsor gravestones were quarried; and on the west side of this hill, near where the road crossed it, was another stone quarry, called from its first owner, Thrall's Quarry. Feb. 16, 1651, 2, "it was granted by the Town that William Thrall shall have liberty to dig for a Quarry of stone in the Common hill, and shall have it to his own property for seven years, and no man shall molest him by digging within a rod of his pit, his limits are within 3 rods square." (*Town Acts*, i. 8.)

¹ In the inventory of Henry Stiles, who died a bachelor in 1651, his house is called a "cellar." It was on the lot here designated. Most of the first houses were of this order. "It was the mode of building at that time." They were built in the brow of the meadow hill, the ground at the sides reaching to the eaves, the front end composed of bawn timber set in the ground, as here described. It is not improbable that Henry Stiles' cellar may have been occupied about 1704 by the neighbor, to whose house Dea. Hayden's mother went for company and greater safety, some night when it was known that hostile Indians were prowling about. Possibly it was a place of general resort for the neighborhood.

J. H. HAYDEN.

² The road from Hayden's northwesterly to N. was not the road to Springfield before N. was settled (1654). It ran through "Mr. Stoughton lot," proving that it was not open in 1640. Probably it was at first a trespass road to the Common to get pipe-



Map of Haydens

WINDSOR Conn. 1645.

by Jabez H. Hayden. Sept. 27th 1885.

EXPLANATORY KEY TO THE MAP OF "HAYDEN'S."

(This map was prepared for and used in *The Hayden Genealogy*; and its author, Jabez H. Hayden, has reluctantly consented to say using it in this History, in deference to my earnestly expressed opinion that it possessed interest to a much wider circle of readers than those of the work named.—H. R. S.)

The *first black dot* marks the site of houses in 1645, viz.: ST. JOHN NICHOLAS, a person of note, sold over funds, had lands taken up in his name, and this house built; but never came to occupy it. It was sold soon after by his attorneys to JOHN DRAKE, was evidently a temporary structure, and is not heard of again. THOMAS GILBERT also sold to Drake, and remained there only before 1650. BASSETT, DRAKE, and HAYDEN owned all of Sequestered Meadow and (with exception of Buncroft) appear to have been the only families in the neighborhood during the first two generations.

The three *black squares* mark the homes of three of the grandsons of William Hayden; and about the date of their erection the fourth grandson occupied the original homestead; and there were no other families between or beyond them during that generation.

Commencing at the upper left hand corner of the map:

The *first star* designates the site of the late Levi G. Hayden's house. Beyond this, westward—until recently—there were but three houses; thence the road runs across The Plains, 5 miles to Sudbald.

The *second star*: House built 1737 by Samuel Hayden, once a famous tavern, the white oak which overshadows it was doubtless of respectable age when the forest was cut away around the then new house. Its present owner, Lucinda H., daughter of Levi Hayden, celebrated here her 96th birthday, 26th September, 1891. When she was 2 years old she saw her great-grandfather, Deacon Nathl Hayden, at 94, and he, when 4 years old, saw his grandfather Daniel, born 1649, who saw the beginnings of the settlement.

The *third star*: Site of the once famous Pickett's Tavern, now tenantless.

The *fourth star*: House built about 1770, by John Hayden, now a tenant house.

The *fifth star*, near the angle of the road: A brick house built by Capt. Nathl Hayden before the Revolution, now occupied by his grandson, Samuel B. Hayden.

The *sixth double star*, Hayden's Chapel, owned by the First Congregational Church of Windsor, erected by the residents of this locality.

The *next two stars*, on the hill, west, and two stars on east side of the road, mark houses built by parties who located here because of the railroad facilities between Haydens' and Hartford.

The *next two stars*, on the hill, on west side of road, belong to the family of the late Moses Allen, and are of older date.

Below them a *circle* marks the Stone-pit, or Hayden quarry, from which was taken the gravestone of Rev. Ephraim Hunt, 1644—probably the first gravestone put up in New England, and having earlier dates having been more recently erected.

The *three stars* opposite mark the present railroad station.

The *next star* designates a house on the site designated by a square of house occupied, 1708, by one of the grandsons of William Hayden, this was built by Silas Phelps, 1780, and now owned by Henry Osborn.

The *star* further east of Osborn's marks a house built about 1830 by James Drake, which has had frequent changes of occupants, and

The *star* at extreme upper right hand corner of the map, on the same road, marks a house built about 1840 by the late Nathl L. Hayden, and still occupied by his family.

Just at the junction of the two roads, a *small black spot* shows the site of the "William Hayden Memorial Boulder." (Engraving, p. 582.)

The *large black ball*, on east side of road, below the junction of the roads, marks

the site of the original William Hayden house, occupied after 1664 by his son Daniel, from about 1703 by his grandson Daniel, from about 1736 by his great-grandson Isaac, and from about 1786 by his great-great-grandson Ezra, from whose descendants it passed, about 1840, to its present owners, George P. Hayden and son. It is now occupied by a tenant.

Opposite the old house, and on the west side of the road, is a house built by Alpheus Munsell, about 1783, now occupied by his grandson, A. A. Munsell.

Next south of the old house, on same side of road, a modern house, owned and occupied by James L. Hayden.

Next below, same side of road, owned and occupied by George P. Hayden since 1841. This was formerly the home of Capt. Ebenezer Fitch Bissell who was captured at the battle of Long Island, August, 1776, and barely survived his sufferings from starvation while a prisoner in the hands of the British. Later on and down to about 1830, his son Ebenezer Fitch Bissell kept the well-known Bissell Stage Tavern here.

The house opposite to G. P. Hayden's, on the St. Nicholas lot, was burned after this map was made, and rebuilt further north, also one south of George P. Hayden's, both small, and occupied by tenants.

The house on the Drake lot, west of the road, built about 1773 by Isaac Hayden, and occupied now by his grandson, I. L. Hayden.

The house on the Drake lot, east of the road, occupied by the heirs of the late Hiram Bissell.

The house on the Bissell lot, built by Esq. Joseph Bissell, grandfather of the late Col. Geo. P. Bissell of Hartford, has been occupied by the Hills family about 80 years, the Hills Brothers being its present occupants.

The house on the Banerett lot is a tenant house of the Hills Brothers.

Opposite the Ferry Road (with the index finger pointing to it) is the site of the *Model Schoolhouse*, the first one built on this plan, under the supervision of Hon. Henry Barnard, then secretary of the State Board of Commissioners for Connecticut Common Schools, and has since been widely copied (with variations) throughout this and other States, and to some extent in Europe. He delivered here a historical address on the fiftieth anniversary of its erection, October 9, 1891.

Sagester Meadow had been under cultivation by the Indians who were now all dead of small pox (or had joined other communities). It contained about 75 acres and was all the "land fit for immediate cultivation" in this vicinity.

Rocky Hill containing 74 acres, remained in "commons" more than a hundred years after the land around it had been divided in seventy. Stone in this hill were free to any inhabitant for cellar walls, chimneys, wells, etc. When Rocky Hill was divided, a lot at the extreme south end was set to the Ellsworth family, who did not put it under cultivation, and only cut out the dead wood and from time to time a stick of timber as they had use for it, so that this lot remained much the same primeval forest as that which covered all the land (except the meadows when the whites first settled here). In 1887, that branch of the Ellsworth family which last owned it being dead, the lot was sold, a steam saw-mill set up on it, and it was soon shorn of its glory. The annual rings were counted on white oak logs, which showed them to be more than 200 years old.

The *Ferry road* led to Bissell's Ferry, which was early established for the accommodation of "the three towns" in their journeys to and fro between Connecticut and the Bay, and also Springfield.

New River is an artificial channel leading the brooks directly to the river instead of following under the meadow hill nearly a mile before their waters enter the river.

The *road to Pine Meadow* was opened very early by the owners of that meadow, extending from "the upper side of William Haydens' lot," and was very crooked to avoid swamps.

The *road to Northampton* was opened after the settlement of that place (1654). It leaves the river to avoid the necessity of bridges, and in its first five miles crosses a level plain, not yet settled.

"Rocky Hill," says Mr. Jabez H. Hayden, in a letter to the author, dated March, 1885, "was common land down to 1752, or later. The south end of it (against which Wm. Gaylord, Jr., Francis and John Stiles, and two or three lots south of them, butted) and which was owned by the Ellsworths, is now (1885) being cut off *for the first time*. Trees have been cut out while it lay in common, and since, and the dead wood carried away; but it has always been original forest. I have counted fully 200 annual rings (one man says 230) on several oak logs. How is that for progress?—an original forest within forty rods of Francis Stiles' house, after a lapse of 250 years?"

Retracing our steps to just above the Palisado, we find that on the same side of the road, also bounded north by a highway going westward between Stephen Terry's and Jeffrey Baker's home-lots (same as now passes between Joel Thrall's and W. A. House's residences), east by the common street, south by the north line of the Palisado, and east by a back street running parallel with the main street, was a parallelogram of land, which seems to have been called *Pound Close*, and at its north end the home-lot of JEFFREY BAKER. Mr. Henry Clarke seems, at a later date, to have purchased the whole of this "close."

Along the highway bounding the west side of Pound Close were the residences of ELLAS PARSON, BEGAT EGGLESTON, JOHN TAYLOR, WILLIAM HEBBARD, GILES GIBBS; and back of their lots was *Brick Hill Swamp*.

Continuing south we come to the road which turned westward out of the Palisado, by the present Pierson residence, south of which and between which and the brow of the rivulet hill were home-lots of JOHN WILLIAMS, HENRY FOLKES, OWEN, and HOYT. North of this road was *Jeffrey Baker's Hollow*. *Hosford's Lane*, in this vicinity, was a highway on the east side of John Owen's home-lot, extending from the road by the present Pierson place, south to Wm. Hosford's house which stood on the brow of the meadow hill in rear of Owen's lot.

staves (to be sent to the West Indies for rum and molasses), but may have been the trail used from the first to go to Waranoke (Westfield), Mass. Mr. Pyncheon settled Springfield the year after the settlement of Windsor. His supplies brought around from Boston by water could not ascend the river above Windsor Locks, but landing on the east side he proceeded thence by land-carriage. At this point, which continued to be his landing place, he built his warehouse, which gave it the name of Warehouse Point. *Boswell's Ferry*, below Hayden's, was established chiefly to accommodate those making the journey between Connecticut and the Bay (Boston and vicinity), and it only required a road three miles from the ferry, along the *east* side of the river, to connect with Pyncheon's road to Springfield. Later on, the road to Northampton became the great thoroughfare to Springfield and Boston, as well as North and West. J. H. H.

South of the Rivulet.

From the Rivulet ferry the old road passed west, through the "Little Meadow" (Mr. Warham's on the north and Messrs. Benj. Newberry and Robert Howard's on the south), till it came to a meadow gate, on about the site of the Widow Alvah Rowland's residence, from which point it turned south to the south corner of Dr. Bray Rossiter's homelot, and then turned abruptly west — being, in fact, as will be seen, the original of the present road running from the causeway in front of the Rowland house, and up past the factory to Broad Street. On this road, and nearly in a line, stood the homes of Rev. Mr. WARHAM, Mr. JOS. NEWBERRY, JOHN DORCHESTER, WILLIAM PHELPS, and Dr. BRAY ROSSITER, and which undoubtedly were the houses which were "drowned very deep" in the Great Flood of 1638-9. Back of them, on the eminence between the Rowland place and the present railroad track, was a *small palisade*, mentioned in Mr. Joseph Newberry's deed to Rev. Warham, and which was undoubtedly erected as a ready refuge for the inhabitants on the south side of the Rivulet in times of Indian alarms.

Continuing on the Island Road from Mr. Rossiter's, we come to the lots (as they stand on the record, 1640) of RICHARD VORE, ROGER WILLIAMS, THOMAS MARSHFIELD, JOHN HURD, Mr. JOHN BRANKER, THOMAS and his son Dea. JOHN MOORE, and Elder JOHN WITCHFIELD.

These lots extended from the Rivulet to the east side of the present Broad Street. After the flood of 1638-9 the houses on some, or all, of these lots, which at first were built on the Island Road, were rebuilt on the high ground west of the Railroad, and access to them was from Broad Street after that was opened.

The next houses below Mr. WITCHFIELD's were those of JAMES MARSHALL, SAMUEL ALLEN, and ROGER LUDLOW. Here the road made a bend to the west to avoid the swampy ground where the present causeway is, crossing "the two brooks," thence easterly to the present Island Road.

A road runs southerly through the length of *The Island* (so called because in floods and high waters it is generally more or less cut off from the surrounding country by water), on the *east* side of which dwelt some of Windsor's aristocracy, viz.: Dea. LOOMIS and his sons; Dea. WM. PORTER, Mr. HENRY WOLCOTT, Sr., Mr. HENRY WOLCOTT, Jr., Mr. GEORGE PHELPS,¹ GOODMAN WHITEHEAD, Mr. MATTHEW ALLYN, successor of the Plymouth people, JOHN WYATT, AMBROSE FOWLER. Just north of Mr. Whitehead's a road turned westward to the wood lots, and north of this road, bounded east by the meadow road and west by the "*upland*" road "

¹ Henry Wolcott's short-hand MSS. records that on Oct. 11, 1640, while Mr. Huit was preaching to the people of Windsor from Romans xii. 17, "at this lecture, Geo. Phelps' house was burnt so that it [the house] went over."

to Hartford, and extending up to Mr. Samuel Allen's land, was a large tract owned by Mr. ROGER LUDLOW.

This *upland road to Hartford* was constructed in April, 1638, by order of the General Court. Commencing at Goodman John Witchfield's corner it passed westward and southwest (around the corner now occupied by Mr. Thaddeus Mather, at the lower end of Broad Street) and to Hartford in the line of the present road.¹

Bowfield was the ancient name applied to the country west of the present Broad Street, which is of comparatively modern origin and was laid out along the back ends of the lots of the first settlers. As to the beginnings of this Broad Street, we find that when Mr. Warham and his wife Abigail (April 1, 1634) made over the dwelling-house and land of Mr. John Branker, deceased (Mrs. Warham's first husband), it "bounded east by the highway on the bank against the Little Meadow, on westerly against or by the highway, as it is appointed to range," proving that, at that date, the highway on the east had not been changed to its present place; and one would infer that what is now Broad Street was then only "appointed," or set out and not in use. Broad Street was at first but six rods wide where the present traveled road is, and was probably widened by the owners on the east side, when the highway on the upland against Little Meadow (on which they built) was removed to its present location, that they might bring the street nearer their houses. When they rebuilt, they of course placed their houses behind their barns and facing the new *Broad Street*.

Coming, then, to the road leading westward "to the Commons," we find that at about the northwest corner of the present Broad Street, it sent off a branch road to the *Old Mill*. Northeast of this road, which is still in use, and between it and the Mill Brook, laid the land of JASPER RAWLINS. Southwest of the Mill road, running south to the "road to the Commons," were the lots of Mr. DANIEL CLARKE, JOB DRAKE and JOHN DRAKE, Sgt. BENEDICTUS ALVORD, RICHARD BIRGE, and ARTHUR WILLIAMS.

Following this *Mill Road* we come upon "the old mill," sometimes called the "old Warham Mill," because of its first owner, Rev. Mr. Warham, who had it probably by gift from the town, and calls it, in a deed of gift to his wife (1634), his "corn mill." It was in existence as early as 1640, as per the following record: "Mr. John Warham has by Gift of y^e Town one acre of land more or less Lying by his Mill, as it bounds north beginning at y^e fall of y^e water out of y^e Trough upon y^e Wheel & So goes downward by y^e Running of y^e Mill water till it comes to y^e water in y^e Brook and there then it bounds easterly by y^e land of Job Drake along in y^e loo bottom, and riseth y^e side of y^e bank, going to a

¹ *Col. Rec.*, i. 17, 51, 56, 125. Also second chapter of this work.

tree near y^e way where Job goeth down into his swamp, and there turns from that tree straight six rods to the highway, and then bounds by y^e way to y^e mill afore expresst." Tradition claims that it was the first grist mill in Connecticut, and was resorted to by the people of all the neighboring towns, even from Middletown. Be this as it may, it is evidently one of the oldest of Windsor *institutions*: affording us, as *Stoughton* happily remarks, "the pleasing incident of Mr. Warham's thorough identification, not only with the church which prospered so signally during his ministry, in spite of dissenting elements in its midst, but also with its only material counterpart. From the one he preached the unquestioned law of God and broke to his little flock the bread of Eternal Life. From the other he practiced for their example the 'measure that should be mete,' 'pressed down and well shaken together,' and dispensed the wholesome elements of that daily bread by which his people were wont to symbolize their faith in spiritual things."¹ It seems to have had several proprietors at one time, and has always been considered, even to the present day, as good stock.

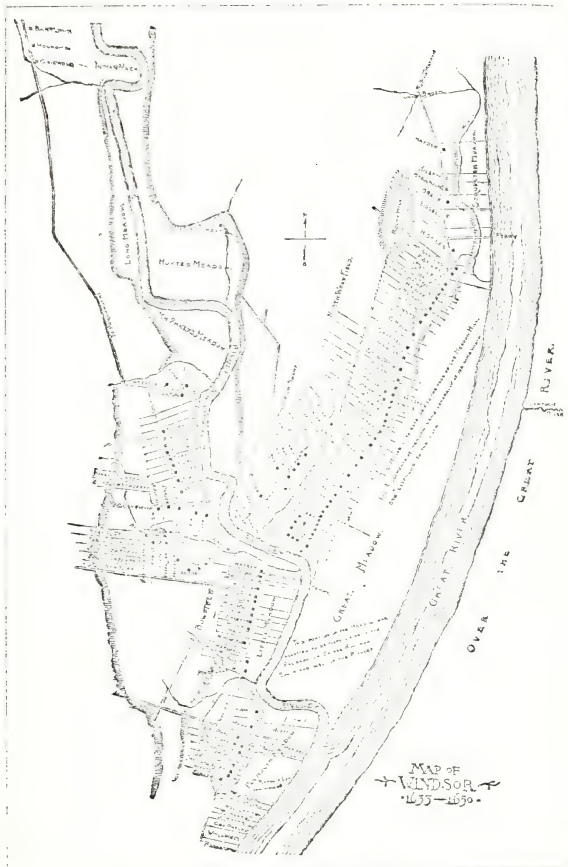
From the mill, the road turns northward, following the general course of the Rivulet or Farmington River. On its east side and running back to the Rivulet we find the lots of SAMUEL POND, WILLIAM BUELL, JOHN HILLIER, NICH. PALMER, WILLIAM THRALL, THOMAS BASCOMB, WID. MARY COLLINS, RICHARD WELLER, JOHN THILEY, THOS. ORTON.

Out of this road turns a way to the east and runs down to Mr. WILLIAM PHELPS' who lived on the brow of the hill overlooking "Mr. Phelps' meadow" (the cellar hole of his house still remains) on this road were WILLIAM PHELPS, JR., and THOMAS ORTON.

Directly north of this, and on the *easterly* side of the Rivulet which divided them, was SIMON HOYTE's *meadow*, and following up the Poquonnoc road we come, opposite Indian Neck on the Rivulet, to EDWARD, GEORGE, and FRANCIS GRISWOLD, THOMAS HOLCOMB, and JOHN BARTLETT, the pioneer settlers (as early as 1649) of the Poquonnoc village.

Upon an ancient road which running about south westerly from the Rivulet (near where the present road from Palisado Green comes in) intersected the Poquonnoc road above the Old Mill, were the residences, on the *north*, of HUMPHREY HYDE, THOMAS BARBER, and ALEX. ALFORD; on the south side, those of JONATHAN and NATHAN GILLETT. To the west of these and the Old Mill district generally, were the lots belonging to the children of THOMAS NEWBERRY and to Mr. WARHAM.

¹ *Windsor Furnes*, 1694-1750. By John A. Stoughton, p. 16.



By permission of the Publishers of *Windsor County Memorial History*.

DISTRIBUTION OF HOME-LOTS OF THE FIRST SETTLERS OF ANCIENT WINDSOR.

We here present a list of early Windsor settlers and the location of their home-lots, by Mr. JABEZ H. HAYDEN, comprising his *full notes* of the article upon this subject, which he prepared for the *Hartford County Memorial History* (1883), and containing a large amount of detail necessarily omitted in that work. It contains the matured results of his thirty years' investigation of the subject, since the publication of our original history; and forms a reliable list of all those persons who can be traced to Windsor *before* 1650. Most of these names appear upon the Windsor *Land Records*, in Matthew Grant's *Old Church Record*, *Colonial Records*, etc., etc. *Removals* are taken from land records, town histories, and a hundred incidental sources of information. The *History of Dorchester* is voucher for those "who came up hence," and who are designated in the following list by the letter D. The dates given do not absolutely mark the coming of the families to Windsor, but give the time of their first appearing upon the records. Doubtless some who were among the very first settlers bear date later than 1640, through their neglect to "bring in" a description of their lands to the recorder at that time. The *map* shows the position of each person's home-lot; the *list* gives its breadth, whether set off by original grant or by purchase, its transfer to successive owners, etc. All genealogical details have been referred to the genealogies in another part of the work, which should be carefully studied in connection with this list.

(The grants made to these settlers of lands on the *East side of the Great River*, and at *Pete Meadow*, will be noted in another portion of this volume.)

ALEXANDER, George, in 1644, bo't Jasper Rawlin's place, S. E. fm the Old Mill; res. there until 1655, then sold to William Filley, and name disappears from records.

ALFORD (Alvord), Alexander, 1645, bo't lot, W. of Thos. Barber; length 66 r., 18 r. wide; sold, 1654, to Josiah Ellsworth, who sold to Cornelius Gillett, 1658 (known, 1876, as the Oliver S. Gillett pl.). Jonathan G. (formerly Warham), had a lot W. of Alvord on the W. side where A. was 52 r., S. S. W. by the Mill Brook. Alexander Alvord hath granted by virtue of purchase his home Lot six acres, more or Less, ye breadth is Eighteen rods, bound West and norwest by John Warham & there is in length fifty Two rod, bounds E. S. E. by Thomas Barber, and is there in length Sixty-six rods, on N. N. E. bdd by John Helier. "Also, six acres of Swamp on the Mill Brook in length by ye bank (threescore) [] rods, in breadth at the S— 7 twelve rods in ye midst twenty rod, bds S. by John Drake."

"Also, by Gift from his Father Richard Voar, in the woods forty-two acres, in length six score rod, in breadth fifty-seven rod — b'd S. by Jonathan Gillet, N. by Thomas Bascomb." [No date.]

May 27, 1645, he sold to Humphrey Hide, of W. 4 acres, 16 rod wide, bd. F. by Nathan Gillet, N. by a highway, S. by the Mill Brook.

(Sgt.) Benedictus, 1697, bd. gr. extend. 10 r. in width, from Bloomfield Ave. to a road which ran from the Mill road (about the site of the Goff house) W. a few r. S. of the Mill-pond. His ho. stood on S. side of this last road, 10 or 15 r. W. of Mill-road.

ALLYN, Mr. Matthew, 1638, from Hartford, had a lot N. of Wyatt's and S. of that of Henry Wolcott, Jr.

He b'lt, 1638, all the lands reserved by the Plymouth Co. (p. 41) including "an acre upon the hill to build upon." There is more than an acre betw. Wyatt and Wolcott, but it is about certain that his ho. stood on the site of an old one pulled down by Henry Halsey, 1830. It stood near the middle of the lot next S. of the tobacco barn and dwelling attached, now standing (1889). Both Wyatt's and Fowler's lots were afterwards added to this. A tradition still exists that the frame of the old ho. was bro't from Eng. as also the doorstep. The trad. prob. refers to the Plymouth House, which Mr. A. b'lt, the material of which was bro't from Plymouth, Mass., by Capt. Holmes, 1633; and it is not improbable that the material of the Plymouth House was brought from Eng. as there was no saw-mill in P. at that time, and that Mr. A. rem. it from the meadow to the hill and used it in the construction of his first ho. Whether any part of it formed a part of the ho. pulled down by Mr. Halsey is now too late to determine positively. No trace of the Plym. Ho. site can now be found. Mr. Allen had not removed to Windsor, 1640, but was "of W." 1644.

Thomas (son of Mr. Matthew), who m. Abigail (d. Rev. John) Warham, b'lt the Broncker pl. on Broad St. (betw. H. S. Hayden and Mr. Clark's present pl.) where he res. until his father's dth, when he occup. his father's homestead and other lands, including the "43½ acres in Plym. Meadow and the 399 acres allowed by the Town for the Plym. right in the upland." After his dth his son Hon. Col. Matthew took the homestead.

ALLEN, SAMUEL (supposed bro. of Mr. Matthew), 1640, lot gr. 13 r. wide. Doubtless his ho. stood on the Island road, next N. of Roger Ludlow's ho. and S. of James Marshall's lot wh. bd. N. by road running E. from Grace Church, and Allen's and Marshall's lots, breadth 11 r. each, ran to the W. to about the W. line of the present Broad St. Prob. all the houses bet w. his and Mr. Warham's should have been represented on the map as standing where the present highway is, with the highway running W. of them. Allen's ho. was "drowned very deep" Mch. 18, 1638-9. He d. 1649; his wid. m. Wm. Huriburt and rem. to Northampton, taking the Allen ch. with her.

BAKER, JEFFERY, 1642, had a lot on Main St. S. of Sandy Hill road, which lot had been ret. to the town by Thos. Ford and gr. to Baker. On this lot of 2 acres (6½ by 53 r.) he built a ho. and sold to Michael Humphrey; ho. stood near W. end, opp. where the road turns N. He, also, b'lt of Thos. Ford a lot, without a ho., on E. side of the st. on wh. he built. He d. 1655; wid. m. ——— Ingraham, and 1672, sold Homestead (16 rods breadth), the orig. lot, E. of st. of Thos. Ford's. His son Samuel had his father's lot on E. side of river; res. there 1672. (See *Humphrey*.)

BRANCKER, Mr. John, the schoolmaster (D.), in 1640, lot gr. 12 r. wide, d. 1692; wid. m. Rev. Mr. Warham; they sold his homestead to Thos. (s. Mr. Matt.) Allyn, on his marriage to Mr. W.'s dau., and the pl. descended to "Esq." (Henry) Allyn, who d. there 1894. This lot included the unoccupied lot N. of H. S. Hayden, the "old Squire Allyn lot," breadth 12 rods.

BANCRAFT (Bancroft), John, res. 1647, in Francis Stiles' bor. d. 1662, he built, 1658, lot N. of Ferry Road, now the S. part of the Messrs. Hills pl., and built thereon. His son *Ephraim* had the homestead, which he sold to Nath. Bissell.

BARBER, Thomas (of Saltonstall party, 1635), lot gr. W. of Humphrey Hedges and 10 r. W. of Mill road (s. acres, 22 r. wide) lot S. on Mill brook, ext. N. across present Pleasant St., which was orig. opened 2 rods wide to accommodate Barber and Alford, and a way for Mr. Warham to go to his lot, which lay W. of Alford's. It ended a little W. of present Pequonnock road. His ho. prob. stood on the S. side of the road, now Pleasant St.

Of his sons, *John* rec'd his father's pl., then but 163 r. wide, in 1664, and sold, 1671, to his bro. Samuel, and rem. to Springfield, and thence to Sudfield. *Thomas'* lot, "whereon he bubbled," was lot formerly of Samuel Pond, except about 1½ acres next to Silver St., on wh. P's ho. stood. Barber's ho. doubtless faced Hollow Fall road, he rem. 1671, to Simsbury. *Samuel*, 1671, bot of his bro. John the homestead where he prob. res.

BARTLETT, John, 1641; was res. 1649, in Pequonnock; his lot and ho. were N. of Thos. Holcombe's (see p. 89), he sold to Samuel (s. Mr. Wm. Phelps, abt. 1651, and rem. to cor. of Mill-road and Bloomfield Ave., where he had 2 acres, with a ho. in 1654. He prob. built the ho. tho' the lot had been owned by "several persons before." In 1669 he sold to John Case and rem. to Simsbury. In 1654 he contracted with the town to keep the Rivulet ferry, and at renewal of lease, 1658, the town promised "to provide some stone and timber to build him a cellar at the ferry house."

BASCOMB, Thomas, 1640 (D.), lot gr. which commenced 23 r. S. of (present ditch to river) the Ellison-Orton pl. and was 18 r. wide. This, with dwellings, he sold, 1656, to John Moses, and rem. to Northampton. He was a brick and stone mason.

BASSETT, Thomas (of Saltonstall party, 1635), lot gr. in Palisado, 8 r. wide (lying W. of Mr. Hill's lot, upon which he prob. never built, but sold it to Mr. H. 1640; rem. early (to Fairfield?); no family recorded.

BENNETT, John, first date here 1648. He was before the Court to answer to various misdemeanors, one of which was "for saying that he had enticed and drawn away the affections of his [John Drake's] daughter. He seems to have led a vagabond life, tho' previous to 1652, for a little time, he owned and sold the ho. built by Peter Tilton; disappears after 1652, no family recorded.

¹ Mr. Roger Phelps, of Windsor, used to tell that *Silver St.* was so named because the people passing along that street in the early morning stopped to pick up silver six-pences, and found that they were only shad scales, dropped by their poorer neighbors while carrying home shad in the night, to avoid being seen by friends who fared more sumptuously. *J. H. Hayden.*

BIRGE, Richard, 1649, lot gr. 15 r. wide; ext. to Bloomfield Ave; d. 1651, wsl. on Thos. Hosking. B's ho. was on road running E. and W. south of M^{rs} George John Drake's stand nearest the Mill road, Benedict Alvor's next, then Birge's beyond whom there were then no houses. His son *David* inher. the homestead; and son *John*, by will, had B's gr^{ft}r Gaylord's (late the Roswell Miller pl.); the ho. after dth of "Old Molly Birge," abt. 1800, was pulled down and present Miller ho. built near its site.

BISSELL, John, ferryman, 1649, lot gr. 22 r. wide; bo't 25 r. add. his ho. stood on the lot S. of present garden of Henry and Stephen Hills. It is uncertain whether his first ho. was on the road (as his next neighbor Drake's must have been) or on the brow of the hill farther E. In 1642, the Mass. surveyor, Woodward and Saffrey, ran the line betw. the Colonies at John Bissell's ho., the remains of wh. were to be seen 1751.

Of his sons, *John* had the homestead, and bo't, 1655, the ho. and land (11½ acres) of Thos. Gilbert, formerly the home lot of Josiah Hull, W. of the highway, opp. Hull's ho. *Seantuck*, res. S. E. cor. Bowd. bl., bo't, 1661, lot W. side of Broad St. (9 by 34 r.) where T. S. Chappes (1889) on wh. he built and res. His father gave him 100 acres of the Wilbur lot, all except the E. side which was previously sold to Job Drake. *Nathaniel* rec'd from his father, 1662, "in part of his portion of his marriage," a part of his land and ho., "at (S. of) Seantuck," on E. side Connecticut River with provision for the remainder at father's death. *John, Sr.*, had previously made over his orig. homestead to John, Jr., and doubtless res. with his son Nathl. *John, Sr.*, had kept the ferry, prob. from 1641 to 1658, "at his old house"; then John, Jr., had it 10 yrs; after that it was under charge of the town authorities, probably *worked* by the Bissells) till 1677, when the Gen. Ct. leased it to Nath. Bissell. The location of ferry was prob. changed betw. 1662 (when John, Jr., petitioned to be released) and 1677, to the mouth of the Seantie, near its present location, the previous landing place on the East side of river having been N. of the Seantie, and the road from it to the (East Windsor) street abt. ¼ a mile N. of Seantie bridge. *Nathaniel*, doubtless res. on the river bank, below the Seantie (still occup. by dwellings,) from the time of his marriage. This ho. was garrisoned at the time of King Philip's War. *John Bissell, Sen't*, evidently died here, having made provision for his second wife, stipulating that Nathaniel should give "his now present mother-in-law if she is willing and choose to have the use the parlor for her abode," it should be granted.

BROOKS, John, 1650, contracted with the Town to keep the Rivulet ferry, the Town agreeing to make him a cellar (dwelling) 10 by 15 ft., "fit to live in", after his mar. abt. 1655, bo't the N. part of the Hubbard lot on Backer Row, built and was res. thereon 1668; rem. to Simsbury, 1682.

BROWTON, John, 1650, m. that yr; bo't Simon Mills' ho. and lot next S. of Wm. Phelps, Jr., wh. he sold Feb. 5, 1655, to Sam. Marshall, and disappears from record. The S. part of this lot, formerly owned by W^m Filly, 11 r. passed by exch. to James Eno.

BUCKLAND, Thomas, 1637, lot gr. commencing 44 r. S. of present Ferry road and 29 r. N. of Sandy Hill road, 9½ r. wide; add. by purchase, Geo. Hull's lot on S. lying E. of highway, 14½ r. wide; d. 1662.

Of his sons, *Timothy*, bo't, 1661, ho. and land of Rich. Saxton on the W^m Rockwell lot W. of highway, wh. he sold, 1677, to John Denslow, Jr., with ho. *Nicholas* had his gr^{ft}r Nich. Denslow's pl. *Thomas*, settled on East side the Great River.

BUTLER, William W. joiner and carpenter, m. 1640, lot gr. 5 acres, $14\frac{1}{2}$ r. wide, on Silver St. betw. Sand Pond and John Hillier, S. W. cor. lot 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ r. N. of Hollow Fall, bd. W. by highway.

Of his sons, *Samuel* res. lot 8, of his father, bd't of Rich. Saxton, cor. Silver St. and Hollow Fall, wh. he sold 1667 to his bro. in law Tim. Palmer and rem. to He. monsonet (Killingworth). *Samuel* had and *Tim. Thrall* contracted with Mr. Pynchon of Springfield, 1659 to "Hew the timber for the Old Fort." *Peter* had the homestead.

CARTER, JOSEPH (D.), lot gr. abt 10 r. wide. The present road to Bussell's Ferry is on the S. side of this lot at the street, and crosses it in its course down the meadow hill. C. d. 1647. *Arthur Williams* in his dau. and occup. the homestead, and sold to Thos. Ford th. 30th E. side of st. Mar 17, 1657-8, and rem. to Deer field; F. sold, 5 Oct. 1662, to John Sargent, Jr. who res. there 1670. Of Carter's 3 child. b. here, 2 perished in the burning of the ho. 1653. *Joshua*, Jr. when of age, rec'd his portion in the lot W. of the st., 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres, 10 r. wide and other lots, wh. he sold and no rem.

CLARKE, Mr. DANIEL (Hon. Sec'y of the Colony, 1658-60 and 1664-65) m. 1644, bd't a triangular lot abt 36 rods on W. side of the Mill road, ext. from abt 15 r. N. of Bloomfield Ave. having on his S. line John Bartlett, or his W. Job Drake. His son *Nathaniel* had the homestead.

DEA, HENRY, 1649, lot gr. but not recorded, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ rods wide betw. Capt. Mason's on S. and Mr. Hunt's on N., both of wh. lots he subseq. added by purchase (Mason's in 1654, Hunt's, 1654; first res. appears to have been on present Cong. parsonage lot N. E. cor. 1st Church), wh. he bd't of Nich. Denslow — date not known — wh. he sold, 1655, to Sam. Marshall, and he to the Town. After his purchase of the Hunt lot, he res. there until his rem. to Hadley, and gave it, by will, to his niece Elizabeth Fox, wife of Edward Chauncy; died Dec. 23, 1675.

JOSEPH, 1637, D. L. lot gr. comp. being 13 r. S. Ferry road and $14\frac{1}{2}$ r. wide; he d. 1641, by will, rec'd the Church of W. overseers, if necessary to sell the lot above Mr. Stiles' meadow; this lot was afterward sold by W^m Gaylord, Sr. and *Henry Clark*, deacons of the W. ch. (*Land Rec. Col. Rec. Sec'y Off'n*, p. 46); *Joseph Clark's* will d. 1639. *Arthur Hawkins* and *Joseph Bird*, of Farmington, sold his pl. 1639 to Sam. Marshall and he to John (s. Wm) Rockwell, when it was add. to the Rockwell pl. No ho. mentioned, but doubtless Clark had his ho. here.

(There is an extant proof of relationship betw. these three Clark's).

COLLINS, MARY, prob. wid. 1640, had lot betw. those of Nich. Seneshon and Thos. Rascomb, on wh. she had a ho. and wh. she sold to James Eno, abt. 1653, new "the old Eno pl.", occup. (1859) by Samuel Eno, the records give her no family and prob. her husband d. before first date of Land Rec.

COOKE (Capt. AARON (D.), 1638, lot gr. 12 r. wide, beg. 10 r. N. of Palisado, or road to meadow (r.); also, owned lot in Palisado, where he doubtless res. during Pequot war; afterwards 1664, bd't of Mr. Hunt's est. a ho. and lot, adjoining his own on the S. (bd. S. by highway leading W. from Palisado, breadth 10, length 16 r. and *Genl's Palisado Pld.*, 1656, marks C's name as if he then res. there) and Parkman's lot on N. rem. to Northampton, 1661, thence to Westfield.

His son *Joseph* in 1661 and had his father's pl. as a marr. portion, but soon ran, with his father-in-law to Hadley. In 1664, Aaron Cook "of Hadley," made over his "dwelling house and land" on Sandy Bank near by Goodman's Pomeroy, to John Maudsley (Mosely). Aaron his son b. 1666, settled in Hartford, 1686.

COOKE, NATHANIEL, 1649 m. that yr. bot the N. end of lots of Arthur Williams and Rich. Eirge, lying betw. road in front of B's ho. and the new water-course of Mill Brook.

CLARK, Henry, died on that year, bot of John Denslow the Packmen pl. on Backer Row; where he prob. res. until abt. 1655 when the Town voted to buy the ppy for a currier's use, if it was for sale.

DENSLOW, Nicholas, 1640 (D.), bot gr. 24 r. wide betw. Ford and Hestford, also, owned the present Cong. parsonage lot in Pal. where he res. during Pequot war; d. 1688. He also sold to Henry Clark and he to the Town the Town House. After his dth. the homestead was given to his 2d son Nicholas Backland.

Of Nich. Denslow's sons, *Henry* a first settler at Windsor Locks, abt. 1633, was killed here by Indians, 1676. Another son *John*, bot the Hammam Pl. 1654, W. side lot 21; r. wide abt. opp. present res. Henry Phelps.

DEWEY, THOMAS, 1637 (D.), bot gr. first N. of Pal., 10 r. wide; d. 1648, wid. m. Geo. Phelps, who, upon his retn. to Westfield, 1670, sold to Rev. Nathl. Chennedy.

Of Dewey's sons, *Joseph* was at Northampton, 1663, and *Israel* res. on Geo. Phelps (Dewey) pl. 1678.

DIBBLE, THOMAS (D.), bot gr. 5½ r. wide, next below cor. ferry-road, upon which he built and sold to Robert Watson, and he to Anthy Hawkins, who added the lot N. of it, abt. 1650 and sold them together, 1656, to Jacob Drake and he to Sam. Gibbs, 1662. Dibble bot the W's Hubbard pl. in the Pal., next S. of Grant, where he was res. 1674. Prob. *Zachariah* Dibble was an elder son of his, b. before he came to America.

DORCHESTER, ANTHONY, 1649, was res. at orig. Wm. Phelps lot, next N. of Bray Rossiter, which he bot (prob.) from Benj. Newberry, who bot it of Phelps, 1642. Dorchester sold, 1649, to Robert Howard, soon after disappears.

DRAKE, JOHN, Sett. 1640, bot gr. 22 r. wide, "except at the ho. it is but 10 rods"; but there appears no other owner for this 12 rod bldg. lot, and he afterwards seems to have owned the same width at the ho. as elsewhere.

Of his sons, *John* had a lot, 4½ acres, bd. S. on Bloomfield Ave., N. partly on Mill highway, and partly by road running W. from it to Rich. B'rage's lot; his ho. was on road running W. betw. the present old Goffe ho. on Mill road and Wm. Mack's present res. *John* had lot of 4 acres, 14 r. wide, on Bloomfield Ave. ext. to Mill road, parallel to and adjoin. his bro. John; his W. line was 49 r. his E. line abutted on John Bartlett, abt. 14 r. at the S. end and abt. 25 r. on the lot of Daniel Clark and 20 to 25 r. along the Mill highway. He bot, 1659, most of the Roger Ludlow lot, wh. lay E. of the present Hartford road, but there is no evidence of its ever having been built on, nor is it known what became of Ludlow's "stone-house" (cellar?) which stood at the E. end, on the Island road. *Joseph* had the homestead.

DUMBLETON, JOHN, 1610, a servant of Mr. Whiting, of Hartford (whom he seems to have served 2 yrs. before coming to N. E.) who worked the lands bot of Mr. Ludlow, 5 yrs. until his term of service expired after which he worked the land on shares ("to halves") for four years, "and after I paid £20 a year." He was 20 yrs. old when he came to W. and says "there was little improvement on the land when I came upon it {prob. 1629} but I plowed and broke up considerable quantity of it." This information appears in his affidavit in the case of *Whiting's Successors, John Dumbleton*, to recover the land under the plea of defective title. After D. left it it was sold to Miles Murwin, who found it "too hard" for him and was released. We find no mention of Dumbleton while he was here, in 1656 and 1684; he was not in Springfield. Did he occupy Roger Ludlow's stone house mentioned in Whiting's deed?

EGGLESTON, BEGAR, 1638, (D.), lot gr. on Backer Row, 144 r. wide from Pal. road, sold pl. to Nich. Hoyt and res. 1654, in Pal. his lot being N. of the Meeting house, bd. E. on the highway, N. by the palisades, and 1651, the Town gave him the broad road betw. him and the Elias Parkman lot, and the road across the N. end of his lot, betw. it and the Palisades, during the pleasure of the Town. His lot in the Pal. first was 7 acres, 4 r. wide, N. of the Green, next to road which ran N. at the head of the Hoyt, Cook, and Parkman lots, on a line with W. side of the Green. This he sold to John Taylor, and bot it back from Rhoda Taylor, with ho. In 1647 he bot of Thomas Nowell, a lot and ho. E. of Taylor lot; and (1651, owned fm. highway E. to next including the Close, or road on the W. In 1662, mortgaged "my new dwelling ho., barn & other lot, and orchard, situate near the meeting house."

This lot went to his sons *Isaac* and *Thomas*. *Thomas* had the house on N. side, "next where the Palisades formerly stood," and built a ho. thereon opp. the present parsonage. *Benjamin*, who had his father's ho., sold his bro. *Thomas* the N. end of lot in Palisado.

ELLSWORTH, Josiah, 1654 bot Alex. Ayer's ho. and lot W. of Thos. Barber's, and in 1658 sold it to Cornelius Cllett; afterwards bot of Wm. Phelps, Jr. on the W. of Phelps ho. where he bd. and res. until he bot from Joanna Davidson, wid. of Nicholas of Boston, who had it from Robert Schomstaft, who had it from Mr. Francis Still, the present known as the Chief Justice Ellsworth pl. which has remained in the family since Mch. 31, 1665.

ELLISON, Lawrence, 1644, forfeited a lot near Wm. Phelps' (because he did not comply with the terms of the grant, "of two years inhabiting it, or else his grant to be void") and which was given to Thomas Orter. Mch., 1646.

ENO (Enow), JAMES, 1648, bot Mary Collins' ho. and lot, betw. Bascomb and Senshoun, on Silver St., 11½ r. wide; Senshoun's ho. was "against the way to Pigeon Hill" and this lot was S. of it. He also had a spot on Pal. Green gr. him by the town, for his barber shop.

FILER (Fyler), WALTER, 1640 (D.), lots gr; ho. was in Pal. on or near site of the late Mary Stiles' ho. at S. end of Green, bd. N. by Green, S. by river, 9 r. wide.

Of his sons, *John*, in. 1672, had the homestead, *Zerubbabel*, n. 1669, and to his child, Thos. Ford, his wife's gd. father, gave the Hosford pl.

¹ The Taylor and Pomeroy lots, of wh. he appears as sole owner in Pal. Plan of 1654.

FILLEY, William. Under date of Feb. 1, 1640, on the records appears the name of Wm. Filley, followed by a blank space, evidently left for a description of his first lot of land. He sold, without date, a lot on Silver St., 11½ r. wide, to Simon Mills, but no lot named in deed. He also bot the Humphrey Hide pl. but prob. did not res. there. Sept. 26, 1655, he bot of Gen. Alexander the Jasper Rawlins' pl. and prob. res. there.

When his son *Samuel* in, in 1663, he gave him land "on which he had builded" from the N. side of the Rawlins' pl. on E. side of Mill road, prob. near (but farther S. than) the present Ellis house.

FORD, Thomas, 1633 (D), lot gr. 16½ rods wide, the N. line being E. of st. and ranging with the Sandy Hill road. This he sold no lot mentioned before 1648, and 1656 bot the orig. Hosford lot of Stephen Taylor betw. Denslow and Pomroy, where he res. until his rem. to Northampton, before 1672. The Hosford pl. (not the orig. Ford lot) he gave to Z. Filer (see above). Ford owned large tracts of land by orig. grants, including about half of Pine Meadow, and most of the site of the present village of W. Lookes. He had hundreds of acres gr. him on the E. side of the Great River and bot many acres from others. In 1668 he gave a conditional bond for deed of homestead (the Hosford pl. after death of self and wife, to Zerubabel Filer, if he should marry his (Ford's) grand. Experience Strong; a deed was given by Ford and Annie his wife, 23 Aug., 1672, before which date they had prob. rem. to Northampton.

FOULKES (Fookes), Henry (D), land gr. S. of the W. Palisado road from abt. where the railroad now is on the E., all the inland W. except John Owens's lot (12) 29 lay partly across the N. side of the lot next the said highway. Fookes owned the Meadows of the upland and built his ho. near the brow of the Meadow Hill, with a line running down to his ho. d. 1640; wid. Jane's m. Wm. Hosford, who rem. to the F. lot and there res. (us. also, subseq. did his son *John Hosford*; the line to his ho. was known as "Hosford's Lane."

FOWLER, Ambrose, 1646, ho. lot gr. by town, 6 May, 1655, on W. side of st. at extreme S. end of the Island, 1½ acres, of triangular shape, bd. S. W. on edge of swamps. He also owned ½ acres on opp. side of st. bd. S. W. by Mr. Matt. Allyn's meadow. The site of his ho. still plainly visible. He sold to Thomas Allen, 1671.

GAYLORD, Dea. William, 1640 (D), lot gr. 25 r. wide, on st. from the Haynes lot N. to David Edsworth's No. barn site occup. by late Roswell Miller, in 1644 he bot his ho. lot of Francis Stiles, 13 r. wide.

GIBBS, Francis, 1640, is known only by a single entry of a lot 4 r. wide, adjoining the "burying place" in the Palisado, which later was in possession of Lt. David Wilton.

GILES, 1640 (D), lot gr. 17 r. wide, being the N. lot on Backer Row, lying next S. of Sandy Hill road, to which was added Sgt. Thomas Staynes' lot, 10½ r. wide. *Backer Row* highway was orig. laid through to Rocky Hill and a part of the home lots S. of Rocky Hill are bd. W. by that highway. The lots on this Row ran E. to the water in the brook, considerably E. of the road. Gibbs' ho. was prob. built at first further E. than the others. In 1652 the highway was

¹ Reserved a tract of the Foulkes land "in her own propriety and dispose."

laid along the N. side of "Goodell Gibbs'" lot, and the G. family lot¹ 1660, from the rear of Terry and Hall's home lots, to the present road where it now runs across rear of Mr. Rainey's lot, to give Katherine Gibbs a better place to build.

Giles Gibbs' son *Jacob* res. on homestead.

GILBERT (Gilbard), Thomas, 24 Jan., 1644, bo't lot 11½ r. wide, E. side of road (a few r. below present res. of Geo. P. Hayden) from Francis Stiles; sold to John Drake and his son Jacob (whose ho. lot was next S.) with "the cellar, house, garden, fences." In Mr. Francis Stiles' deed to Robert Salmonstall, 12 Sept. 1647, it is specified that the ho. and land "are at present in the occupation and tenure of Thomas Gilbard and John Bameroff." G. certainly res. there from 1649, to 1651. He sold this part of the home lot of Thos. Gunn, now site of present res. of Mrs. L. A. Welch on W. side of st. built thereon and sold it to Thomas Bissell before 1658; rem. to Hartford, where he d. 1659. No family rec. at W. but Prob. Rec. at H. shows that he had family.

GILLETT, Jonathan, 1639 (D.), lot gr. 4 acres, 17 r. wide, beg. abt 40 r. E. of Mill-highway and N. of Mill-brook. This lot of 4 acres lay across Pleasant st. ext. from the Mill-brook S. to Hollow Pail highway N. His *bro.*, *Nathaniel's* lot lay on the W. side and parallel with it. 11 of it by the 9 acre lot of Wm. Phelps, wh. he afterwards sold to Mr. Warham. There was a public footpath for the convenience of those res. N. of the Mill-brook to go to the Rivulet Ferry *over* the mouth of Mill-brook, or to cross the brook above and pass along E. of Mr. W's orchard, where the road now runs from the Cong. Chapel to David Rockland's. This footpath ran through all the lots E. of Mill-highway, nearly on the line of present Pleasant st.

Jonathan G.'s, lands on *Jesset* had the homestead.

GILLETT, Nathan, 1637 (D.), lot gr. 17 rods wide, next W. of and parallel to, his bro. Jonathan's; after death wife, 1670, rem. to Simsbury, his lot was sold to his bro. Jonathan, then to his nephew *Jereemiah*.

GRANT, Matthew (Surveyor, Town Recorder, &c.), 1635 (D.), lot gr. in Palisado, 3 r. wide, first S. of Town Orchard, abt 9 r. from N. entrance of Pal.; a portion of it afterward occup. by his son *John*, who came into poss. of all after father's death.

GRIDLEY, Thomas, "of Windsor," convicted by Gen. Ct. 1639; a soldier in Peq. War, and rec'd bounty lands therefor; no evidence of res. in W. after 1639.

GRIFFIN, John, 1647, no ho. lot rec. here, when John Drake was killed, 1659, G. was res. at the Francis Stiles or Henry Stiles ho., was one of earliest to rem. to Simsbury.

GRISWOLD, Edward, 1639, came from Eng. with Rev. Mr. Huit; it is not prob. that he rem. to lot gr. him at Peq. until the Indian title had been extinguished, 1642, but he was res. there with two other families in 1649; his ho. stood near present res. of Mr. Ladd, *prom.* nearer the highway at top of hill, had 29½ acres, bd. mostly S. and W. by Stony brook, E. by the river and the Indian reservation

¹ Possibly G. res. not on his first purchase, as there were less than 4 yrs. from said purchase to the time he was living on the Stiles' pl. The "cellar and house" leave us to infer that the first was hurriedly built for occupancy, while the ho. was building

(Indian Neck). He built the Old Fort at Springfield for Mr. Pyncheon for 1679. Sam. Buel and Tim. Thrall hewed the timber. His sons *George* and *Joseph* inher. the homestead at Poq.

GUNN, Thomas, 1649 (D.), lot gr. 12 r. wide, from Stoughton's line, nearly to S. side of new ho. abt 4 r. from line of N. side of old Welch ho. on W. side, rem. to Westfield¹, gave his homestead to Timo. Thrall, who m. his dau., Deborah.

HANNUM, William, 1649 (D.), where he sold out 1637 and came to W., lot gr. next N. of Joshua Carter, 5 r. 6 ft. wide, on E. side st. and 19 r. wide on W. side, that on E. side he sold to Robert Winchell (who included it with the Tilly lot and ho. and gave it to his son Nathl. 1664) and built on W. side, bet Tily lot N. of it and sold whole 22 r. to John Denslow, 20 May, 1654 with condition that Hannum should remain in the ho. until first of next mo. He rem. to Northampton.

HAWKES, John, 1649, lot gr. 11 r. wide. "The Major Elsworth tenant ho." stands on this lot, S. line near the ho.; rem. to Hadley abt 1660, subseq. gave pl. to Joseph Gillett, who had m. his dau., 1664.

HAWKINS, Anthony, 1649, lot gr. 8 r. wide, the S. line of this lot was a little N. (6 or 7 r. N.) of present division fence N. of the Maj. Elsworth tenant ho., exchanged with Robert Watson; rem. to Watson's (formerly the Gibbs) place, bet 2 r. wide from Sonways, who had him on N., and S. dying soon he be't the S. pl. from the wid., after wh. he bd. N. by the ferry road. Sold both lots, 1656, to Jacob Drole, who sold, 1662, to Samuel Gibbs. Hawkins rem. to Farmington before 1662.

HAYDEN, William, 1649 (D.), res. in Htd 1637, sold his ppy. in Hartford, 1642; bot in W. 1644, lot 54 r. wide, ho. stood a little S. of old Ezra Hayden ho. and N. of present James L. Hayden's res. lot ext. to river, also had large lot on wh. present "Haydens" R. R. station stands ext. from river 190 r. W. His "stonepit" quarry, opened before 1654, rem. to and was one of first settlers of Hammonsett (Killingworth). His son *Joshua* had the W. homestead.

HAYNES (Gov.) John, 1649, did not res. in W., but in Hartford. In his will, dated 1646, he describes his W. ppy. as "my ho. and land in W. with the appurtenances, in the tenure of Geo. Hull and formerly purchased of him." Mr. Hull rem. to Fairfield before 1649, and the Gov. doubtless had some other tenant, until his death, 1 Mch., 1653-4. It was found that his will had not been changed to conform with his promise to give the ppy. to his dau. Ruth, on her mar. with Mr. Willis, the ppy. passed into hands of Jas. Russell, of Boston, who sold it to Henry Wadett, 1668. Gov. Haynes had 30 acres of meadow, 150 acres of home lot and woods, his "great lot" lay S. W. of Rocky Hill, and he had 284 acres on E. side of Great River, and the rights of other divisions pertaining thereto, all appraised (1644) at £119. Haynes' lot was 30 r. wide on the street, ext. from the tobacco barn to S. line of Garden Gate Capt. Samuel Allen, now Harvey place lot W. of st. 20 acres, 30 r. wide.

¹The name is written on the Dorchester records Haunum, once (the first time) Haunam; the last time, Haunã. (*W. B. Trask*.)

- HAYWARD (Howard) Robert, 1643 (D.), lot gr.; sold, 1658, to Peter Brown, S. of Mill pond, bdg., E. on Mill-road, and S. on road leading to Rich. Birge and others. He bo't Nathl Phelps pl. (near Wm. Phelps, Sr.) 1677, sold it 2 yrs. later, prob. never res. there; res. at Hartford 1697.
- HILL, William, 1649 (D.), lot gr. 12 r. wide, next W. of Lt. Wilton's, bdg. N. on road which ran from S. W. cor. Palisado Green to the Buying Pl., lot ext. to the Riv. and W. outside the Pal. down to the brook, and N. to highway that passeth by Fines Parkman's ho' - cor. Backer Row and highway leading W. He built a ho. and barn on his lot on E. side river, which he sold to Samways and Stephen Taylor, 1648, he't of the lots of Bassett and Gibbs who were betw. him and the Buying Pl., and sold them with his own, 1653, to Lt. David Wilton, rem. to Fairfield.
- HILLIER, John, 1649, lot gr. 7 acres, 13 r. wide, betw. Nich. Palmer and Wm. Buell on Silver St.; his son *Timothy* had the homestead which he sold, 1679, to his bro. *James*.
- HOLCOMB (Holcombe, Holcom, Holkom, Thomas, 1655, or soon after (D.), lot gr. 14 r. wide, abt. opp. the old L. and T. Welch ho. and garden, E. line 3 r. N. of S. line of Welch garden, sold to Josiah Hull and rem. 1653 to Poej, where it had lot next N. of Lt. Griswold, "from the brook below his house to the Rivulet." His son *Joshua* had the homestead.
- HOSFORD, William, 1649 (D.), lot gr. 20 r. wide, betw. Penslow and Pomeroy, on his 2d neg. de wid. *Henry Fosdick* he gave his pl. to his son-in-law Stephen Taylor, and rem. to the Paulke pl., which, after his ret. to Eng., he gave to his son *John*.
- HOSKINS (Goodman), John, 1649 (D.), lot gr. 17 r. wide, abt. S. line of late David Edsworth pl. N. line Dan. Gaylord's lot. He d. 1648, leaving est. to wif. and son John and to appy. has remained in H. family until it was sold, 1822, to Dea. Jasper Merz on.
- HOYTE, Simon (D.), lot gr. "for meadow and upland," 80 acres; the ho. stood a few r. S. W. from the present David Edsworth ho. in Hoyt's Meadow. His fam. were res. in W. 1649, in 1646 he sold out to Wm. Thwait and rem. to Farnfield. His son *Nichols* had several out lots gr. him and bo't Beget Egleston's pl. on Backer Row, as also had his son *Walter*.
- HUTT (Rev.) Ephraim, came to W. August 17, 1639, had neglected to make the proper returns, and his lands are not recorded. He prob. first res. on W. side Pal-Green (near) Cooke, on the map N. of and adj. the road running W. out of Pal. and wh. was sold by overseers of his est. to Capt. Cooke, but bo't the Sgt. Thos. Stairs pl. on E. side, where he already owned a lot, family res. on the E. pl. at time of his death, 1644.
- HULBURD (Hubbard) William, 1649 (D.), lot gr. on Backer Row, 41 r. from S. cor. - a highway ran thro' its length, wh. prob., at first, supplied the place of both the N. and S. roads to Sandy Hill, but this was closed and the present one N. of the then Gibbs home lot was purchased and opened. From this he prob. rem. to Palisado, sold first lot 12 r. wide, to John Youngs, 1641 (wh. Y. sold to Walter Hoyte, 1649, he to Weller, he to Tahan Grant, 1655); his Pal. lot, 5 acre, 7 r. wide (next S. of Matt Grant's), he sold to Thomas Dibble who res. there, 1654, he rem. to Hartford; m. wid. Samuel Allen and rem. to Northampton.

HULL, George, 1637 (D.) had lot 30 r. wide, wh. "was purchased of Geo. Hull" was gr. to Gov. John Haynes, of Hartford, together with several outlets, but the premises were in the tenure of Geo. Hull, 1646, and he prob. continued to res. on the Gov.'s farm until his rem. to Fairfield. He only built a barn on the lot gr. 14 r. wide, to him self, wh. lay betw. Buckland on N. and Terry.

His son *Jediah* had lot gr. 12 r. wide, N. line opp. ho. Mr. Heskins, wh. he sold to Mr. Humphrey Pinney, with dwelling, and bot Thos. Holcombes pl., where res. until 1664 when he rem. to Hemenescott (Killingworth) with his first settlers, and sold out to Samuel Marshall.

HUMPHREY, Michael, 1641, lot 1 of Jeffrey Baker's orig. ho. and lot W. of st. 3 acres S. of No. road to Sandy Hill, 9 r. wide, and built near W. end of it, where the road turns N. 1659 bot. of Lt. D. Wilton, 7 r. wide adjoining wh. with the above lot was orig. Thomas Ford's and his own (D. W. scheme) lot, beneath orig. 12 r., making the whole bot. of his lot on st. 25 r. rem. to Simsbury, with the early settlers. Prob. H. built the house, as the *Book of Town Wages* says, the road is N. by S. Terry S. by Jeffrey Baker, "so far as Michael Humphrey's house" and Jeff. Baker's ho. was at first E. of highway.

HURD, John, 1640, lot, gr. 10 r. wide E. of Broad St.; sold to Thos. Marshfield, who sold, 1642, 19 acres, with ho. to Thomas Nowell, who d. 1648. Stephen Terry res. here 1660. Hardly rem. to Stratford. (See Orent's *Hist. Stratford, Ct.*)

HYDES (Hude), Humphrey, 1645, bot. of Alex. Alford, a lot E. side (4 acres) 16 r. wide next to Nathan Gillert, 3 acres W. next to Thos. Barber, 10 r., both bot. S. by Mill brook, the E. part bot. N. by Hollow Fall road, the W. part by John Hillier's hose lot ext. across Silver St. while Pond's & Buel's lots did not. He built his ho. W. of Mill road near Mill and Pleasant Sts. and sold, abt. 1657, to Simon Mills, and rem. to Fairfield. Mills sold to Wm. Filley, and he, 6 May 1653 to Richard Sexton, whose wid. res. here 1664.

LOOMIS, Joseph, 1649, lot gr. 35 r. wide (1889, occup. by Thomas W. Loomis) bot. S. by John Porter. The upland, or home lot ext. W. to Henry Wolcott's lot, W. of highway, his meadow ext. to Conn. River, 24 rods wide, bot. N. by the Rivulet. A road betw. his ho. and the Rivulet runs thw. the cor. of his meadow, 17 rods, "to the passage over the Rivulet" [and to the Great Meadow]. His orig. ho. prob. was a little below the brow of the hill, near the present barn, where a depression was lately filled which had been known as the cellar hole of the orig. ho.

Of his sons, *Joseph*, by gift from him rec'd a lot 12 r. wide, next N. of Mr. Matthew Allen, on which he built. *John* had the homestead. *Thomas*, by gift had a lot 12 r. wide E. of the highway betw. his bro. Joseph and H. Wolcott, Jr.; *Nathan* bot. the ho. and lot of John Moses on the W. side of the st. directly opp. his bro. Joseph's pl. He was also among the early settlers on East side Great River; *Samuel* bot. Mr. Withfield's pl. and subseq. rem. to Westfield.

LUDLOW, Mr. Roger (D.), was the first Dorchester man we know, *of name*, to have arrived at W. in the early summer of 1635: lot gr. 122 acres, its S. E. cor. being 26 r. S. of road leading from Grace ch. to the Island road; its E. line ext. along the Island road to the "two bridges" and to Mr. Wolcott's lot, S. of the brook, thence in a S. Westerly course to the S. Island road near where it now crosses the railroad; — then that road was laid out nearly due W. to the woods and

formed Mr L. 889 ds. The N bds were Mr Samuel Allen's lot, ext. W from the Island road, 67 r. nearly to the upland highway to Hartford, thence it widened 26 r. to the S. W. cor. of present Broad St., thence W. parallel with the S. line, 26 r. E. end of this lot Mr. L. built a "stone house," one of those wh. were "drowned very deep," in the Flood, of 1638-9; rem. to Fairfield, sold his ppy. here to Mr. Wm. Whiting, at Hartford, 20 Feb. 1642 (see also *Deed-books*), at whose death, 1649, it was sold by his widow, Susannah Whiting to John Bissell, Senr. It is recorded to Mr. W. as by virtue of a purchase for a home-lot, etc. on W. Bds.

In 1654, M. L. 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

LYMAN, Richard, "of Windsor," 1655, son of Rich. of Hrid. who m. Thos. Ford's dau, at D. and 9. 1649; of H. and 24 son of Thos. Ford of W. sold land 1644; no family.

MARSHALL, James, 1642, Sept. 28, bot. land 13 r. wide, next S. of road E. from Grace Ch., no evidence of house thereon, had several lots set out to him, but possibly never came here; as his land was gr. "by virtue of purchase, he prob. came to W. and put it to sale." Mr. Hill and Wm. Gayford, his lawful attorneys, sold his lands here, he was at that time recorded as "of Exon, in Devon, Eng."

MARSHFIELD, Thomas (D. at W. as early as May 15, 1637, when he was a witness to the Plym. Co. lot gr. 12 r. wide, next N. of Brinkers, sold, Hards lot, 10 r. wide, sold S. part of it Aug. 10, 1642 to Thomas Nowell, 19 r. with a he. on S. side, N. d. 1648, lot was in poss. Stephen Terry, 1660. Marshfield "withdrew himself from his habitation," before June, 1647, and the Court ord. the sale of his ppy. to pay his debts. Roger Williams of D. purchased the balance of lot, with the homestead; it passed from him to Miles Merwin, 1650, to Sam. Marshall, 1652, 1653, to Simon Mills who res. there, then to Anth. Hoskins, 1672.

MASON (Maj.) John, 1637, D. lot gr. 13 r. wide in P.d. first N. of road to Rivulet ferry; rem. to Saybrook, 1647, sold ppy. here, 1653, to Henry Clarke, who, two yrs. later, sold it to capt. Samuel Marshall, who res. thereon until his dth. 1675.

MERWIN (Murwin), Miles, 1648, nephew of Rev. M. Worham, bot. 1650, the Marshfield pl. E. side Broad St., from Roger Williams, sold it 1652, to Sam. Marshall, was living 1664, but not in W., when as a witness in the *Whiting v. Bissell* case he testified that he bot. of Mr. Whiting, a lot with bldgs W. of Rivulet (the Ludlow lot) for £8, but relinquished the bargain; also, a lot in Great Meadow for £20, from wh. also, he was released by Mr. Whiting's exec'rs.

MESSENGER, Edward, 1650, res. at Greenfield (now Bloomfield).

MOORE, Thomas, 1630 (4), lot gr. 11 r. wide, ext. from present Broad st. to rivulet, abt. site of Judge H. S. Hayden's res. He was the father of Dea. John Moore and prob. from Dorchester, tho' name is not found among the D. names; he d. 1645.

HAYDEN, John (D.), lot gr. 10 r. wide next S. of his father's, location of Judge H. S. Hayden's present garden. "There is no rec. of transfer of his father's lot to him, yet the mother having d. 1639 the father prob. res. in family of Ben. John who res. on home lot and held both lots after the Senior's death in 1645. The two lots correspond very nearly with the present grounds of Judge Hayden's residence. After his house was "drowned very deep" in Flood of 1638-9, on the Island road, he built on or near the site of Judge Hayden's barn.

MOSES, John 1647 *et al.* *Deeds*, bot. lot of Joseph Loomis, Jr. (C) on the Island, W. of the street, sold it, with a lot to Nath. Loomis, 1650, and bot. the Rascumb pl. (old M^{rs} Dierckx) near Mr. W. Phelps 1656, near to Simsbury, with early settlers.

NEWBERRY, Thomas, 1636 (D.), after making preparations here he ret. to D. to bring his family hither and at there 1637 his wid. m. Rev. John Warham, his lands were not rec. to him, but to his children directly, under date of 1640.

Of his sons, *Joseph* had lot gr. 8 acres, 10 r. wide S. of Mr. Warham's and prob. a part of his father's orig. lot, a part of wh. lying betw. the Island road and "the Palisade on the hill" with a frame standing there on doubtless at E. end a few r. S. of present res. of David Rowland was sold to Mr. Warham, 1644 "he also had meadow, 12 r. from Rivulet to the W. 22 r. a way betw. xt meadow and upland. Joseph rem. his lands being sold by his attys. 1653; *John* and *Jrds* g. e. but soon disappears. Capt. *Benjamin* bot. the Roger Williams' pl. second S. of Union st. and res. there. In 1682, is an agreement with Arch. Hoskies, his next neighbor S. abt. their six fence, it appears that they had a mutual road on the line ext. E. from Broad St. S. r. "if Mr. Newberry would shut up the highway that goes down to his house," then the fencing of this S. road was to be divided, showing that the lot was erected before Broad St. was opened.

NOWELL, Thomas, 1641, bot. lot in Palisade, wh. he sold, 1645 to Beget Eggleston bot. the Hurd lot of Tho. Marsh 1643, 1642 next N. of Mr. Branker, the S. part of his lot E. of Broad St. 10 r. w. and d. there 1648, leaving wid. after whose death the est. was to go to Christopher Nowell of Wakefield, York shire, Eng.; made a beq. also to Robert Wilson, kinsman and Isabella, dau. of W. Phelps.

OLDAGE, Richard 1640, 30 Aug., lot gr. 12 r. wide next S. John Stiles betw. the Col. Ell worth he. and abt. 40 r. N. of the Major Ellsworth tenant ho., and ext. from meadow on E. to Rocky Hill on W.; d. 1659, homestead fell to only dau. Anne, wife of John Osborn.

ORTON, Thomas, 1646, Feb. 13, lot gr. near Mr. Phelps, which Thos. Ellison had forfeited by "not two yrs. inhab. it." The orig. highway from the Old Mill to Poq. was the present E. road, early called *Schoer* St. as far N. as the "old Eno house," thence in nearly a straight line as far N. as the Ransom pl. and abt. 35 r. E. of it, where it met at nearly right angles, the road leading from present highway to Rivulet. From the Ransom pl. the highway continued on to Poq. where it now runs. Orton's lot of 84 acres bot. W. and N. on these highways. The lots S. of it were of nearly parallel widths, leaving O.'s triangular in shape.

¹ This was in a line with the "houses drowned very deep" in flood of spring of 1638, 9, but the ground is considerably higher than it is further south.

but 4 r. wide at River; in 140 at W. end; he built a ho. on E. part, abt. opp. Wm. Phelps' Sect. 11. sold to Samuel Phelps, and he in turn sold the E. part with ho. to his bro. Nathl. who, when he rem. 1657, to Northampton, sold to Rob. Hayward; the W. part passed from Sam. to Wm. Phelps, Jr. abt. 1650. At this date also, Orono had lot and ho. of Wid. of Goodman Whitehead, on the Island, W. side of highway, opp. lot. of H. Wolcott, Sen't, where he res. until (1655) he rem. to Farmington.

OSBORN, John, 1645, 19 May, see *Oro* 3, b't ho. and lot next S. of his father in law, Oldage, of Peter Tilton, 1651 and had the Oldage pl. after death of O., 1660, also owned a lot bet. of Anne Eggleston, first N. of Perry road, wh. he sold, 1658, to John Bagnoll; but no ho. mentioned, also owned a large tract near Narrick E. of Conn. River.

OWEN, John, 1650, b't lot 12 by 29 r. S. side of road leading W. from Palisado, bet. E. by Hagar's Lane, which was prob. a little W. and parallel with the present Railroad track, res. on it abt. 20 yrs., then rem. to lot gr. at lower end of Strawberry Meadow; ho. stood where late Nathl. Owen res., the locality being formerly known as "Wales" from John Owen's nationality.

PALMER, Nicholas, 1637, lot gr. 11 r. wide on Silver St. next S. of Wm. Thrall's, 53 r. S. of present water course, or drain, add. 1646, by purchase, Wm. Thrall's lot and ho., 11 r. wide, making L.S. width 24 rods and 80 r. long, bldg. W. on Hannah Newberry's great lot. His son *Timothy* had the homestead.

PARKMAN, Elias, 1627 (D.), lot gr. 11 r. wide, first on S. lot on Backer Row (wh. he owned and poss. res. upon before Palisado was built), this lot passed, with or deed, to Walter Hoyte, then with ho. to John Denslow; then to Henry Curtis, also had lot in Palisado, on wh. he prob. remained after Peq. War and until he rem. to Saybrook.

[The first lot, 10 rods width, N. of road leading W. from Palisado, was Mr. Huit's; the road now runs N. of this lot, next Aaron Cooke's, 11 r., Parkman was next, 5 r.; these 3 lots butted W. against W. line of Palisades. The E. end on highway wh. ran fr. N. E. cor. Pal-Green to the N. line of Palisades. There was no outlet to the other road at the N. end, and therefor it was called a *Close*, and gave a name to all the tract betw. the Palisades and Sandy Hill road, viz., **POUND CLOSE.**]

PARSONS, Thomas, 1641, b't from Sexton the Michael Try pl. in Pal.; res. there, d. 1661; wid. sold pl., 1662, to Tahan Grant.

PHELPS, George (supp. bro. of William), 1638 (D.), lot gr. $8\frac{1}{2}$ r. wide, on wh. he prob. res. at first, on the Island, W. side of st. below the So. Island road; he burned 1650, and no ho. appears on this lot 1660, when it was sold to Simon Wolcott; he had lot 6 r. wide set to Christopher Wolcott, his 1st wife (daug. Philip Randall) d. 1648, and he m. 2, wid. Thos. Deway, and res. on D. pl., first N. of Palisado, until he rem. to Westfield with first settlers there.

Of his sons, *Joseph* rec'd his uncle Albin Randall's pl. by gift, *Joseph* m. 1673, and settl'd E. of the Great River. *Isaac* m. and rem. to Westfield.

Mr. William, 1635 (D.), lot gr. 6 r. wide, next N. of and adj. Mr. Rositer, where he prob. res. first, but was one of those houses "drowned very deep" in the Flood of 1638-9, and early rem. to the high ground above the First Meadow lot wh. he bot. of Indians (abt. 1635). Marks of this dwelling still remain. His homestead fell to son *Timothy*.

¹This lot was sold, with a ho. 1642, to Beej. Newberry, but a transfer, in 1652, makes no mention of a house.

PHILLIPS, George, 1640 (D.), lot gr. 12 r. wide, S. of Grant's 18 r. from N. side of Palisado (May). Oliver Holcomb's res. now on this lot. S. line 5 or 6 rods N. of the brick -- or Chaffee -- lot; his wife d. 1692; he d. 1678; previous to Nov. 1677, he had leased the pl. to Israel Dewey (as we learn from D.'s *account* agt. P.'s ejecting him); no children.

PINNEY, Humphrey, 1670 (D.), lot gr. 17 r. wide, betw. Josiah's (Geo.) Hull and John Rockwell; sold by purchase the Josiah Hull lot, 12 r. wide, lot now occupy by the Roswell Miller pl.

PLYMOUTH HOUSE 1633 lot 12 acres, Indian title. The material for the lot prepared in Plym. Mass. and landed here by Capt. Holmes Oct. 16 26, 1633. When the pioneers from Mass. came here in early summer of 1633, they were hospitably entertained at this lot by Jonathan's -- of Elder Brewster, and he was still here as the Co. sgt. in 1636. When the Pym. Co. sold their claim to the Dorchester people, 1637 (wh. covered a larger tract than shown in the accompanying map, they reserved this lot and lot and certain other tracts of upland. These were sold 1648, to Mr. Matthew Allyn, of Hartford, who came here and occupied. There is strong presumptive evidence in support of the tradition that Mr. Allyn used the materials of this lot in the construction of that wh. he erected on the reserved acre on the hill.

POMEROY, Eliwood, 1628 (D.), lot gr. 15 r. wide, dts. S. W. cor. should be 22 r. N. of Palisado, sold lot in Pal. N. end of Meeting-house, on wh. he had built a lot at time of Peq. War, to Thos. Nowell, 1641; rem. to Northampton before Oct. 1671.

His son *Taber*, 1694 when his father gave him a part of the paternal home lot W. of house which he sold, "with the frame of a building," and rem. 1671, to N., he also sold to Toban Grant that part of homestead E. of st. incl. that part wh. had been set out to Eliwood Pomeroys' wife, and the little stone lot built by Mrs. Hunt wh. had been reserved, 1694 for his son Joseph, "when his time should be out" with Goodman Gunn.

POND, Samuel 1641, bot. in several parcels) a lot 28 r. wide on Silver St. bet. S. E. by Holloy Fall, N. by Wm. Buell, he d. 1674, his wid. sold lot and lot to Richard Sexton, 1655, and he sold the front part with lot to Wm. Buell for his son Samuel, 1664, and (same date) the rear to Thos. Barber, Jr.

PORTER, John, 1639, lot gr., his lot was on the Island on the lot E. of the Street betw. C. d. Paul's present res. and a road that goes down into the meadow, his home lot on W. side of street, W. to Mr. Webster's home lot, bet. S. on the South road to the Island, and N. on Joseph Loomis'. The breadth of the lot at the W. end was 48 r., "next the meadow 32 r., the S. line was 50 r. in length from the meadow to Mr. Webster's lot. His meadow was but 25 r. "against the house lot" (part of Meadow hill) "against the River 35 rods," and bet. S. by the present road.

¹After the Rev. Mr. Hunt's death in 1641, his widow had a dwelling on Pomeroys' land. The Land Records preserve this item. "When as Eliwood Pomeroys formerly gave Mrs. Elizabeth Hunt, in the time of her widowhood, in way of courtesy, to build her a house, by the help of her friends, adjoining to the end of his dwelling house, to use for her own during her life, which she enjoyed, and after her death the said Eliwood Pomeroys took it for his own, at a price agreed upon between him and those which she desired as her overseers and friends to order that little estate which she left for her children, which price he hath payed as they appointed him."

RANDALL, Philip, 1640 (D.), lot gr. 12 r. wide, S. of Holeomb, he built on W. side st., d. 1648. His son, *Abraham*, had the 13 acres whereon the homestead had been previously built, on E. side of st., opp. his father's. This, in 1678, he gave to his kinsman Abraham (son of Geo.) Phelps, "that which was my dwelling house, E. side of the st., breadth 12 r., showing that the father built W. and the son E. of the st., on the same lot.

RAWLINS, Jasper, 1640, had a lot, 9 acres, E. of Mill-highway. His name is ent. at top of a page, but no land rec'd. rem. and sold, 1644, land in W. with housing and appurtenances, to George Alexander, being then a resident of "Roxbury, in the Massachusetts." *S. Eng.* says he came to N. H. in 1632, rem. with first settlers to Wethersfield, thence to Windsor, and ret. to R. before 1646.

ROCKWELL, William, 1640 (D.), lot gr. 16½ r. wide, ext. 27½ r. S. of ferry road. He d. 1640.

Of his sons, *John* had the homestead, by deed from mother, 1652, where he res. and added, 1660, the lot of Joseph Clarke, dec'd. adjoining. *Samuel* was an early settler E. of Great River; after his mar. had the S. half of his father's lot, bd. W. by highway, and sold to Hamam, he to Saxton, he with dwelling to Timo. Buckland, 1661; he, 1677, to John Denslow, Jr.

ROSSETER, Dr. Beay (or Brian), 1640 (D.), lot gr. 20 r. wide, ext. 67 r. W. from Island road, on wh. his first lot, doubtless stood, but after the Great Flood of 1648 he built on higher ground near present R. R.; his home lot bdg. S. on present Union st.; rem. to Guilford 1652, he, and lot sold, 1657, to Samuel Marshall, who, 1669, sold them to Auth. Hoskins, (7)

ST. NICHOLAS, Mr. John, 1330, lot gr. 20 rods wide, next N. of John Drake, Sr., and he, on it, he was a next neighbor of Rev. Mr. Huit, in Warwickshire. Eng., a member of his congreg. and a prominent parliamentarian, and rep. Warwickshire in 1653; he was a curate in the Ch. of Eng. and had written a work on Baptism which he had dedicated to the Rev. Ministers in New Eng. It is not prob. that he, himself, came over, this, with the dwelling-ho., was sold by his attys. to John (Sen.) and Jacob Drake, 1652.

SAMOS (Senways), Richard, 1640, lot gr. 12 r. wide, S. of Randall's; prob. includ. the present Henry Phelps ho.; sold to Samuel Gaylord; he to Winchell's lot, 12 rods first S. of present ferry road, where he d., 1650, wid. sold dwell. ho. and 3 acres to Stephen Taylor; it passed to Auth. Hawkins, who had purchased the ho., and lot S. of it (Robert Watson's at the time—orig. Thos. Dibble's pl.); the 2 pl. were sold, 1656, to Jacob Drake, and by him to Sam. Gibbs, 1662.

SAXTON, Richard, 1646, he to the Michael Try lot, prob. res. there, sold it to Thos. Parsons, owned the Sen. Key lot, and lot, also, 1661, he to the S. part of lot of Wm. Rockwell (dec'd) W. of st., and sold it, with the ho., to Timo. Buckland, 1661; it is uncertain whether he res. in either of the two last mentioned; he to Humphrey Hyde's pl., 1653, near Old Mill, cor. Old Mill road and Pleasant St., where he prob. res., 1654, and d. 1676 "in war" (King Philip's).

¹A deposition made in 1684 by Geo. Griswold (then av. abt. 77) *State Archives, Private Collections*, II, 190-224. Also memoranda furnished by J. Hammond Trumbull, Esq., of Hartford. From these it seems that he loaned £200 to Mr. Wm. Whiting, and Griswold (a friend of both) supposed the Ludlow lot was purchased with the view of its being transferred to Mr. St. Nicholas.

SENSION, Matthew, 1640 (D.), lot gr. in Pal. 10 rods, now occup. by M^{rs}. Anson Loomis, bd. S. by the Burying Gd., and road leading to it at S. W. cor. Pal. side Green, bd. E. by the Green, 10 r. wide, 18 r. deep, or back to the Pal. sides. A record of the lot was made in the "Book of Figures," the record kept before the Court established a Town Clerk and records to be kept by him. This lot with ho. was sold to Walter (s. Dea.) Gaylord. Sension also owned one of the home-lots, on Buckler Row, 27 r. S. of No. Sandy Hill road, 14 r. wide, afterwards found in poss. of Nich. Sension, rem. to Norwalk.

SENSION, Nicholas, 1643; bo't Weller's lot, Silver st. opp. Pigeon Hill road (1663 betw. John Moses and James Enos) and built thereon.

STAIRES (Stayres), (Sgt.) Thomas, 1638, had lot (perhaps his orig. one before Peg War) on Buckler Row, sold to Gibbs after 1641; also had ho. and lot in Pal. $7\frac{1}{2}$ r. wide (on which the Chaffee brick house now stands) N. E. cor. of wh. is 30 rods S. of N. line of Cong. parsonage; this was sold by his attys to Rev. Mr. Huit, abt. 1640, who prob. res. there at time of his death; afterwards it passed to Mr. Clarke.

STILES, Mr. Francis, 1635 (Saltonstall's party), lot gr. 31 rods wide; this included the 13 r. lot, wh. he sold to Mr. Wm. Gaylord; rem. to Saybrook and sold pl. (present Chief Justice Ellsworth pl. and most of the lot S. of it) to Robert Saltonstall, and he to Nicholas Davidson, of Boston, whose wife Joanna, sold it to Josiah Ellsworth. It is not certain where Stiles' ho. stood, but there is still a well near the brow of the hill, abt. the middle of the lot, wh. indicates the vicinity of his dwelling.

Henry, 1635 (Saltonstall party), lot gr. 42 rods wide; ext. from ferry road on N. to the house lot of Wm. Gaylord, Jr.; his inventory, 1651, shows that he had a cellar (house), stable and barn; the ho. being of the cellar order of architecture would indicate that it was located S. E. of the brook, prob. near Wm. Gaylord, lot was bd. N. by ferry road.

John, 1635 (Saltonstall party), lot gr. 12 rods wide, adjoining thos. of Francis Stiles. The Col. S. W. Ellsworth ho. stands on this lot, and prob. the present day house stands on the orig. line.

Thomas, 1635 (Saltonstall party), lands not rec. John Bissell's land was bd. S. by Thomas Stiles, and he subsequently bo't 10 rods that had been Thomas Stiles'—prob. the lot rec. to Egglestone was orig. a part of T. S.'s lot.

(The grants to the Stiles brothers prob. ext. from 20 rods N. of the old Ferry road to a few rods S. of the ruins of the late Col. Ellsworth's house.)

STOUGHTON, (Ancient, or Ensign) Thomas, 1640 (D.), lot gr. 27 r. wide, from David Ellsworth's present S. line to abt. the present mile-stone (perhaps 2 r. further S. to line of S. fence of Parsons' lot); son Thomas inher. the homestead wh. has remained in the family to the present time; occup. now by the family of the late Harvey Stoughton. On this lot stood the "old Stoughton" or "old stone fort." — See page 141.

STRONG, Elder John, 1647 (D.), bo't the Thornton pl. (late Dea. Jasper Morgan pl.) which he and his father-in-law, Thomas Ford, bo't from T. when they first came to W.; he afterwards bo't out Ford, and res. here until his rem. to Northampton, 1659.

STUCKEY, George, 1649, lot bet 12 rods wide on Backer Row, orig. set to John Taylor; built thereon, and sold to Richard Weller, 1645, and disappears from record.

TAYLOR, John, 1649, had orig. lot on Backer Row, 29 r. from cor. and 12 r. wide, sold to Geo. Stuckey, 1649 (see above), and had also a ho. in Pal. near N. W. cor. of Green, wh. his wife sold to Beant Egelstone, 1651.

Stephen, 1642, m. Sarah (da. Wm. Hosford) and had the H. pl. which he res. until 1650; then sold to Thos. Ford, prob. rem. at once over the Great River, where he appears among the first settlers.

TERRY, Stephen, 1637 (D.), lot gr. 14½ r. wide, next S. Geo. Hull's, S. line W. of st. the N. side Sandy Hill road; rem. to Hurd lot on Broad st. and gave ½ orig. homestead to son John, on his mar. 1660. John sold his part to Sam. Farnsworth, 1676, and rem. to Sinsbury.

THORNTON, Thomas, 1640 (D.), lot gr. but not rec. on Backer Row, sold by him, and land in Pd. (the present Den. Jasper Morgan pl.) next W. of present line of road leading up to Pal. Green, was bd. N. and E. by Rivulet ferry road, and S. by Rivulet to Thos. Ford and his son-in-law John Strong, abt 1647, was res. in Stamford, 1633. Strong was res. there 1634. This ppy. owned by the late Den. Jasper Morgan. E. of Strong's garden fence, a road turned down to the meadow, the same that now exists here. It was the old Rivulet ferry road, spoken of more fully in another place.

THRALL, William, 1637, lot gr. 13 r. wide, adj. Bascomb, where he res. until 1646, when he and Rob. Volsen b't Simon Hoyte's pl. in Hoyte's Meadow. Div. lot and land in the middle (the well and wood court to beenjoyed interchangeably) and res. there until 1651, when Thrall b't out Wilson. His son Thomas had homestead. *see vol 12 - p 84 no and North street record*

TILLEY, John, 1636 (D.) a wh. yr. he was killed by Indians; lot rec. to his wife Eady (Edith) who m. 2. Nich. Camp of Milford and sold the Thos. Dewey, "lawful atty to Nich. Camp of M. and his wife Eady (formerly Eady Tilley)" to Robert Winchell, after Samuel Gaylord b't the adj. lot N. prob. 1646, this lot 5 r. 6 ft. wide, abt. S. line of Henry Phelps's lot; Winchell b't the lot adj. S. side and (1664) the two were made over to his son Nathl W.

TILTON, Peter, 1641, b't lot 4 r. wide, next S. of Oldage, of Anth. Hawkins, wh. he sold before 1652 to John Bennett; b't (prob. 1650) the Backland home lot W. of st. abt. 2 r. N. of the (Ridney) Sandy Hill road; on wh. he built among the first to build on W. side) and sold to Samuel Marshall, 1653; rem. to Hudley, where he became a Magistrate.

TRY, Michael, 1640, lot gr. 7 r. wide, on the Green and 6 at rear near the Palisades, wife d. 1646, sold to Rich. Saxton, he to Thos. Parsons, who res. there 1654. Try rem.; was living in 1660.

TUDOR, Owen, 1649, Mch. 1, b't from John Wyatt, ho. and lands on the Island betw. Ambros. Fowler and Matthew Allen.

VOARE (Vore, Vose), Richard, lot gr. 5 r. wide, E. side Broad st. (now occup. by Academy); res. here 1632. Ext. E. to the Island road, 67 r. He doubtless built at

first on the Island road, but, after the Flood of 1638-9, res. on the higher ground but prob. nearly, or quite as far E. as the Railroad. As late as 1662, the E. side of Broad St. appears to have been about where it now is. It was but 6 r. wide and ext. across Vore's and two adj. lots, taking 6 r. in width, for wh. they were to have compensation in land elsewhere. The distance betw. the Island road and this 6 r. road running S. from the Mill road, is stated to be "about 60 rods," which agrees with the present measurement. He also owned the meadow land betw. Rivulet and Mill Brook, where the latter empties into former, called upon res. Vore's Point. "Whereas Richard Vore upon Mr. John Warham's request formerly gave him liberty to build a little house upon his land joining the N. end of his [Vore's] then and now dwelling house for the use of his Kinswoman Mary Jones to dwell in during her life, and at her death to give it to the said Richard and the said Mary Jones being now deceased," Mr. Warham, 15 Dec., 1666, formally returned said land to Vore by deed, on record.

WARHAM, Rev. John, 1638 (D.), lot gr. 16 acres, bd. N. by Mill brook; add. 1642, Joseph Newberry's lot, 10 r. from the highway E. back 20 r. to "the Palisado on the hill," with the "frame and timber standing thereon." This "frame," or ho. stood first a little S. of where David Rowland's ho. now stands, whether he rem. after the Great Flood of 1638-9 to the higher ground, is uncertain, tho' until quite lately there was what trad. considered "the cellar hole of Mr. Warham's house" on the hill near the present highway. The road to the ferry (Rivulet) turned at right angles directly in front of his ho. wh. stood on his S. line. Mill brook was his N. bd. line, and his 16-acre lot ext. from the Rivulet to the W. beyond the bus lying S. of him. He bo't, 1644, the E. end of Joseph Newberry's lot wh. lay next him on the S., and wd. ext. from the highway on the E. "20 r. to the Palisado on the hill." This is the only reference found to this Pal. As N. had "the frame standing," prob. on that portion of the lot lying on the lower level, possibly the Pal. did not inclose his, or Mr. W.'s house.

WATSON, Robert, 1646, bo't Thos. Dibble's pl. even, it for Anth. Hawkins' pl. 1656, betw. Peter Tolson's and John Hawkes'.

WELLER, Richard, 1649, lot gr. 11 r. wide, on Silver St. betw. Mary Collins and Wm. Filley, wh. he sold to Nich. Sensen, without ho. 1643, and bo't the Struckey pl. on Backer Row, 1645; also, later, bo't the adj. lot with ho. built by Youngs rem. to Farmington.

WILLIAMS, Arthur, 1649, had his father-in-law's, Joshua Carter's pl. first N. present ferry-road, prob. only 6 or 8 r. wide, and ½ acre above. He had and ¼ acre on the E. side (E. end of lot was E. of ferry road); sold it 1658 9 to Thos. Ford and disappears. Ford sold to John Strong, 1662, who res. there. W. also had to, to him, 1649, a home-lot next W. of Rich. Birge, near Old Mill, did not build, but sold early to Daniel Clarke.

John, 1644, bo't 14 acres, next W. Pal. S. side ext. W. to top of hill; ho. opp. Backer Row road.

Roger, 1639 (D.), lot gr. 13 r. wide, E. side Broad St. next S. of Richard Vore; wife d. 1645; ret. to D. in or before 1647; sold to Capt. Benj. Newberry, who subseq. res. there.

WILSON, Robert, 1647, bo't half the Simon Hoyte pl. wh. he sold to Wm. Thrall, 1654

WILTON, Lieut. David, 1640 (D), lot gr. in Pal 7 r. wide, next W. of Filer's, N. on Pal Green S. by Rivulet, prior to 1651 incl. by purchase the lots of Phil. Bassett, and Gibbs, and his name appears as sole prop'r in Pal. Plan of that date. The present Cong. Ch. stands a little E. of the middle of it, sold the whole to Mr. John Witchfield, 1660, rem. to Northampton but d. in Windsor, 1677.

WINCHELL, Robert, 1637 (D), lot gr. 12 r. wide (now lds. the N. of present Bissell's Ferry road), sold to Rich. Samos, or Samways, and bot. Tilly and Hammon lots; homestead fell to son *Nathl.* Samways sold his purchase to Anth. Hewkins, who prob. res. there after he had sold his first location to Robert Watson.

WITCHFIELD (Elder and Mr.) (1630 (D)), lot gr. 16½ r. wide (now Grace Prot. Epis. Ch. and Rev. Mr. Tuttle's place incl.), wife d. 1659. In Spring of 1661 sold out to John Moore and bot. David Wilton's pl. in Pal. wh. he res. with his kinswoman Elisabeth Dolman, until her mar. with John (son of Walter) Filer, 1672, when he gave them the pl. There seems to have been an offer to sell this last named pl. for the res. of Rev. Nathl. Channing, Mr. W. reserving "the privilege of walking in the grounds and orchard." He d. 1678.

WHITEHEAD, Richard ("Goodman") Savage, under *Whitehead* says that Richard of Windsor "served on the jury at July Court, 1640, married Mary, widow of William Hopkins, and no more is known of him; but his wife was living in 1670 with her dau. Lewis." Under *Hopkins* he says, "William, Stratford, 1640, an assistant 641 and 2, but it is unknown whence he came, when he died, or what wife or children he had. Perhaps it was his daughter Mary who after his death, in virtue of a contract of marriage made by her mother Mary, wife of Richard Whitehead of Windsor (who was living 1670), with William Lewis of Farmington, 1644, became wife of William Lewis, son of the bargainer. If so we might infer that our Connecticut magistrate was then dead, and his widow who married Richard Whitehead was named Mary." It is shown by his will that Richard Whitehead had a wife Mary, a brother-in-law Hugh Hopkins, and a daughter-in-law Mary Lewis, who no doubt was the person who married William Lewis, Jr., of Farmington. Lewis married for a second wife Mary, daughter of the famous schoolmaster Ezekiel Cheever (*Register*, vol. 33, page 192). His son by the 2d marriage, Ezekiel Lewis, Jr., gr. H. C. 1695, was a teacher in Westfield and Boston, and afterwards a successful merchant in Boston. — *N. Eng. Gen. Hist. Register*, iii. 47-8; Hill's *Old South Church Catalogue*, 324-5.

Windsor records show but little trace of "Goodman" Whitehead. He had, in 1649, a lot 10 rods wide on what was known as "The sand," directly opposite the lot of Henry Wolcott, Sen., and about 15 rods south of the road to the Island, on west side of street, died early — and his wid. sold the place to Thos. Orton, who in 1665, sold (with dwelling) to Simon Wolcott. This location was among the "best families" of Windsor — the Wolcotts, Phelps, Leominis, etc. — inferentially, then, his social status was high.

On page 55, vol. i of the *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, the name of Richard Whitehead appears in the list of "The Jury," July 2, 1640. He probably failed to bring in to the recorder his land for record, as none is entered in the Land Record under his name; but Henry Wolcott the younger has a lot bounded north by Goodman Whitehead, and Christopher Wolcott has a lot bounded south by Richard Whitehead, under date of 1640. The same lot, without date,

is sold to Thomas Orton by Mary Whitehead, widow. On the map of the first settlers of Windsor, in volume 2 of the *Memorial History of Hartford County*, the lot of Whitehead appears between the lots of George Phelps and H. W.cott, Jr. Mr. Whitehead's name does not appear in Matthew Grant's *Old Church Record* of births, marriages, and deaths.

RICHARD WHITEHEAD of Windsor upon Connecticut River in New England in the parts of America, 24 April 1645, proved 26 June 1645. Whereas there is or was lately due and owing unto my daughter in law Mary Lewes the sum of one hundred pounds being a portion given unto her by my wife, hereafter named, whilst she was sole and unmarried, which money was entrusted with my brother in law Joseph Hopkins and by him by and with the consent of my said wife and daughter delivered unto me for the use of my said daughter etc. I do therefore hereby give and bequeath unto the said Mary Lewes the sum of thirty pounds, in ready money or goods to be transported over to her, to her liking towards the satisfaction of her said portion, and I do give and confirm the gift and delivery of several goods and chattels unto her towards further satisfaction thereof which my wife hath already delivered unto her, which goods etc. were of the value of thirty pounds more. And I give and bequeath unto the said Mary Lewes, and her heirs forever, my messuage or tenement, with the backside, orchard and garden and all edifices and buildings upon the same built and standing, lying in knoll in the county of Warwick in the kingdom of England, and now or late in the tenure, use or occupation of Thomas Milles and John Shakespeare or one of them, which said messuage is known by the sign of the Crown; which said premises I conceive are of the value of forty pounds more which I give towards further satisfaction of her said portion.

To wife Mary Whitehead and her heirs and assigns forever all my lands, tenements and hereditaments lying in New England, also my goods, cattle and chattels upon condition that she shall pay and satisfy unto my said daughter in law Mary Lewes so much more money as will satisfy unto her and fully make up her said portion of one hundred pounds. To my brother John Andrewes of Clifton thirty pounds to secure him for the five pounds a year lying upon his lands due to my brother Edward Whitehead for his life. To John and Edward Whitehead, sons of my said brother Edward, twenty pounds to be equally divided between them when they shall attain their several ages of one and twenty years. To Jane Whitehead, daughter of my brother Matthew Whitehead, twenty shillings. To John Andrewes son of my brother John Andrewes of Clifton twenty shillings. To my sister Joyce Fisher forty shillings and to her son Richard Fisher forty shillings and to her daughter Mary Fisher forty shillings. There is a demand made by my kinswomen Hannah, Sarah, Rebecca and Abigail Higgins of some part of their mother's portion unpaid to their father, which I am confident was fully satisfied and paid; yet that there shall be no clamor about the same and upon condition that they shall acquite all demands concernin the same I do hereby give them twenty shillings a piece. To my friend Mr. Thomas Fish of Wedgeneckt Park five pounds in part of recompence for my diet and great charge and trouble that I have put him to. To my maidservant Dorothy Underwood ten shillings. I hereby constitute and ordain the said Mr. Thomas Fish and my said brother John Andrewes executors and John Rogers, Edward Rogers, Matthew Edwards and William Smith of Langley to be overseers.

Wit: Fran: Eede, Hester Fishe, Cr: Fishe, Michael Perkins.

Proved by John Andrewes, power reserved for Thomas Fish.

Rivers, 87.

N. Eng. Gen. Hist. Register, 1890.

WOLCOTT, Mr. Henry, Senr., 1636 (D.), lot gr. 10 r. wide; his home lot of 12 acres was W. of those of Joseph Leomin and John Porter and ext. from the highway at "the two bridges" on N. 24 r. wide, to the So. Island road, where it was 46 rods wide, this constitutes the W. side of the Island; also, 22 acres in the Great Meadow, and 8 in Plym. Meadow besides large tracts of upland, and lands also E. of Conn. River. His dwelling stood on the Island abt. 25 r. S. of the So. Island road on E. side of st. near the brow of the Meadow hill, where there can still be seen evidences of the site of a house scattered stones being visible — tho' frequent plowing has filled the cellar.

Henry Junr., 1666 (D.), lot gr. 12 r. wide, next S. of his father's, ext. from foot of Meadow on rd. to the Swamp W. abt. 54 rods after death of his bro, Christopher, he had the homestead.

Christopher, lot gr. 6 r. wide, next N. of his father's, ext. from the meadow "through the Great Swamp" to the higher ground W. That portion W. of st. he sold to Geo. Phelps. His bro, Simon had his place.

WYATT, John, (1649) appears on rec. only when his lot of 2 acres, betw. Ambrose Fowler and Matthew Adynment S. end of the Island, ext. from the meadow on E. to upland W. of the Swamp, prob. only 5 or 6 r. wide) was sold, 1 Mch. 1649, to Owen Tudor.

YOUNGS, John, 1641, bot' William Hubbard's lot on Backer Row, 29 r. wide; sold it "with appurtenances" (prob. bro.) to Walter Hoyte, 1649.

Walter Hoyte

1652-1677

Isabel St. Hagen

Student of Windsor History, 1840-91.

[These autographs are thus coupled at the end of this chapter, in cordial recognition of services which — though rendered at an interval of 200 years — have made such a chapter possible. — n. n. s.]

CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY, 1650-1675. EXTRACTS FROM THE TOWN ACTS.

1650, August 21. "It was ordered by the Town that whereas there is an order of the country that there shall be 10s. paid by the country for every Wolf that shall be killed within the jurisdiction, now it is ordered that there shall be 5s. added by the town for every Wolf that shall be killed within the bounds of the town, within the year next ensuing." (Bk. i. 1.)

The following extract shows a rudeness of demeanor which we should think unbecoming in a Sabbath congregation of the present day. Mr. Warham and several of the magistrates resided on the south side of Windsor River. The meeting-house was but a short distance from the ferry, and half the congregation would of course arrive there at the same time—all of whom could not go over together.

October 23d. "It was ordered by the townsmen that upon the Lord's days, meetings, and all other days of public meetings, none shall go into the canoe before the magistrates and elders, when they or any of them go [personally over], and that there shall not at any time go above 25 persons at a time into the great canoe, and not above six persons at a time in the little canoe, upon penalty of 5d. for every such transgression, and if any children or servants transgress this order, their parents or masters shall pay the penalty aforesaid, or if they refuse to do it the name of the person so offending shall be returned to the court." (Bk. i. 1.)

Robert Hayward was this year miller in Windsor, and was freed from jury duty while tending his mill (*Col. Rec.*).

January, 1650-1. An agreement was made with John Brooks to keep the ferry over the Rivulet for one year from the 25th of March ensuing. He was to carry all who call from sunrise to evening. No one should have power to take the boat from him. He was to have "s [--] pounds" per annum in wheat, peas, and Indian corn in equal proportions. "He is to take pay of strangers that pass through the town, but he is not to receive pay for such as come about any business in the town, which are of Hartford or Wetherfield." "Also, the town are to make a place fit for him to dwell in before the 25th of Dec., to be 10 feet in breadth and 15 in length. Also, he is to have his wages brought in by the 8th of January next. Also, if it shall so fall out that the [house] be not ready by the time aforesaid, the town shall provide a house to put his corn in, and he is to attend two several days which shall be appointed to receive his wages; but if all his wages should not be

brought in those two days aforesaid, then the townsmen are to cause the rest to be brought in. Also, he is to have a penny for every single person that he shall fetch over in the [boat] but if he shall fetch over more than one at a time, he is to have but a half penny a person, and 2 pence for a horse, and . . . if he fetch them over the river. . . . but if he carry them up to Mr. Warham's he is to have 3 pence for a horse [and] man, except such as shall be employed in [public] service shall pay nothing." (Bk. i. 2, 3.)

May 5th. "At a meeting of the townsmen Mr. Clarke was appointed to sit in the great pew." (Bk. i. 5.)

Mr. Clark had been appointed a magistrate the year previous — and according to the custom of the day was honored with a seat in the "great pew," which was wainscotted and expressly designed as a place of special dignity.

October 8th. "After lecture it was voted by the inhabitants then present, that Mr. Warham should have £100 for his labours for this year ensuing, and for after time as the town shall see meet. Also Mrs. Hewit to have £20 the year ensuing." (Bk. i. 5.)

"Likewise the same, September 29th, 1652."

This annuity to the widow of their beloved teacher was continued from the time of his decease in 1644 to 1656, or thereabouts.

November 16th. "Samuel Engelstone began to beat the drum to give warning to meetings on the Lord's days, twice in the morning seasonably, and once after dinner, and also on lecture days twice, and is so to continue for a twelve month following, and is to have 10s. for his labours." (Bk. i. 6.)

1651-2, January 13th. "Articles of Agreement made between the Townsmen of Windsor the one party, and Thomas Parsons the other party, about keeping the passage over the Rivulet for one year, to begin on the 25th of March next ensuing, the date above written, and so continue until that time twelve months. His daily time, to begin to give his attendance, is by the rising of the sun, and to continue till the shutting up of the evening; and for any that shall have occasion to pass over in the evening after his day is ended, shall pay for one single person 1^d; and if above one, 2 for a penny, and for a horse and man 2^d; and for strangers that pass upon any occasion to pay a ha'penny a person, and for a horse and 1 man 2^d; and in flood time, when they go to the other side of the meadow, 3^d man and horse. Likewise Indians twopence a piece. Only Hartford men are to pass free at all times, and on lecture days, and that come to lectures. He is to have a great Boat for horse, and a little canoe besides, delivered into his hands with chains for [them] and a lock for the great Boat, and he is to secure them, and deliver them up to the Town again when his year is out. And no man shall have liberty to take them for any use without his consent, also if any man have more than ordinary occasion in the morning before the sun rising, they calling, he shall help them over, also any that go about public occasions for country service, as Magistrates, Deputies, Jurors, to come free.

¹ The ferry, as will be recollected, was at the old road near the Den Morgan present dwelling; but when the water was high the meadow was overflowed, and the ferryman was obliged to carry his passengers over the submerged meadow, and land them at Mr. Warham's, which was the high ground now occupied by the Alvah Rowland place.

"And in consideration of his labour, he is to have £18, for a year, paid in wheat, peas, and Indian corn, besides what he gets by strangers. The corn in equal proportions, and to be brought into Thomas Parsons house: £9, on the 29th September next, and the other £9 in the beginning of March following. He is also to have a little house set up at the Town east, 12 feet in length, and 8 feet in breadth -- this is to be done by the 25th of March next, finished to his hand. In witness whereof we have interchangably set our hands.

WILLIAM PHELPS,
WILLIAM GAYLORD,
JOHN MOORE,
DAVID WILTON,
JOHN STRONG.

THOMAS [X] PARSONS

(Bk. i. 6 and 7.)

Mar. 24th. "There were three men chosen to take view of the Town, according to the order of Court for that purpose

HENRY WOLCOTT, Commissioner,
JOHN BISSELL,
MATHEW GRANT."

1652, September 12th. "It is assented that John Hillier shall have for the digging of all graves, one with another, 1s 6d. per grave, and is to attend it on all occasions." (Bk. i. 11.)

Sept. 29th. An agreement was made between the Townsmen and Gregory Gibbs, who took the Rivulet ferry on nearly the same terms as Parsons had done the year previous.

Dec. 13th. "It is ordered that swine shall not run at large on penalty of 6d. and their damage paid." (Bk. i. 13.)

1653. During the previous year hostilities had been commenced between the Dutch and English, and the well-known conduct of the former gave rise to much apprehension that the Indians would be instigated to a general revolt. This of course spread a general alarm throughout New England, and the Commissioners of the United Colonies, in session at Boston, in May, having "considered what number of soldiers might be necessary, if God called the Colonies to war with the Dutch:" ordered that 500 men should be raised out of the four colonies; of which Connecticut was to furnish 66. Of these 12 were from Windsor. A committee was appointed, consisting of Mr. Wolcott, Mr. Chester, Mr. Clark, Mr. Phelps, and David Wilton, with whom the constable was to advise in regard to pressing the men.

Sept. 8th. "The Court doth grant the soldiers of these four towns on the River [Hartford, Windsor, Wethersfield and Middletown and Farmington], one day for a General Training together -- and they have liberty to send to Captain Mason to desire his presence, and to give him a call to command in chief, and to appoint the day, provided that each town shall have power to reserve a guard at home for the safety of the towns as occasion shall serve." (*Col. Rec.*)

This order was undoubtedly the origin of that famous Connecticut *institution*, General Tarping Day.

November 8th. "William Gaylord, the Elder, and John Strong, are to appoint what calves shall be reared for bulls on this side of the River, likewise for the other side." (Bk. i. 15.)

1659-4, February 6th. "A meeting of the townsmen, there was a case presented by John Moore, in behalf of *others* of his neighbors, with himself, against John Bissell, concerning herding of cattle. And whereas it has been proved that John Bissell hath had several of his young cattle kept among their cattle by their herdsman, it is judged to be equity for John Bissell to pay a suitable proportion with them according to his cattle, which is evidenced to be fifteen young heaves and two the price of a cow, according to hire rates, 3s. 2d. 2 farthings, which amounts to £1. 1s." (Bk. i. 18.)

1654, October. Windsor contributed 8 soldiers to the Narragansett expedition against Ninigret, ordered by the Commissioners of the United Colonies; also "a sergeant, two barrels of meat, one barrel of peas, and a boat."

1654-5, Feby. 5th. An agreement made with John Bartlett to keep the Rivulet Ferry on same terms as Gregory Gibbs had before kept it. He is to have "£18 in wheat, pease and Indian corn, in equal proportions, according to the ordinary price;" (Bk. i. 22.)

1655, May 28th. "Being the Day appointed for training, in the afternoon, and a pretty full meeting, and also most of the ancient men, there was a vote put for the choice of a Captain, and it was assented to that there should be a captain chosen, but with this proviso, that whosoever it fell to, he should perform the service of the place, without expecting any wages or maintenance from the town. In proposing about the choice, it fell to be Captain upon Lieutenant Cooke, for he had 87 papers, and for all that were brought into nomination besides were but 19 papers. In the choice of a Lieutenant, Mr. Newbury had 50 papers, and all the rest were but 13. In the choice of an Ensign, David Wilton had the choice, by 6 papers more than Daniel Clark." (Bk. i. 24.)

Sept. 15th. "Also appointed to have the great meadow cleared of Indian corn by the 26th of this month. And the east of the great river to be cleared by the 3d day of October following."

November 26th. "The Townsmen met and appointed somewhere to set in the meeting-house."

1655-6, February 4th. "At a meeting of the Townsmen, it was taken into consideration, that which was referred to them by the vote of the town, to give such encouragement to the man that was propounded for a *carver*, as has manifested inclinations to come to us, so that the town would procure him the house of Henry Curtis with the lot. They do now agree that David Wilton shall send a letter with the first opportunity in the spring. And to encourage him the town shall provide him a house convenient at the present [time] and price, within the house and lot of Henry Curtis, if it be to be sold. And to add something for a shop, or if that be not to be procured, they will bestow as much as it is worth, in a convenient place, and if he lives and dies with us, and affords us the use of his trade, he shall have it to him and his heirs; else to leave it to the Town." (Bk. i. 27.)

"Also that Richard Oblige and Samuel Marshall shall be propounded to the General court to be appointed *sealers of leather*." (Bk. i. 27.)

"Also an agreement made with William Edwards, Cooper, of Hartford. He is to take Simon Hillier, son of John Hillier, deceased, and keep him until he is 21 yrs. of age, which will be completed and ended on the 25th day of Dec., 1669, he is to learn him

to write and read English, and cast accounts, and be at the cost, and use his best endeavors, to get his scurf head cured. Also to learn him the trade of a cooper, and at the end of his time to let him go free, and give him double apparel, a musket, sword and bandoliers, and 20s; and Mr. Wolcott and David Wilton are to sign indentures betwixt them at the times of the General Court at Hartford on March, next ensuing. (Bk. i. 27.)

March 3. "It was a day of training, and it being propounded to the Company, there assembled what they would give Mr. Warham for this year, that is, from September to September, next ensuing, it was jointly voted that they would give him fourscore and ten pounds." (Bk. i. 28.)

March 10. "The Townsmen met and it was judged by them that Mr. Phelps should keep James Hillier one twelve month after the end of next May ensuing, and then to let him go from him with a double apparel, yet with this cusion [proviso]. If the Townsmen see any man willing and fit to take him to bring him to a trade, Mr. Phelps is to let him go at any time after next May; also Mr. Phelps saith he will not be bound to keep him if the disease of the thistles should break out again."

August 18th. "The major part of the townsmen met and according to the ordering of the [court] that the townsmen of Windsor from year to year, do take care for the preserving of the estate of John Hillier deceased, for the benefit of his children, do now for the present agree that because the widow of the said John Hillier is towards joining herself in a second marriage, that she shall not have power to dispose of any part for her own, until the court make a distribution." (Bk. i. 31.)

September 1st. "Training day, the Townsmen appointed the 25th of this month to open the meadow."

"Also voted, by the company, that the guard that carried arms to meeting, should have 4 pound of powder for the two years now past, and so likewise those now presently appointed for the year to come, and so afterwards." (Bk. i. 31.)

"Also assented to, by divers persons present, and appointed that at the next opportunity to be propounded to the rest of the Townsmen, that Capt. Cook shall cause that seasonable warning shall be given to come to meeting on the Lord's days and lecture days, by Drum or trumpet, on the top of the meeting house, and should have 20s. for the year ensuing." "Sept. 6th. It was confirmed." (Bk. i. 31.)

1656-7, Feb. 10. "It was voted to allow Mrs. Huit [an annuity] as formerly, only Nicholas Palmer, John Griswold, Jacob Gibbs, Anthony Hoskins, John Denslow, Jos. Hosford opposed it." (Bk. i. 32.)

October 26. "The Town met and agreed to have the burying place made commodious. David Wilton doth hereby engage himself and his [successors] forever to maintain whatsoever fence belongs to the burying place of Windsor, now joining to his land, and also to make and maintain a commodious gate for passage to it. Also, to clear it of all stubs and boughs that grows upon it, between this and next Spring, and to sow it with English grass that it may be decent and comely, and he, and his heirs, is to have the benefit of the pasture forever." (Bk. i. 34.)

November 26. "At a town meeting warned, Mr. Warham's rate, Mr. Huit's and John Bartlett's [rate] for the ferry were published. Also a general vote passed for the entertainment of a new smith, and to give him £10 and lend him £20, to pay it again in work."

1657-8, March 11. A *troop of thirty horse*, of 37 men, the first in the colony, was organized by the General Court, and placed under the command of Capt. John Mason. On the list of troopers "presented and allowed" by the court, we find the following Windsor names:

Mr Daniel Clark, (Lieut.)
 Thomas Allyn,
 Samuel Marshall, (Capt.)
 John Bissell,
 George Phelps,
 Stephen Terry,
 William Hayden,
 — John Hosford,
 John Moses.

John Williams,
 Nathaniel Loomis,
 Thomas Loomis,
 Capt. Aaron Cook,
 Ens. David Wilton,
 Simon Wolcott,
 Thomas Strong,
 John Porter.

Of this troop the captains were: Daniel Clark, 1664; Simon Wolcott, 1705; Daniel White, 1716.

This year was one of great sickness and mortality in Connecticut, as well as in New England generally. Religious controversy and the implacable animosity of the Indians gave constant alarm to both rulers and people. The crops also were unusually light, and "it was a year of fear, perplexity, and sorrow."

1658-9, January 8. "At a town meeting, it was voted that Samuel Grant should try and seal measures for the town."

"Also, that Peter Brown that keeps the mill should take but single toll, or the sixteenth part of all grain for his grinding; only of Indian corn it was voted by the Major part that he should take toll and half, from this time until the 25th of March next ensuing, but no longer."

"Also, that John Bartlett is to continue the keeping of the ferry, and is not to put in any man without the Townsmen's approbation, and the Townsmen are to see to the providing of some stones and timber to build him a cellar at the ferry house, and he is to pay the cost of it out of this ferry rate, and when he leaves the keeping of the ferry, or does not give honest content in the place, but the Townsmen must seek another, then he is to leave the cellar, and the town must give him for it as it is worth." (Bk. i. 37.)

1659, March 27. "The trumpet was sounded again to give warning to meeting." (Bk. i. 38.)

June 1. "Also this day, terms agreed upon about the tolls at the mill: Mr. Warham is to have the sixteenth part, or two quarts upon a bushel, of all English and malt grinding, and for Indian corn a twelfth part, or three quarts upon a bushel grinding." (Bk. i. 39.)¹

Dec. 10. "Also, it is granted by the town that Capt. Cooke shall have half the ordinary pay, in the next town rate, for seven young wolves taken out of an old one." (Bk. i. 40.)

Feb'y 16, 1659-60. Capt. Cook was again paid for "4 wolves." Judging from the frequency of similar items on the town records, the Captain and his townsman, Daniel Hayden, were the *Nimrods* of Windsor. They certainly made great havoc among the wolves of that neighborhood. Many years after the settlement of the country these animals were very numerous, and committed frequent depredations. As early as 1647 the General Court offered a bounty of 10s. for every wolf "killed

¹ Indian corn, being more difficult to grind than what was then known as English grain, was allowed a heavier toll.

within 10 miles of any plantation in this Commonwealth," which bounty was to be paid by the town in which the animal was killed, or by the nearest town. The earliest town act of Windsor, which is preserved in 1650, adds 5s. to this 10s. offered by the court. This sum was afterwards increased, until 1667, when the whole bounty amounted to 25s. Indians, likewise, were especially encouraged to kill wolves, for each of which they were to be paid 20s. in wampum, at the rate of six pieces to a penny. Wolves were generally caught with baited hooks, or in pits dug for the purpose. In 1653 the court decreed that "what person soever, either Indian or English, shall take any wolf out of any pit made by any other man to catch wolves in, whereby they would defraud the right owner of their due from the town or the country, every such offender shall pay to the owner of the pit 10s. or be whipped on their naked bodies not exceeding 6 stripes."

The following shows the names and number of the householders of Windsor, and the manner of their "seating" in the meeting-house. It is extracted from an old Book of Rates:

January 18, 1659-60. "A note [was] taken what dwelling houses are in the town, that the owners of them have paid for seats in the Meeting house, and how much and by whom. For those that have been placed in the two rows of long seats were first seated by five in a seat, and were to pay to Wilham Biel 6s a person, or 5s for a man and his wife; and that made up his pay when he had finished them with doors. Also those that were placed in the short seats, at the first were to pay 5s a person, as they in the long seats; but when it was agreed that those seats should be raised higher for more convenient hearing, they were to pay Wm. Biel 6s a person more, so that for a man and his wife 7s. First I set down those that have paid, and were placed in the long seats when they paid.

Thomas Ford,	6s	Abraham Randall,	4s 9d
Bray Rossiter,	6s	Mathias Johnson,	4s
John Porter,	6s	George Phillips,	6s
Stephen Terry,	6s	George Phelps,	6s
Henry Wolcott,	6s	Samuel Allen,	6s
John Bissell,	6s	Mr. (Francis) Stiles,	3s
Thomas Nowell,	6s	John Drake, Senior,	6s
Thomas Thimpton,	6s	Edward Demery,	4s 8d
Arthur Williams,	6s	Humphrey Pinner,	6s
Philip Rodall,	6s	John Moore,	6s
Thomas Bickhead,	6s	Roger Williams,	6s
Thomas Gunn,	6s	Matthew Grant,	6s
Deget Eggleston,	6s	Aaron Cooke,	6s
Thomas Holcomb,	6s	David Wilton,	6s
Robert Winchell,	6s	Thomas Dewey,	6s
Walter Fyler,	6s	William Hubbard,	6s
Jonathon Gillet,	6s	Richard Vore,	6s
Josias H.B.,	5s	Thomas Bascob,	6s
Thomas Hoskins,	6s	Nico. Palmer,	6s
Anthony Hawkins,	6s	Wm. Thrall,	6s
Peter Tilton,	6s	John Rockwell,	6s
Joshua Carter,	6s	John Hakes,	6s

John Stiles, Senr.	6s	John Rockwell, by his mother,	3s
William Buel, .	6s	Richard Ophange,	3s
Samuel Pond,	5s	John Young,	3s
Nat. Gillet,	6s	Owen Tudor,	6s
Thomas Parsons,	5s	Simon Hoyt,	6s
Jeffry Baker,	6s		
			£15 8s 5d

Those that were placed in the short seats, what they have paid.

William Heyder,	7s	Job Drake,	4s 6d
Daniel Clarke, .	7s	Joseph Loomis,	6s
Henry Newbury,	4s 6d	William Phillips,	7s
Henry Stiles,	3s	Stephen Taylor,	6s
William Gaylord, jr.,	6s 6d	Samuel Gaylord,	7s
Simon Wolcott,		Benedict Alvord,	6s
by Thomas Ortn,	6s	Jacob Drake,	7s
John Ho-ford, by his mother,	3s 6d	Robert Hayward,	7s
Geo. Crist. Wolcott,	5s	Simon Mills,	4s 6d
Rob. Wilson,	7s	James Enno,	6s
Miles Merwin,	7s	William Filley,	5s 9d
Thomas Barber,	7s	Mic. Johnson,	4s 9d
[Robert] Watson,	7s	Thomas Gilbert,	7s
Thomas Deble,	3s	Richard Weller,	6s
Samuel Phelps,	7s	William Hannum,	7s
Nath. Phelps,	4s	Alexander Alvord,	7s
Pichard Birge,	0 9d	John Osborn,	7s
Henry Curtis,	1s	George Alexander,	3s
Rhody Taylor,		Anthony Dorchester,	
Edward Griswold,	6s		
John Drake,	3s 6d		£10 17s 3

In the Pews

Mr. Ailyn,	6s
Mr. Loomis,	6s
Mr. [John] Witcombfield,	2s 6d
Goode Denslow,	3s
Goode Gibbs,	3s
Goode Hoskins,	1s
Deacon Gaylord's wife,	3s
Mr. Clarke,	3s
Mr. Mason,	3s

£1 11s 6d

John Wilcoxson,

In the Pews

Mr. Ailyn,	6s
Mr. Phelps,	
Mr. Clark,	3s
C. Cook,	6s
Mr. Wolcott,	5s
Mr. Terry,	6s
John Bissell,	
Mr. Swaugton,	

Women.

C. Gibbs,	
N. Denslow,	
W. Hoskins,	

"Now to set down persons as they are seated and how their seats have been paid for."

9 long seats, with 6 in a seat.

12 short seats, with 3 in a seat.

Houses that have seats paid for by their first owners, and the present dwellings in them, if any, have no seats.

9 names."

1659-60, January 23. "The Townsmen met, and John Loomis and Joseph were in a debate with the Townsmen, about Joseph's seat. Mr. Henry Clark and Mr. Wadham assented, that the issue was that he had lost his seat according to order that was first made."

December 20. "Also to repair roof of the meeting house, left to townsmen to agree upon." "Also agreement made by the townsmen with John Bartlett, for keeping the ferry 7 years, was published and assented to." (Bk. i. 42.)

In the annual estimate of Town Expenses this year we find the following items :

"For 16 wolves taken £8. For cleansing the meeting house and drum £4. Thos. Parsons for his canoe to serve the ferry £5. Mr. Wolcott for liquors for bounds 2s 6d. For the remainder of the work, to the silling and underpinning of the meeting house £10 19s 6d. Wm. Buell for a pair of stocks and mending some seats 9s 6d. Nat. Cook for cutting ice 1s 2d. For 1000 nails of John Bissell 15s, &c., &c."

1660-1, January 7. "The Townsmen met and agreed that the Meeting House should be shingled, all the gutters on both sides the lanthorn, and not alter the form of the roof."

"Also agreed with William Buell to alter the great pew into two, one part for the magistrates, and one for others, and that it be raised equal with [the] short seats."

"Also, those that be seated and never paid, neither themselves nor by their predecessors in their houses should now be called for to make in payment to Buell for work about the house, etc."

January 31. "A town meeting named by the Constables to publish some orders made at the General Court before. Also, a vote, passed by the major part, for liberty to those men that would join in setting a ware across the rivulet to take fish in any place below the ferry, and none of the townsmen, that join not with them, shall have liberty to set a ware below them for 5 years space. And at the 5 years end, if the town desire to take the benefit of the ware to themselves for a town good, they shall, paying the men that join for their barrels as they be worth at that time."

February 25th. "The Townsmen made a bargain with Samuel Grant to shingle the inside roof of the meeting house, from end to end, on both sides of the lanthorn, with 18 inch shingles. He is to get the shingle in the woods, and cut them, hew them and lay them on one inch and a quarter thick generally, and 7 inches in breadth one with another. And he is to pay, 4s per 100 for all plain work, and for the gutters, he cause of the more difficulty of laying these, he is to have what he shall in equity judge to be more worth than 4s per 100, and, for the time of doing this work, he is to do the north side of the lanthorn before midsummer next, and the other side by October following. The timber, that he works to be good sound timber, and the pay taken out to this agreement."

We subscribe our hands in witness:

JOHN MOORE,

HENRY WOLCOTT,

BENJAMIN NEWBERRY,

EDWARD GRISWOLD.

SAMUEL GRANT.

"Also this day accounts taken of the town debts for a town rate to be made; and there appeared,

	£	s.	d.
For 6 wolves taken,	3	0	0
" Sounding the Drum to meetings,	1	0	0
" Ensign Wilton, for James Osborn (which gift to Osborn was formerly granted by the town to give him 40s. for supply in his want),	1	0	0
For Cleansing the meeting house	3	0	0
To make 2 new pounds,	4	0	0
To buy 1 barrel of powder	8	0	0
To buy nails and lead for meeting house,	5	0	0
Mr. Wolcott, for liquors for bound loers	6	3	
Mr. Newbury, for some help bounding ways	7	0	
For employment by Matthew Grant's act as followeth:			
For time spent last spring about ordering the town rate of £49, with various accounts with men for work done, keeping the accounts of several rates to distinguish them,	2	9	0
For ordering the list of the town [e]state last year, and 2 days spent at Hartford about it,	15	6	
For drawing the [e]state into a book for a rule of rating, asking Mr. Warham's rate in October, and publishing it from house to house	16	0	
To transcribing 18 court orders, and going with my son and others, to Polunk line, and some time already bounding ways 4 days,	1	1	6
To pay the <i>bonesetter</i> , besides the county rate,	1	14	
To pay Cooke [for] another well,	10		
	£32	19	3

1661, Feby 4. In a long account with William Buell for work done to the meeting-house, we find an item of "5 buttons [or pegs] for hats, 7s."

"There was a flood in Connecticut in the year 1661, June."—"*Full-let Holcomb's Bible*."

It had hitherto been customary to raise Mr. Warham's salary by a tax, but this year the system of voluntary subscription was introduced, as will be seen by the following extract from the town record:

November 11. "The Townsmen met and took into consideration how to proceed to know the town's mind what they would give Mr. Warham for his ministry this year, and we judge it meet rather than warn a town meeting, to appoint some men to go from house to house, and speak with every man that pays rates, to know what each man will voluntarily and freely give Mr. Warham for this year: and the men to go about to take down on a paper what sum they would be rated, and whether as formerly or what. And the men that go about are Deacon Gaylord and William Hayden from the higher end [of the street] downward to Thomas Buckland, and from there to the ferry George Phelps and Matthew Grant. On the other side of the ferry from Paquonack downwards to all that side of the Millbrook; and from the mill all to Ambrose Fuller's, Capt. Newbury and Deacon Moore."

This system was continued several years: the name and amount of each subscription is still on record. In 1666, the smallest given sum was 1s. 6d., the highest (Mr. Wolcott's) was £1 10s. (Bk. i. 48-49.)

1662, May 15th. The troopers of the several towns had hitherto trained at some place of general rendezvous, but the court of this date, in consideration of "the inconvenience" and "unnecessary expense of time to no profit," allowed them to train in the several towns to which they belonged, "with their own foot company." They are, however, to be considered as "one entire Troop, consisting of several parts, who are to unite and attend the General Training as one entire body of horse." The standing or "preeminence" of the different train-bands was also determined, as follows: 1st, Hartford, 2d, Windsor, 3d, Wethersfield, 4th, Farmington.

Oct. 9. "The new Charter of Connecticut was publicly read in an audience of the freemen [at Hartford] and declared to belong to them and their successors." (*C. L. Rec.*)

1663, May 14. A lively picture of the police regulations of the several towns is gleaned from the following court order:

"The Constables in each Plantation are hereby empowered to charge the watch and ward duly to attend their watch and ward by walking in such places where they may best discover danger by the approach of an enemy or by fire, which if they do discover they are to give notice thereof by ringing their guns, and crying Fire, fire, or Arm, arm. And in case they meet with any persons walking in the streets unseasonably, they are to examine them, and in case they can not give a good account of themselves, they are to return them to the Constable, who is to require them to appear before a Magistrate or some Assistant, to give account of their unseasonable walking."

The watchmen were also ordered to report themselves for instructions to the constable, "in the evening, by the shutting in of the daylight;" and were not to leave their watch before daybreak on pain of 1s. for each default.

At this time, the good townsmen were much annoyed by Indians strolling up and down in the towns, "in the night season to buy liquors." The court therefore decreed that any Indian found walking the streets after nightfall should be fined 20s. (15s. to the public treasury, and 5s. to the informer) or else be whipt with "six stripes at least." (*Col. Rec.*)

In the Annual Estimate of Town Payments:

October 31. "This was a town meeting, and all that were present voted that Mr Warham should [have] for this year following as formerly £90. Also manifested themselves willing that there should be a looking out for a help for him."

"Also a request was made by some to set a house to shelter their horses in on Sabbath days, and other days when they ride to meeting; on one side of the street against Begat Eggleston's orchard, about 9 or 10 feet in breadth, by his fence, and in length 23 or 24 feet — and it [was] granted."

1664, Feb. 6. Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., writing to Roger Williams, from Hartford, says, "all the Indians of these parts are together in a

fort neere Windsor & I heard from M. Pincheon that they would make peace if they knew how, but none of them durst go to treat about it." — *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 4th Series, vi. 531.

1664-5. March 7. "Nathl Bessell hath paid for his seat in the gallery to Josias Hill in pay for his wolf, 6s."

1665. May 11. Jos. Linn was fined for his wife's fault, in selling cider to the Indians.

Nov. 30th. Items of Matthew Grant's account.

"For drawing up Mr. Wadsworth's pay into one method, that he might understand what he was to receive of each man, by 1st free will offering, which cost me a great deal of time. I had better to have cooked two rates as formerly, yet I set down but 6s. 6d.

Then for time I spent last July at the hunting out of powder and lead, and making rollers, and taking again of some, and the setting down the accounts of these things, cost me about 4 days time. I put down 7s. 6d."

1666. The times were evidently unsettled by reason of Indian troubles, of which Gov. Winthrop, writing from Hartford, July 15, 1666, to Gen. Nicholls, says: " & yesterday there was a party of y^e Mowhaukes at Podunk (a place between y^e towne & Windsor) who were discovered by the [friendly, or Podunk] Indians & as some as discovered they fled: These things considered wth y^e number of Indians that are round ab^{ut} us) makes it difficult to us to part wth any of o^r strength from hence." &c. It is probable that during this year the fort was built at Windsor, which is alluded to in the following court record of the next year:

October 10, 1667. At a General Assembly held at Hartford

"The inhabitants of Windsor having improved themselves in building a fort, this Court, for their encouragement, doth release the Train soldiers of Windsor two days of their training this Michael Tide, and one day in the Spring."

This fort may have been merely a rebuilding, or strengthening, of the old Palisado; but our own impression is that it was the building once known as "the Old Stone Fort," referred to on p. 141.

1667. April 1st. Luke Hill took the charge of the Rivulet ferry for £12 per annum "besides what he gets from travellers and persons by night."

"This day Nat. Cook hath *condemned* to perform the work of cleansing the meeting house for this next year for 50s.

John Owen, the former *sexton*, felt aggrieved by this appointment of Cook's—and it was agreed that "John Owen should have part of the pay with Nathaniel, though he did not of the work. It is issued that John Owen shall have 5s. of Nathaniel's £3, of the last year's pay."

April 27th. "When the freemen met for choice of deputies, Luke Hill made a sad complaint that if the town would not add to the sum they had set him for keeping the ferry at the former meeting, he must leave the ferry; and his wife came in and sadly bemoaned their condition. Whereupon it was voted that they would add the other £3 as it was before."

¹ Winthrop papers, p. 100, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 5 Series, viii.

July 31. "These of the dragons that have received punches of Thomas Dibble which he got made, and is to be paid by the town.

Deacon Moore, one for his man.

Anthony Hoskins, one.

Michael Humphry, one.

Ebenezer Dibble, one.

Josias Hull, one.

Nicholas Sanchien, one.

Thomas Sloughton, one.

Henry Stiles, one.

Thomas Dibble, one.

These 9 Dibble delivered, and he delivered 7 more, which make up 16 — which comes to 40s. John Rockwell had one of the old ones; he has received this again. (Bk. ii. 7.)

September 29th. The freemen voted to give 17 shillings besides the 8s. offered by the County, for all wolves killed within the limits of Windsor and Massaco [Simsbury]. Indians were to have for each wolf 20s in wampum at 6 for a penny. (Bk. ii. 7.)

1667-8, February 31. The Townsmen, upon complaint of Thomas Hopewell's Wife, [as to] their straightens for wood because of his launess. The Townsmen had appointed Samuel Marshall to carry them two loads and now appointed William Thrall to carry them three loads more, and put it on account in a town rate. (Bk. ii. 7.)

March 11th. "In preparation for a town rate for this year past, to gather up what debts the town must pay.

First to begin with wolves killed.

The whole amount for Wolves was,	£22, 08s, 00d
----------------------------------	---------------

Mr. Wolcott for seven [] cartridges demands,	1, 15, 00,
---	------------

Thomas Dibble, for making soldier punches,	2, 01, 00,
--	------------

Stephen Tyler, for barrel of Tar for [the ferry] boat,	15, 00,
--	---------

William Thrall, for 3 loads of Wood for Hopewell,	9, 00,
---	--------

Walter Gaylord, for beating the drum and new cord,	1, 1, 00,
--	-----------

Ebenezer Dibble, for his part to make half pikes,	15, 00,
---	---------

1 Lister's Expenses,	4, 00,
----------------------	--------

4 Townsmen,	2, 08,
-------------	--------

House and fire,	1, 62,
-----------------	--------

3 Townsmen dining with the Magistrates,	3, 00,
---	--------

Deacon Moore, his part making 36 pikes,	15, 00,
---	---------

Thos. Burnham, for making 36 Heads for pikes,	5, 10, 00,
---	------------

Tahan Grant, for some Smith work, mending the ferry chain and some nails and hinges for town house, and nails for pike rods,	4, 00,
--	--------

April 15th. "Mr. Allen came to my house to give notice to Thomas Marshall and Daniel Hayden to be free men of this corporation." (Bk. ii. 7.)

May 16th. "Mr. Wolcott brought to me 84 cartridges, so many as to sett off his town rates 10s 11d."

"Baggot Eggleston undertakes the cleansing of the meeting [house] for this year coming for 50s, and the beating of the drum to meetings for 28s. Also it was voted that Granfield [Greenfield] men should have liberty to improve their land this year, but not to be allowed Intemperance by this, and the difference between the Town and this is deferred till the whose Town be made acquainted with it, and meet about it." (Bk. ii. 7.)

September 28th. "Voted that the town should be at the cost to procure a new rope for the ferry, because Luke Hill is not able to be at the cost himself."

October 31st. "Also, Deacon Moore is to speak with John Giffard, to get him to come to mend the glass of the meeting house windows.

"Also, George Griswold is to get somebody to clab up the walls of the meeting house that are broken."

¹ The old Town-house being no longer in existence (see p. 136), the Townsmen were probably obliged to hire some room in which to hold their meetings.

Massachusetts Shosbury, which since 1642 or '43 had been more or less colonized from Windsor, had now reached the point which justified its inhabitants, in the judgment of the Colonial authorities, in being set apart as a separate town.

October 8, 1668. This Court doth declare that Massachusetts, which hitherto hath been an appendix to the town of Windsor, may be improved for the making of a plantation. A Capt. Benj. Newbery, Deacon John Moore, & Mr. Symon Woodcott, the present committee for the grant of these lands, are desired and impowered by the Court to farther the planting of the same, and to receive such trust or losses as they shall judge requisite for the well ordering of the said Plantation, so they be not repugnant to the publique orders of this Colony.

In October, 1669, there were thirteen stated inhabitants of Masaco, that had "been free men for Windsor," and May 12, 1670, the Court of Election ordered the bounds of the "new Village, Massachusetts," and gave it its name of *Sandbury*—the first of Windsor's colonies.

1668, November 23d. The Townsmen met concerning the old ferry Boat. The Townsmen are content that Samuel Marshall shall have it to make the best of her, and if the town will exact 10s. of him for it he will pay it.

November 30th. It was desired of all that were at this meeting that they would give in their papers, that we might know their minds, what they would give to Mr. Warham for this year going, which ends the 25th of next March, and some persons, to the number of 59 did give in, and the sum of all which they presented rose to £27. What more will become, I yet know not. (Bk. II. 13.) Mr. Chamney was then here.

1668-9, January 18. The town voted to allow the Indians for every wolf they kill, and bring their heads, in wampum, at 6 a penny, 10s. And they that pay it to them must take up in or pay among ourselves with 5s.

February 15th. Accounts taken of town debts that have to be paid by a town rate to be made, or by pay that is to be paid of former rates:

	£	s.	d.
John Owen, for cutting [clapboard ling.] he did the meeting house before winter,	7	4	
Ephraim Strong, for 2 years setting in the yard,	2	0	
Nathaniel Pinney, the invoice,	2	0	
Samuel Rockwell, for making the ferry rope,	13	4	
Nathl Bissell, for 30 lbs. of hemp for the ferry rope, betwixt his father and himself,	1	6	8
James Drake, for 2 gallons of Tar,	1	6	
John Grant for carting boards from Pipe Stave Swamp for clap-boards for the meeting house walls,	7	6	
For paying Hogernesset for his wolf,	5	0	
Barret Egreston [for] 4 wolves, meeting house,	3	10	0
Drum and drum head,	3	0	
Several men for setting in the yard,	16	0	
There is also demanded by Mr. Stone, for preaching 3 sermons some years past (Bk. II. 14, 15),	3	0	0

[This was the Rev. Mr. Stone of Hartford, and is interesting as showing the value of "occasional" pulpit ministrations in those days.]

This "setting in the yard" was, in other words, doing guard or sentinel duty in the meeting-house yard during divine service, a precaution quite necessary in those days of savage invasion and surprise. The following item from the *Windsor Records* (Bk. II. p. 13) explains the matter somewhat more clearly:

The townes[m^en] meet, and Ephraim Strong and Nathaniel Pinne demanded paye for setting in y^e yard, and they are allowed to be payed 2s. a piece out of y^e townes rate, and so likewise others that stand in like account with them as have set in y^e yard without their $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of powder [powder] a man payed to them, but was promised 12 pence a man to each man in lieu of powder.

March 11. "Voted that those who reside in town but are not allowed inhabitants, to pay ferriage as strangers."

April 3d. "Mr. Wolfe to send 41 cartridges more to those he brought May 16th, [16]68, 84 together 125. (Bk. ii. 15.)

April 23d. "A great flood which ruined and carried away abundance of fencing and caused much trouble. (Bk. ii. 16.)

May 11. "Clarke of an agreement with John Willington to keep the Rivulet ferry. "He is also to have the use of the cellar, which the town has now bought of Lake Hall — for his use to dwell in, and the little house by it, and the use of a corner of land below the cartway that lies between the river and the brook — during the time of this year, for his improvement, by securing it, and for his wages he is to have 16 pounds paid him by a rate, &c." (Bk. ii. 16.)

May 24th. "This was a day of training and by reason of the death of Samuel Phelps, it was voted that Benajah Holcomb should supply his place of a way warden."

Also Nathaniel Loomis is allowed to entertain Andrew Hillyer as a sojourner, seeing that he carries well and orderly according to order." (Bk. ii. 17.)

October 12th and 13th. "William Buel came and brought two new casements for the corner windows of the meeting house, and fitted them up and he counted for his work 7s. — which he took out of his own town rate for [16]68 — 3s. 1d., and Timothy Palmer's town rate, [16]68 — 3s. 6d. — so there is due to him 5d."

1670, Jan. 13. In Increase Mather's *Remarkable Providences* (published 1684, p. 24, of George Offer's edition, London), he notices "some remarkable preservations which sundry in New England have experienced; the persons concerned therein being desirous that the Lord's goodness towards them may be ever had in remembrance, wherefore a faithful hand hath given me the following account (under above date):"

"Three women, viz., the wives of Lieut. Filer, and of John Drake, and of Nathaniel Lomas, having crossed Connecticut river upon a necessary and neighborly account [undoubtedly to attend a woman in labor — H. R. S.], and having done the work they went for, were desiring to return to their own families, the river being at that time partly shut up with ice, old and new, and partly open. There being some pains taken beforehand to cut a way through the ice, the three women abovesaid got into a canoe, with whom also there was Nathaniel Bissell and an Indian. There was likewise another canoe with two men in it, that went before them to help them, in case they should meet with any distress, which indeed quickly came upon them, for just as they were getting out of the narrow passage between the ice, being near the middle of the river, a greater part of the upper ice came down upon them, and struck the end of the canoe and broke it to pieces so that it quickly sunk under them. The Indian speedily got upon the ice, but Nathaniel Bissell and the abovesaid women were left floating in the middle of the river, being cut off from all manner of human help besides what did arise from themselves; and the two men in the little canoe, which was so small that three persons durst seldom, if ever, venture in it. They were indeed discerned from one shore, but the dangerous ice would not admit from either shore one to come to them. All things thus circumstanced, the suddenness of the stroke and distress (which is apt to amaze men especially when no less than life is concerned), the extreme coldness of the weather, it being a sharp season, that persons out of the water were in danger of freezing, the impudence of persons to help themselves, being mostly women, one big with child, and near the time of her travail (who also was carried away under the ice), the other as unskilled and inactive to do anything for self-preservation as almost any could be, the waters deep, that there was no hope of footing, no passage to either shore in any eye of reason, neither with their little canoe, by reason of the ice, nor without it, the ice being thin and rotten, and full of holes. Now that all should be brought off safely

without the loss of life, or wrong to health, was counted in the day of it a *remarkable Providence*. To say how it was done is difficult, yet, something of the manner of the deliverance may be mentioned. The abovesaid Nathaniel Bissell, perceiving their danger and being active in swimming, endeavored what might be the preservation of himself and some others; he strove to have swam to the upper ice, but the stream being too hard, he was forced downward to the lower ice, where, by reason of the slipperiness of the ice, and disadvantage of the stream, he found it difficult getting up, at length, by the good hand of Providence, being gotten upon the ice, he saw one of the women swimming down under the ice and, perceiving a hole or open place some few rods below there, he watched and took her up as she swam along. The other two women were in the river till the two men in the little canoe came for their relief. At length all of them got their heads above the water, and had a little time to pause, though a long and difficult way to any shore, but by getting their little canoe upon the ice, and carrying one at a time over hazardous places they did (though in a long while) get all safe to the shore from whence they came."

The Bissells seem to have been somewhat in the way of "remarkable providences," for in the same connection the same author says:

"Remarkable, also, was the deliverance which John and Thomas Bissell of Windsor, aforesaid, did at another time receive. John Bissell, on a morning, about break of day, taking nails out of a great barrel wherein was a considerable quantity of gunpowder and bullets, having a candle in his hand, the powder took fire. Thomas Bissell was then putting on his clothes, standing by a window, which though well fastened, was by the force of the powder carried away at least four rods; the partition wall from another room was broken to pieces; the roof of the house opened and split off the plates about five feet above. So the great part of the house it once on broke out so far, that it drew from the summer to the end most of its tenant. The woman of the house being sick and another woman under it in bed, yet did the divine Providence so order things as that no one received any hurt, excepting John Bissell, who fell through two floors into a cellar, his shoes being taken from his feet, and found at twenty feet distant; his hands and his face very much scorched, without any other wound in his body."

What seemed, however, to John Bissell and others of that day as a "remarkable deliverance" from the results of his own carelessness,—and as affecting only himself—was, in reality, fraught with consequences of considerable importance to the interests and honor of Windsor.

In an affidavit made in the case of *Whiting vs. Bissell*, in 1684, Matthew Griswold, son-in-law of Mr. Henry Wolcott, testifying in regard to certain land transactions occurring at Windsor (1639-40), says:

"John Bissell, sometime of Windsor, now deceased, did offer to sell mee at that part of Mr. Ludlowe's accommodations, both of houseing and lands, which hee bought of Mr. Wm. Whiting (as he tolde me) which lay on the West side Connecticut River, in the townshipp of Windsor, . . . and I being not accommodated to my mind where I dwelled at Saybrook, and having kindred of my own and my friend's at Windsor, was willing to dwell at Windsor, and I bid the said Bissell £140 . . . tendered for sale, and having afterwards advised with my brother [in-law] Henry Wolcott, [Jr] my said brother told mee he thought I had bid high enough, [and] did not advise me to give more; also I went to father-in-law Mr. Wolcott [Senior], who told mee I had bid high enough for my settlement there, advised mee to give £10 more, that is £150 in all, rather than not buy it, and higher he advised mee not, whereupon I again treated with Goodman Bissell, and bid him £150 and [he still held] at £160, so after discourse we parted."

with this conclusion; he said if I heard no more of him I should conclude he would not take my offer, so he sent for me, and the day, after I went from Windsor, with my boat, concluding I might have it for £160, and not under; but, afterwards, I understood from him and others, that he was risen early in the morning to set his people to work, that he might come to me to accept of my offer of £150, but an accident fell out that prevented his coming here so that he could not come, so that had not that accident been, I had bought the said accommodations for £150 in such country pay as he was to make to Mrs. Whiting." (State Library, Private Controversies, Vol. II.).

Thus, out of the musty records of a long-forgotten civil suit, comes the other end of the story. It was a bad morning's work for Windsor, as well as for Goodman Bissell—since, had he not failed to "put in an appearance" and clinch the bargain with Matthew, Windsor would have received a most important acquisition to its social wealth, and might have had the honor of claiming two Griswolds as well as two Wolcotts, as Governors of Connecticut, sprung from her own soil.

1669-70, February. John Willington is to keep the rivulet ferry one year more.

October. At Court of 15th. "Windsor recorder certified that they had 300 lbs. of Powder and 700 lbs. of lead for their town stock."

The Court granted liberty to Capt. Daniel Clark "to add to his troop so many as may make them complete sixty besides officers—provided that none be taken out of Windsor without the Capt. of the foot company's leave, and that they are volunteers and maintain a horse and arms complete according to law, without any charge to the country.

1678, May. "The Court extends the bounds of Windsor 2 miles beyond the former grant."

May 14. "The Court orders the bounds between Hartford and Windsor shall begin on the East side Connecticut River at the lowermost Elm that was discoursed about between the two Committees." And "whereas, the stated bounds between Hartford and Windsor, on the west side of the Great River, gives Hartford some advantage of land in varying from the west line from Brick Hill Swamp, northerly—This Court orders that the line betwixt the said towns on the E. side of the Great River shall take its rise at the Elm Tree appointed by this Court to be the bound tree, and to run south of the east from the said tree, so much and so far as it doth vary from the west, northward from the abovesaid swamp to the end of the north bounds."

July 19. "We entered upon the use of Corporal Marshall's boat for the ferry, and are to have the use of it for the ferry, 13 weeks, paying him 50s."

August 16. —Nathaniel Pond borrowed one of the town muskets, by Capt. Newbury's allowance.

Also, Thomas Parsons had a musket, August 19.

And John Parsons had a musket, August 21.

And Thomas Eggleston had a musket and a sword with scabbard, August 23.

All by Captain Newbury's allowance, and told me John London has a musket that was at his sons John Madgly's [Mosely's]

(Same date). A count given of the locksmith of his work done to some of the town guns.

All the particulars he did to the guns of the town.

Nathaniel Pond, had, he put down,	8s 6d
For a gun Thomas Parsons had, he put down,	5s 0d
For a gun John Parsons had, his work about it,	2s 6d
And for a great spring and cock pin for a town lock,	3s 0d
And mending a lock, Captain Newbury brought,	1s 0d

All, £1: 0s: 0d

"March 24.—The town met to give information to the persons chosen to run the line between Windsor and Simsbury. First you must understand that our south bounds betwixt Hartford and Windsor extend half a mile beyond the Chestnut tree westward, and extends itself something beyond the foot of the mountain where you will find a tree marked, and from there you are to traverse a way by your compass North and by West, which is the line to be set out between Windsor and Simsbury, and you are carefully to extend this line till you meet with our North bounds."

"MATTHEW GRANT,
SAMUEL MARSHALL,
JOHN LOOMIS,
JACOB DRAKE,
THOMAS STOUTINGTON."

(Bk. ii. 37.)

Items in Grant's estimate of town debts. (Bk. ii. 38.)

Here I set down what town debts will be to be paid this year.

There must be pay ordered to make two new pounds,	£6. 00s: 0d
Nathaniel Bissell, for three days himself to run lines, and a quart of rum demanded,	£0: 10s: 0d
There must be pay looked for the meeting house drum,	£1: 00s: 0d
For 2 quarts of rum, and 2 quarts cider,	£0: 7s: 0d
For 3 quarts of rum, and a bottle and 2 quarts of cider,	£0: 8s: 0d
John Bissell, for himself and horse 4 days east side river,	£0: 10s: 0d
And for 2 gallons cider he will have,	£0: 2s: 0d

Account of Tahan Grant, of iron work done for the town:

A scower for the great gun; [probably the "saker" or cannon referred to on page 78], two extra pins and washets for the new carriage, 3 binders for the ferry boat, all are"	£0: 7s: 0d
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"Thomas Powell, packer, his mark on meat cask. His mark with two P.P. with a roving iron on the head if i be good. If not then only with an X on the belges." (Bk. ii. 46.)

1673. Windsor contributed 38 to a troop of horse ("dragoons") of which Benjamin Newberry was commander.

1683, July 20. "A considerable flood unexpectedly arose, which proved detrimental to many in that colony [Connecticut]. But, on August 13, a second and more dreadful flood came. The waters were then observed to rise twenty-six feet above their usual boundaries, the grass in the meadow, also the English grain was carried away before it, the Indian corn, by the long continuance of the waters, is spoiled, so that the four river towns, viz., Windsor, Hartford, Wethersfield, Middletown are extreme sufferers. They write from thence that some who had hundreds of bushels of corn in the morning, at night had not one peck left for their families to live upon" — *Mather's Remarkable Providences*, p. 223, Offer's edition, London.

1688. Of nine train-bands in the county, Windsor had *two*: train-bands contained 64 men under a Captain; 32 under a Lieutenant; or 24 under a Sergeant.

1692-3. From a controversy wherein Timothy Palmer of Windsor sued a Middletown man for a stray black horse which he claimed as his property, we learn that said Palmer and Nathaniel Winchell (æ. 32) were soldiers together, under Captain John Whiting at Deerfield, some three or four years previous to 1696-7. — *Affidavits*, vol. 22, 1696-7, *State Archives*.

CHAPTER IX.

AN EPISODE OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

1663-1684.

THE harmony and efficiency which had hitherto characterized the churches of New England, now began to be seriously threatened and disturbed by questions of church membership, discipline, and baptism. Commencing first in the church at Hartford, shortly after the decease of Mr. Hooker, the dissension spread into the neighboring churches, and finally the whole colony, as well as all New England, became warmly engaged in the dispute.

Important changes, it must be remembered, had taken place in the country since its first settlement. The ancient pastors were mostly dead or removed, and the worthy fathers who had followed them hither had given place to a generation who neither inherited their spirit of self-denial nor perhaps their strict piety. There were many, also, who had immigrated at a later period, and with different motives and principles. In this manner a large party had arisen who favored the admission of *all* persons of "an honest life and conversation" to the full communion of the churches, upon their profession of the Christian religion, without regard to any change of heart. Some even claimed that all those who had been members of the Established Church of England, or who had belonged and contributed to the support of regular ecclesiastical parishes there, should be allowed the privileges of full communion in the churches of New England.

The right of all baptized persons to the privileges of church membership, and of baptism for their children, though they partook not of the Lord's Supper, was also much desired and insisted upon. The first settlers came to this country as church members, regularly embodied in a church state, and their children, of course, were all baptized. But, says Cotton Mather, "when our churches were come to between twenty and thirty years of age, a numerous *posterity* was advanced so far into to the world that the first planters began apace in their several families to be distinguished by the name of grandfathers: but among the immediate parents of the grandchildren there were multitudes of well-disposed persons who, partly through their own doubts and fears, and partly

through other culpable neglects, had not actually come to the covenanting state of communicants at the table of the Lord. The good old generation could not, without many apprehensions, behold their offspring excluded from the *baptism* of Christianity, and from the ecclesiastical inspection which is to accompany that baptism; indeed it was to leave their offspring under the shepherdly government of our Lord Jesus Christ in his ordinances that they had brought their lambs into this wilderness."¹

Thence arose a very natural and general desire to extend to this class of respectable persons who could not conscientiously feel that they were regenerated, and who were otherwise unable to comply with the rigid terms of congregational churches, the privileges of church membership for themselves, and of baptism and church watch for their children.

Involved with these questions was another, as to the exclusive rights of the churches to choose a pastor for themselves and the congregation. It was argued that as all the inhabitants of a town had an equal interest in the qualifications of a pastor, and were all obliged to contribute to his support, they had an equal right to vote in his election.

The innovations thus proposed met with much opposition from a large number of the clergy and most of the churches of Connecticut and Massachusetts. The Church, with perhaps a too exalted idea of its sphere and privileges, yet with an honest desire to return to the purity of its earlier days, was battling with the world, whose war cry was "Expediency, Democracy!" The public mind was greatly agitated. The General Court became interested, and endeavored to interpose its judicial authority to adjust the dispute. Councils were called, but so far from quieting the unhappy Church of Hartford, they only spread the flame into every part of the colony. Scarcely a church in Connecticut escaped the contagion. As Dr. Mather quaintly observes: "From the fire of the altar there issued thunderings, and lightnings, and earthquakes through the colony." The civil authorities of Massachusetts and Connecticut now decided, although in the face of a strong opposition from many churches in the latter colony, to call a council at Boston to decide upon the subjects in dispute. The council met June 4, 1657, and, after a session of some two weeks, returned an elaborate answer to twenty-one questions which had been referred to them. Several of these questions are involved in each other, and were sufficiently answered by the reply to the principal one concerning baptism and church membership. On this point the council asserted that it was the duty of those who had been baptized in infancy, "when grown up unto years of discretion, though not fit for the Lord's supper, to own the covenant they made with their parents by entering thereinto in their own persons," and that, having so done, they

¹ *Magnalia Americana*, ii, 238.

had a right to claim baptism for their children. This was, "in effect," says Trumbull, "an answer to the other respecting the right of the towns to vote in the election of ministers: for if they were all members of the church by baptism and under its discipline, they doubtless had a right to vote with the church in the election of their pastor."

All the painstaking and wisdom of the learned Boston Council, however, served only to inflame rather than reconcile the churches. Wethersfield partook of the general disturbance, and, together with Hartford, refused to be comforted, until about 1660, when the disturbing elements were withdrawn, by the removal of many of the disaffected of both churches to Hadley, Mass.

During the long continuance of this distressing controversy, which we have thus briefly sketched, the Windsor Church, so far as we can learn, enjoyed quiet, although not unaffected by the neighboring turmoil. Yet the leaven of discontent was doubtless at work in her bosom. The minds and prejudices of her members must, of course, have been variously and deeply agitated on the questions which were claiming so large a portion of the public attention. Her pastor was now becoming old and feeble. He was one of the only two survivors of all the pious and gifted ministers who presided over the first churches of Connecticut. Of all that goodly company who solemnly chose him for their pastor, in the New Hospital at Plymouth, who suffered with him in Dorchester, and accompanied him on that wilderness journey to Connecticut, but few were left, and they, like sere and yellow leaves, were quietly dropping away to their graves. The children who filled their places neither inherited their ripe experience nor, it may be, their strict piety; and mingled with these were many new comers, in whose hearts the world overpowered the interests of the church. The church, thus weakened by the gradual decay of her pastor, and the loss of those pillars which had so long upheld her, was exposed and rudely shaken by the storm of contention and discord which raged on every side.

Yet it is not until 1664 that we find any allusion to difficulty in the church at Windsor. In March of that year, however, we find the following:

At a Session of the Gen^l Assembly at Hartford, March 10th, 1663/4,—

"The Church of Christ at Windsor complaynes of James Enoe and Michael Humphrey, for severall things contayned in a paper presented to the Court. Mr. Clarke, in behalf of the Church, complaynes of James Enoe and Michael Humphrey for a misdemeanor in offering violence to an establishd law of this Colony. Mr. Clarke withdrawes this charge.—*Col. Rec.*, i. 420.

Although the complaint was withdrawn by the church, yet the court saw fit to pass, at the same session, its censure upon the agitators of public peace, as follows:

"This Court having seriously considered the case respecting James Enme and Michael Humphrey, doe declare such practices to be offensive, and may prove prejudicial to the welfare of this Colony, and this Court expects they will readily come to the acknowledgment of their error in the paper by them presented to the Church, whereupon, the Court resists and remits the sensure due for their offence, provided answerable reformation doth followe, expecting that their only therein will winne upon the spirits of those concerned in this case. And this Court doth approve of the pious and prudent care of Windsor in seeking out for a supply and help in the ministry, Mr. Warham growing ancient, and doe order all persons in the sayd plantation to allow their proportion towards the competent maintenance of such a supply in the ministry. And the Court desires a friendly correspondence may be maintained at Windsor, as if this trouble had never been, this Court declaring their readiness to mayntayne all the just privileges of all the members of this Corporation."—*Col. Rec.*, i. 420.

In spite of this withdrawal by the church and the leniency of the court, the matter was again subsequently agitated by the malecontents in a paper, which, though lengthy, is presented verbatim, in order that the subject may be fully understood. It was drawn up by the skillful hand of William Pitkin, Esq., of Hartford, and was signed by seven persons, four of whom were Windsor men. Indeed, it is probable, from the evidence before us, that Enme and Humphrey were the chief movers in the affair, and that the letter was aimed at the Windsor church.

To the Hon^{ble} the Gen^l Assembly of the Corporation of Connecticut in New England :

The Humble Address and Petition of sundry persons of and belonging to the same Corporation, sheweth,

That whereas we whose names are subscribed, Being Professors of the Protestant Christian Religion, members of the Church of England, And Subjects to our Sovereigne Lord Charles the Second, by God's Grace, King of England Etc. And vnder those sacred ties mentioned and conceived in our Covenant, Sealed with our Baptism, Having seriously pondered our past and present want of those Ordinances wh to us and our Children, as members of Christ's visible Church, ought to bee administered Which wee Apprehend to bee to the Dishonour of God, and the obstruction of our owne and our Children's good, (Contrary to the Pious will of our Lord the King, in his maine purpose in settling these Plantations, As by the Charter and His Ma^{ties} Letter to the Bay, June 20 1662, and other ways is most evidently manifest) to our great grieve, the Sense of our Duty towards God, the relation wee stand in to our Mother the Church, our gratefull acceptance of His Ma^{ties} Royall favor, the edification of our owne and our Children's Souls, and many other good Christian and profitable ends (as also at a late session of this Hon^{ble} Assembly having received a favorable encouragement from the Wor^{sh} Dep. Gov^r) Hereunto moving us, We are bold by this our address to declare our Agreance and to Petition for a redress of the Same.

Our grievance is, that wee and ours are not under the Due care of an orthodox Ministry, that will in a due manner administer to us those ordinances that we stand capable of, as the Baptizing of our Children, our being admitted (as wee, according to Christs order may bee found meete) to the Lord's Table. And a carefull watch over us in our wayes and suteable dealing with us as wee do well or ill, Withall whatsoever benefit and Advantages belong to us as members of Christs visible Church, which ought to bee dispensed by the officers of the same, of wh. wee being Destitute.

We humbly Request, that this Hon^{ble} Court would take into Serious Consideration our present state in this respect, that wee are thus as sheep scattered having no Shepherd, and compare it with what we conceive you can not but know, both God and our King would have it different from what it now is And take some Speedy and effectuall

course for redress herein. And put us in a full and free capacity of enjoying those fore-mentioned Advantages which to us as members of Christs visible Church doeth be-
 longing. By Establishing some wholesome Law in this Corporation, by vertue whereof
 wee may both claime and receive of such officers as are or shall be by Law set over us
 in the Church or Churches where wee have our abode or residence those foremen-
 tioned privileges and advantages.

Furthermore wee humbly request that for the future no Law in this Corporation
 may be of any force to make us pay or contribute the maintenance of any Minister or
 officer of the Church that will neglect or refuse to Baptise our Children, and to take
 care of the souls of such members of the Church as shall require his or their Charge or care.

Thus in hopes that you will give full and speedy consideration and I shew here of, which is
 answerable to the weight of the matter and our necessity, and that matters of less
 moment may be Omitted till this be I shewd we waite for a good answer, and for this
 Honored Court we shall ever pray, etc."

Oct. 17, 1664.

[Signed by] WM. PITKIN [Hartford],

MICHAELL HUMPHREY [Windsor],

JOHN STELDMAN [Hartford],

JAMES ENO [Windsor],

ROBERT REEVE,

JOHN MOSES [Windsor],

JONAS WESTOVER [Windsor].¹

Stripped of its verbiage, the petition simply amounts to this: Michael Humphrey and James Eno, by virtue of their having been in England members of the National Church, demanded from the (non-conforming) Church of Windsor baptism for their children, and admission to full church privileges.

This, of necessity, was declined. Thereupon James Eno and Michael Humphrey, with five others, petition the Assembly, in well-set phrase, "to establish some wholesome law" by virtue of which they "may claim and receive" of such officers "as are or shall be set over us in the churches where we have our abodes and residences these fore-mentioned privileges and advantages." And they furthermore request to be relieved from paying the minister's tax, or in any way contributing to the support of any church whose officers shall see fit to deny them these desired privileges. It was, in short, asking the Assembly to pre-scribe the terms of membership for the churches.

There were several other facts which serve to show, in a stronger light, if it were necessary, the cool effrontery of this petition. Both Mr. Warham and Mr. Maverick had been regularly ordained ministers in the Church of England, and it is well known that the main points of dissent between Puritans and Episcopalians were not so much of doctrine as of forms of church government and discipline. These fathers of the Windsor Church had left their homes and endured much suffering that they might establish for themselves and their children after them a system of church government which they deemed more in accordance with the New

¹ State Library, Hartford, Conn., *Ecclesiastical*, Vol. I. Doc. 8.

Testament. It was not strange, therefore, that they should hesitate to throw aside or modify that system merely to gratify the wishes of adventurers who had come after them, and who had not "borne the heat and burden of the day." For Michael Humphrey came to Windsor in 1643, and James Eno in 1646. They certainly could not have come to America for religious liberty. If that had been their object they might better have remained in England, where Episcopacy was the rule and not the exception. Nor could they have been the cause of any civil cause of complaint. On their coming to Windsor they had been freely allowed the same privileges as other citizens, and the town had even voted James Eno a plot of ground, already under cultivation, within the palisado, "to barber on." Manifestly, then, this petition was unjust and arrogant in its pretensions, as well as improper in its tone. It revealed the fact that even in the Church of Windsor there were some smoldering ashes of discontent which the surrounding agitation of the times could hardly fail, eventually, to kindle into a consuming blaze.

Ever since the Council of 1657 its opinions concerning baptism had been gradually gaining ground, and many of the clergy and people were desirous of carrying them into effect. So general and formidable, however, was the opposition to it that it could not be effected without a synod. Consequently the General Court of Massachusetts convened a synod of all the ministers of that colony at Boston in September, 1662. Their answer to the principal question, "Who are the subjects of baptism?" substantially reaffirmed the decision of the Council of 1657. Their verdict was by no means unanimously received. Many of New England's most learned and able divines, among whom were the Rev. Charles Chauncey, president of Harvard College, Dr. Increase Mather, Mr. Mather of Northampton, and Mr. Davenport of New Haven, opposed it by word and pen; and the churches were, as a body, more opposed than the clergy.

The General Court of Connecticut, having other important matters on hand, had hitherto taken no official action on the subject. But at their October session this year (1664), aroused by the lamentable discord which prevailed throughout the country, and especially, it may be presumed, by the tone of the petition which had been presented to them by Messrs. Pirkin, Eno, Humphrey, etc., they passed the following resolve, which was evidently intended to enforce the action of the synod upon the churches of the colony.

"This Court vnderstanding, by a writing presented to them, from severall persons of this Colony, that they are aggrieved, that they are not intertained in church fellowship, this Court, having duly considered the same, desiring that the rules of Christ may be attended, doe commend it to the ministers and churches in this Colony to consider whether it be not their duty to entertaine all such persons, whoe are of an honest and godly conversation, having a competency of knowledg in the principles of religion,

and shall desire to joyne wth them in church fellowship, by an explicit covenant; and that they have their children baptized, and that all the children of the church be accepted and accounted full members of the church; and that the church exercise a due christian care and watch over them; and that when they are growne up, being examined by the officer in the presence of the church, it appears in the judgment of charity they are duly qualified to participate in that great ordinance of the Lords Supper, by thaire being able to examine themselves and discern the Lords body, such persons be admitted to full communion.

"The Court desires y^t the severall officers of y^e respective churches would be pleased to consider the duty of the Court to order the churches to practice according to the premises, if they do not practice wthout such an order.

"If any dissent from the contents of this writing they are desired to heare the Court, wth such light as is wth them, the next session of this assembly."—*Col. Rec.*, i. 437.

A copy of this was ordered to be sent to each church and minister in the colony, by the Secretary of the Court.

The measure thus proposed was what is best known as the Half-way Covenant. It failed, however, to convince the heart or to satisfy the conscience of the great mass of the people. They felt a natural dread lest such latitudinarianism with respect to baptism and church communion should tend to weaken and subvert the very design for which the churches of New England were established. And in spite of the wisdom and influence of councils and synods, the uneasiness of many church members, and the plainly indicated will of the General Court, its introduction into the churches of Connecticut was slow and difficult. Many hesitated for years, and others utterly refused to adopt it into practice.

In the history of the Half-way Covenant, the course of the Windsor Church was peculiar and exceptional. Mr. Warham, whose views were somewhat more liberal than those of the clergy of that day,¹ sympathized with the resolution of the Council of June, 1657, of which he had been a member,² and shortly after formally adopted the practice in his own congregation. "And the time which Mr. Warham first began this practice," says the record,³ "was January 31, 1657[8] and went on in the practice of it until March 19, 1664[5, on] which day he declared to the church that he had met with such arguments against the practice,

¹ This we may justly infer from the following extract from the letter of Fuller, the Plymouth physician, to Gov. Bradford, dated June 28, 1630, wherein he says: "I have been at Mattapan, at the request of Mr. Warham (N. B. The Dorchester party had suffered considerably in health from their long voyage, and needed medical treatment). I had conference with them till I was weary. Mr. Warham holds that the visible church may consist of a mixed people, godly and openly ungodly, upon which point we all had our conference, to which, I trust, the Lord will give a blessing."

² By appointment of the Court. See *Col. Rec.*, i. 288.

³ Trumbull in his *Hist. of Conn.* (i. 471), says the Half-way Covenant was first introduced by the Hartford Church (under Mr. Woodbridge) in February, 1696. But Trumbull was not aware of the existence of this Windsor Church record, from which we quote the above. This conclusively entitles the Windsor Church to the honor (?) of being the first church in Connecticut to adopt the Covenant.

concerning the baptizing of members' [chi]ldren, that he could not get through at present, and could not go on as he had done without scruples of conscience. Therefore [he] must forbear, until he had weighed arguments and advised with those that were able to give [advice]. Not that he intended to cast off the practice wholly, but only to delay it for a time, till he could be better able to answer his present scruples, for if he should act, and not of faith, Romans 14th [chapter] would be sin in life."

What the arguments were which so sorely troubled the faithful and conscientious pastor, we do not know. The fact is evident from the church records, that the Half-way Covenant was not resumed until the summer of 1668. Then Mr. Chauncey, who was preaching as a supply to the Windsor Church, "set it [the practice] on again," by the following vote of the church: "June 21st, 1668. It was by vote of the Church assented to, that adult persons, be it Husband or Wife, that desired to have their children baptized by Mr. Chauncey, should if they presented themselves to the Elders in private, and declared to their satisfaction, their knowledge in the principles, and owned the Father's Covenant, there should nothing be required of them in public, until they presented themselves for full communion."¹ Two weeks after, July 5th, the records of baptism under this Covenant, which had been dropped since '64, is again resumed. "So the delay of it, from the 19th of March, '64, was three years and so much [more] as from the 19th of March to the 21st of June, [the time] that Mr. Chauncey set it on again."—*Old Church Record*.

This was only two years before the decease of Mr. Warham, whose failing strength had for some time past incapacitated him from the active duties of the ministry. Whether his scruples had been removed, or whether the Covenant was resumed on the responsibility of the church and Mr. Chauncey, and with his approbation, does not appear. The practice, however, was continued, and the Windsor Church, having been the first to adopt, was almost the last in the State of Connecticut to relinquish the Half-way Covenant.²

Mr. Warham, the venerable pastor, as we have before intimated, was now well stricken in years, and both he and his people felt the necessity of procuring a suitable colleague to assist him in his duties. They had sent in the summer of 1666 to the pastors of Boston, Dorchester, and

¹ *Old Church Record*—which adds that "before this time it had been the practice to call such persons in public to stand forth and answer to questions of catechism propounded to them, and to own the church Covenant."

² It was abandoned during the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Rowland, and it is believed that the youngest brother of our friend, Mr. Jabez H. Hayden, was the last baptized under its provisions—1822.

Cambridge, soliciting their aid in the matter, and received the following reply, recommending Mr. Nathaniel Chauncey :

To the Reverend Mr. John Warham and Mr. John Witchfield, Elders of the Church of Christ at Windsor, these, Reverend and much beloved in the Lord.

We have received your letter by Brother Filer, and were we as capable of serving you in a matter of so great importance, as we are willing, we hope we should not be wanting to answer your desires. But it is little we can say by reason of our unacquaintedness (especially most of us with the persons by you named. For Mr. Nathaniel Chauncey we have good encouragement by what we hear concerning his learning and steadiness, diligence, hopeful piety, grave and peaceable demeanor. As concerning his voice, two of us never heard him preach, from the third [of us] you have heard an account formerly. We hear that it was better and more audible the second time he preached at Cambridge, than the first. But we understand he is likely to preach again the next Lord's day, when some of yours [Windsor people] will be present, by whom you may have further information than we can now give.

For Mr. Chauncey, he is not at present in the Bay [Mass.], but we understand he is likely to be here about a fortnight hence, and some probabilities that he will come free from the place where now he is. We learn that he hath well approved himself for his abilities in preaching, and for piety, having been received into full communion in the church at Ipswich several years since, and carried it commendably among the people where he is. We can not discourage you from either of these two, both of them being persons of good esteem with us, but we dare not take upon us, which of these you should pitch upon (only that Mr. Chauncey is now free and serviceable to be attained at the present). But we suppose the inhabitants of yourselves and people, and the motives of desire pronounced, will guide you as to that.

The Lord direct your way before you, with a choice blessing, yea with one who may come unto you in the fulness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ. With dearest express [ions] and desire of mutual prayers, we take leave, and remain

Your loving Brethren in Jesus Christ,

JOHN WILSON [Boston].

RICHARD MATHER [Dorchester].

JONATHAN MITCHELL [Cambridge].

Boston, 7th of the 4th month, 1666 [July 7th].

There was, however, a want of unanimity among the people on the question of giving Mr. Chauncey a call : and the legislature then in session attempted to settle the difficulty, by the following compulsory order of October the 10th, 1667 :

"This Court doth desire and require the Town of Windsor, to meet on Monday next, at the Meeting House, by sun an hour high in the morning, and all the freemen and householders within the limits of said town and Massaco [Simsbury] are to bring in their votes to Mr. Henry Wolcott, Those that would have Mr. Chauncey to be the settled Minister for Windsor, are to bring in a paper to Mr. Wolcott, a paper with some writing on it, those that are against his continuance are to bring a white paper to Mr. Wolcott. And Mr. Wolcott is desired to take the account of it, and make a report thereof to the General Assembly. And this court doth hereby require and command all and every of the inhabitants of Windsor, that during this meeting they forbear all discourse and agitation of any matter as may provoke or disturb the spirits of each other; and at the issue of the work that they repair to their several occasions [occupations] as they will answer the contrary. If any should object against the vote of any person, Mr. Henry Wolcott is to decide it. This is to be published on the sabbath day, after the morning exercise."¹

¹ Col. Rec., ii. 73.

The question produced much excitement and probably called forth the entire strength of the "freemen and householders." One hundred and thirty-six votes were polled, with a result favorable to Mr. Chauncey.

"Mr. Wolcott returns that this day, being the 14th of October, the Town hath met, and that there was eighty-six voted for Mr. Chauncey's continuance, and fifty two voted against it."¹

The vote of the freemen authorized the Assembly to authorize them to procure another minister for themselves. This, together with permission to the church to settle Mr. Chauncey, was granted by the following order:

"This Court having duly weighed the case presented by the church at Windsor respecting the uncomfortable contentions there in reference to Mr. Chauncey's reception, and the dissatisfaction of a considerable number of the inhabitants as to his settling. Do therefore, upon the earnest solicitation of the dissenting party, as an expedient to their mutual peace and settlement, grant liberty to those inhabitants that are unsatisfied and can not close with Mr. Chauncey, if they see meet, to provide or procure an able orthodox minister, such an one as the General Assembly shall approve of; and this court leaves the Church at Windsor at liberty for settling Mr. Chauncey and calling him to office; and in the mean time and until another be procured and resident in the work of the ministry at Windsor by the aforesaid inhabitants, this court expects and orders that all persons at Windsor shall contribute according to their proportions to the maintenance of Mr. Chauncey.

Among the names of those added to the Church, year by year, we have this entry, under date of January 12, 1667[-68],

"Mr. Nathaniel Chauncey made public declaration of his faith in Christian principles and the manner of God's workings in his soul" — *Old Church Rec.*

by which we infer that he then united with the Windsor Church, since he was not settled as its pastor until some time later. But since he must have been a member somewhere else previously, it would seem as if members were not then received by letter from one Church to another, but entered a Church only by profession of faith.²

The Rev. Nathaniel Chauncey was the fourth son of Rev. Charles Chauncey, second president of Harvard College, the emigrant ancestor of the American family of Chauncey, who was the son of George Chauncey of Newplace and Yardly-Bury, Hertfordshire, Eng. Nathaniel was born about 1639 at Plymouth, Mass., but was baptized at Scituate,

¹ Ibid.

² *Col. Rec.* i. 76.

³ Rev. G. C. Wilson, in *Hist. of Church at Quarter-Millennial Anniversary*, March 20, 1880, who also adds this note: "Letters of recommendation were given by this church as early as 1685, as appears from the following record in the old books of the First Church, Hartford, under that date: 'Daniel Clark, upon letter of recommendation from the Christian Church in Windsor, *own'd the covenant*,' from which it appears also that the letter did not do away with the necessity of a covenanting with that church on admission."

1641. He took his first degree at Harvard College, 1661, with his [twin] brother Elnathan and his brother Isaac, and tradition credits him as having been a distinguished scholar. He took the degree of A.M. at Harvard, 1664, and maintained the affirmative of the thesis, "Utrum detur idea omnium entium, in primum ente?" He was afterwards a Fellow of the College. On the title page of the *New England Almanac* for the year 1682, the year after his graduation, his name appears as the author, with the following motto: "Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas." Being engaged at Windsor during a period of much public excitement concerning things ecclesiastical, it is not strange that he remained there only twelve years — the only pastor during the Windsor Church's first two centuries of existence, who did not remain and die among the people of his charge. He was invited, Nov. 10, 1679, to Hatfield, Mass., where he was settled January 21, 1680, and died Nov. 4, 1685.

He belonged to a scholarly and intellectual family; his brother, Rev. Israel, settled as pastor at Stratford, Conn., 1666, had a son, Rev. Charles, born 1668, graduated at Harvard 1686, who was first pastor of Stratfield Church, Conn., and married for his second wife, 16 March, 1698, Sarah, daughter of Henry Wolcott of Windsor. Another son of Rev. Israel, Rev. Isaac, was schoolmaster at Stratfield, Conn., 1695, and was finally settled at Hadley, Mass. The Rev. Nathaniel Chauncey's sister Sarah married Rev. Gershom Bulkley, pastor at Wethersfield, Conn., from 1667-1676.

Accordingly the dissenting party having made choice of the Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge, requested permission of the Assembly to enjoy his services as their minister. Whereupon May the 18th, 1668, the "Court declares that they shall not disapprove of Mr. Woodbridge's continuance as a lecturer there, and that if the church and Mr. Warham shall so far condescend for peace as to give liberty for Mr. Woodbridge to preach once a fortnight on the Sabbath, as well as on the week day, until some further time be obtained to improve some other way as an expedient for the peace of Windsor, it shall be acceptable to this Court."¹

Also, Mr. Warham having enquired of the assembly, whether they had intended by their order of the previous October, to authorize the withdrawal of any members of the church, was affirmatively answered "that the dissenting party mentioned in the order are those that have liberty granted them."

The dissenting party, however, could not long remain contented with the limited functions allowed to Mr. Woodbridge; and it is also quite probable that Mr. Warham had *not* "seen fit to condescend for peace sake," that Mr. Woodbridge should officiate on the sabbath. That the adherents of the latter made strenuous efforts to secure a town vote

¹Ibid., ii. 58.

in his favor, and that public feeling ran high on the subject, is sufficiently evidenced by the following entry on the town records, in a strange hand, to which is appended the formal protest of the town clerk :

August 8th. At a town meeting warned by the townsmen, by the desire of several inhabitants, to see the desires of the town concerning giving Mr. Woodbridge a call to preach once on the Lord's day, and it was voted by a full vote,

Thus as I provide I here express to clear myself from having any hand in assenting to the warning of the town meeting, so called, as George Griswold has entered in this Book Aug^t the 8th. — 68. — for he and some others came [my] house after they had received the warning, and on the 8th day, Aug^t the 8th, 1668, I told him that Mr. Woodbridge shall have liberty to preach on the Sabbath. I told him I would not have no hand in the business, nor enter their vote. Then he desired me to let him have the town Book wherein I used to enter such things. He being a townsmen I laid the Book upon the table, and there he wrote himself what is entered by his own hand. This I testify.

MATTHEW GRANT.

Augt. 17th, 1668.

Sept. 28th. Also Voted that the townsmen should get the meeting house to be set in good repair, every way that it needs, and to be made comely, upon the town cost.

Dissension, however, continued to reign supreme, and the assembly then had resort to that most unsatisfactory of all resorts, an ecclesiastical council.

Oct., 1668. " This Court by reason of several applications, that have been made to them both by the officers of the Church of Christ at Windsor, and also by the dissenting party, are to their great grief very apprehensive that those divisions that have been among them there, are not heeded, and therefore can not but declare that they are very studious to promote the public peace of the Church and town of Windsor. And in order thereto, this Court doth desire and appoint the Rev^d Mr. James Fitch, Mr. Samuel Wakeman, Mr. Gershom Bulkley and Mr. Joseph Elliott, to meet at Windsor the 4th day of the second week in April or sooner if they see cause there to hear all and whatsoever shall be represented to them by the Church of Christ at Windsor, or by the dissenting brethren and inhabitants there, in reference to Mr. Chauncy's invitation, reception, election and ordination to office in the Church of Christ at Windsor, and also whatsoever shall be objected against the procurement, entertainment, continuance and improvement of Mr. Woodbridge at Windsor. And when they have heard what they have to say, of both sides, they are desired and empowered to settle an accommodation between the church and dissenting brethren of Windsor, if they can attain it. But if, after all their endeavors the aforesaid Gent^l can not attain an accommodation or issue to satisfaction, they are desired and by this Court ordered to make a return how they find the state of Windsor, with their advice annexed; what way in their judgments may be the most agreeable to rule to settle peace in the church and town of Windsor. But if, by any Providence of God, any of the aforementioned Gent^l should be hindered from meeting the aforesaid time, they are desired to take the next opportunity to attend the aforesaid service, so it be before the General Court in May next. And for the mean time this Court grants Mr. Woodbridge liberty to keep a lecture at Windsor once a fortnight on the 4th day of the week, that the inhabitants of that plantation, as their occasion will permit, may religiously and without offence attend the same, and not on the Sabbath without liberty from the Reverend Mr. Warham; which is all at present this Court sees cause to grant " ¹

¹ *Col. Rec.*, ii. 99.

This council, however, was unsuccessful in its attempt to reconcile matters, and, by their advice, the dissenting party were at last permitted to embody themselves into a separate church organization.

May, 1669. "The precedent Court having desired and impounded Mr. James Fitch, Mr. Ger. hom Balkley, Mr. Samuel Wakeman and Mr. Joseph Elliott, to hear all that should be presented to them by the Church of Windsor or by dissenting brethren and inhabitants there, in reference to Mr. Chauncey's invitation, reception, election and ordination, and also whatsoever should be objected against the procurement, entertainment, continuance or change of the said Mr. Chauncey, the said Gent^l have heard what they have to say on both sides, to settle an accommodation in that case, and the said Gent^l have heard and considered and returned in writing under their hands the sense of that case, and their advice for an accommodation suitable to the present state of matters there. This Court doth, according to the serious advice of those said Gent^l, approve that both those Gent^l, viz: Mr. Chauncey and Mr. Woodbridge, abide in their respective improvements as formerly, till such time as either there be a greater appearance of the settlement of their peace in the enjoyment of these, or some other orderly means (to be promoted by the civil authority) may be used for the procuring of another minister, as may be for the union and satisfaction of the whole, or till some other expedient be ordered by the Court. And it is ordered that a copy of the Elder's advice be delivered to the Church of Windsor, and another copy to the dissenting party. And it is desired they would severally declare to the next Court in October, their consideration about it."

Oct. 16, 1669. "This Court finding to their great grief that the differences and dissensions at Windsor, do, after many means of healing yet continue, and no appearance of a mutual compliance as yet presented in their last return to what the Court recommended, therefore they see not cause to deny liberty to those dissenters to meet distinctly for the present and orderly and regularly to embody themselves in church state, according to law, when they shall seek it." (*Col. Rec.*, ii. 124.)

They lost no time in acting upon the consent so reluctantly granted by the court. Mr. Woodbridge was ordained over the new church on the 18th of March following (1669-70),² and the old Town House was fitted up and occupied as a place of worship. This Town House (see p. 138,) stood in the Palisado, on the present parsonage-lot of the Congregational Church. The seceders called themselves the New Society, and their place of meeting the "new meeting-house."

The "true inwardness" of this division cannot now be fully ascertained. "Since the Synod of 1662, which endorsed and authorized the Half-way Covenant system, proposed at first in 1657, there seems to have been a great division in the churches throughout the colonies. Not only in Hartford, but in Boston also, there was a secession of a portion of the

¹ *Col. Rec.*, ii. 113.

² In Mr. Simon Bradstreet's Journal (*N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, ix. 45) is the following item: "March 18, '69-70. My Br. Benjamin Woodbridge was ordained minister of the Presbyterian party (as they are accounted) of Windsor." The Rev. Mr. Bradstreet of New London, was both cousin and brother-in-law of Rev. Benj. Woodbridge (*Gen. Reg.*, ix. 118), and it is hardly probable that he was either misinformed or would be apt to say "ordained" unless he meant it. I have therefore preferred to adopt his account, in direct opposition to that of Trumbull, who says (*Hist. Conn.*, i. 470) that neither Mr. Chauncey nor Mr. Woodbridge were ordained.

old church, and a new one formed, which is now known as the Old South. One party here in Windsor was called the Presbyterian party. Dr. Parker of Hartford, in his discourse at the 200th anniversary of the South Church, says: "Within a month from the time when the Second Church in Hartford was formed the party in the church at Windsor that dissented from the strict Congregationalism of old Mr. Warham, withdrew, and Mr. Woolleridge was ordained as minister of the *Presbyterian* party of Windsor." It is known that the Presbyterians of England had exerted much influence in the colony, and attended at Boston, in 1648, to frame the platform of the New England churches in accordance with their ideas, and doubtless many within the colony were then favorable to the polity of that Church, which, under Cromwell, had been made for a time the established Church of England. But the disagreement was not all between these two factions of the church. There could not have been perfect peace in the main body if it be true, as reported, that "when a sermon was preached in the pulpit in the forenoon concerning doctrines to which Mr. Chauncey was opposed, he would in the afternoon preach to the same audience from the same text a regular logical refutation of these doctrines,"—a testimony which, however creditable to his mental ability and readiness, could scarcely have been conducive to peace among the flock.

Another fact is worthy of mention here in connection with these discussions, viz., that "for two years and twelve weeks, before February, 1669 (while matters were unsettled and the minority of the church, though worshipping apart, had not yet obtained leave to form a separate church, and the General Court was holding the matter under advisement), Matthew Grant records that the church held no communion service."

It would seem that the two churches might now have pursued their respective ways in peace and quietness. But that bitter words and uncharitable thoughts were yet rankling in the hearts of those who should have been brethren, is evidenced by the following document:

"The humble application of the distressed and grieved inhabitants of Windsor, requesting the Court to direct that the disaffected have the meeting house their share of the time on the Sabbath and not cause a division. The experience we have had doth give us a test of the ruins of division. If there can be no union obtained by all endeavors that are used we are apt to think that time will bring such desolations upon us.

We thank God 'tis the same Gospel truths that are preached by our minister and by the others and to find out the reason why one must take all the Labor upon himself, and the other must be silent and have his mouth stopped when we have need of variety of gifts, doth puzzle other heads than ours.

[Signed]

THOS. STOUGHTON,
GEORGE GRISWOLD,
TIMOTHY THRALL,
[for the rest.]

[Dated] May 13. 1670.

¹ *History of the Church of Windsor*, by Rev. G. C. Wilson, read at the Quarter Centennial Anniversary of said church, held March 30, 1880, p. 27, 28.

² *Ibid.*, p. 28.

In the midst of these uncomfortable bickerings and disputations Mr. Warham died. He expired April 1, 1670, having been for forty years minister in New England, six at Dorchester, and thirty-four at Windsor. The little that is known of him is contained in the following passage from Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, i. 442:

"The whole colony of Connecticut considered him as a principal pillar and father of the colony. I suppose the first preacher that ever preached with notes in our New England was the Rev. Warham, who, though he was sometimes faulted for it by some judicious men who had never heard him, yet when once they came to hear him, they could not but admire the notable energy of his ministry. He was a more vigorous preacher than most of them who have been applauded for never looking in a book in their lives.

"But I have one thing to relate concerning him which I would not mention if I did not, by the mention thereof, propound and expect the advantage of some that may be my readers. Know then that, though our Warham were as pious a man as most that were out of Heaven, yet Satan often threw him into those deadly pangs of melancholy that made him despair of ever getting thither. Such were the terrible temptations and horrible buffetings undergone sometimes by the soul of this holy man, that when he has administered the Lord's Supper to his flock, whom he durst not starve by omitting to administer that ordinance, yet he has tormented himself to partake at the same time in the ordinance, through the fearful dejections of his mind, which persuaded him that those blessed seals did not belong unto him. The dreadful darkness which overwhelmed this child of light in his life did not wholly leave him till his death. 'Tis reported that he did even set in a cloud when he retired into the glorified Society of those righteous ones that are to shine forth as the Sun in the Kingdom of their Father, though some have asserted that the cloud was dispelled before he expired.

"What was desired Johannes Mathesius, may now be inscribed on our Warham for an

* *Epitaph.*

Securus recubo hic mundi pertuesus iniqui;
Et didici et docui vulnera, Christe, tua.¹

But few of his manuscript sermons are now extant; but we give now, through the courtesy of John A. Stoughton, Esq., a *facsimile* of some pages of a sermon found in a trunk which belonged to Esther, the mother of Jonathan Edwards, and which doubtless came into her hands from Mrs. Solomon Stoddard of Northampton, who was Mr. Warham's youngest daughter.²

¹ "Saviour! with life o'ertasked, oppressed, forlorn
Thy Cross I preached — Thy Cross too, I have borne,
But now I rest."

² Among the many noted persons who have descended from Rev. John Warham may be mentioned Rev. Jonathan Edwards and son, Jonathan 2d; Rev. Timothy Dwight, D.D.; Judge John Trumbull, LL.D.; Aaron Burr, Gen. William Williams, signer of the Declaration of Independence; Hon. John Sherman; Rev. Samuel A. Worcester, D.D.; Rev. Jonathan Edwards Woodbridge, D.D.; Ex-President Woolsey of Yale College; Judge Henry Morris of Springfield; Rev. R. S. Storrs, D.D., of Brooklyn; Stoddard the missionary; "Grace Greenwood"; Gen. Win. T. Sherman; Bishop Williams of the Episcopal Church; Mrs. Prof. Yardley of Berkeley Divinity School, and her sister, "Susan

erty of her own at the time of her marriage to him, and her will, which we give from the records, was probably disappointing to some of her relatives, who were impatiently waiting for her death :

THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF MRS. ABIGAIL WARHAM. We underwritten being present with Mrs. Warham who spent her last dayes in our family, she discoursing with us respecting her Estate she declared that she had formerly given her Cousin Miles Merwin such a Multitude, that if she had thousands she would not give him a penny. *Not at a penny's paynt*, she further said that things were so with her now in regard of her later sickness and extreme therration that she could not tell whether she had anything to give away. She also disowned that she had any will and sayd further that her Cousin Miles Merwin desired that she would make over her estate to him, and she manifested herself much troubled and sayd she knew not but that she might live to need and expend it, and that she had before she dyed. Mary the wife of Capt. Newberry and Abigail the daughter of the aforesaid both affirm that Mrs. Warham sayd to them when she was of good understanding & sound memory concerning her Estate, that if there was anything left when the Court had to consider thereof, she had thought that *both* Miles Merwin should have somewhat and the other that lived with her so long, & as for her moveables that were brought into our house. Return Strong, Mary Newberry, & Abigail doe testify she freely gave them to us, and sayd they should not be taken from us. The above sayd was by her declared to us some time last March. Sept 4, 1684.

BENJAMIN NEWBERRY,
MARY M. NEWBERRY'S
mark.
ABIGAIL C. NEWBERRY'S
mark.
RETURN STRONG.

For two or three years after the death of Mr. Warham, the two churches of Windsor, under the respective care of Messrs. Chauncey and Woodbridge, dwelt together, if not in harmony, at least with comparative quiet. It was a quiet, however, which the most trivial cause could not fail to disturb; nor was that cause long wanting. That the ill feeling between the two churches had meanwhile not subsided is evident from a document which has come to our knowledge since the printing of our first edition. It is one of a number of ancient papers presented to the Connecticut State Library by Hon. Robert C. Winthrop of Boston, and bears the endorsement (in Governor Winthrop's handwriting) :

"WINDSOR MEN OF THE NEW CHURCH COMPLAINT IN WINTER, 1672."
To the honored governor and Counsell :

whereas wee have perceived a deeptrooted spirite of bitterness boyling in the brests of some of thos of the old congregation heere in windsore against ourselvs which doethe apaire by manyfold expresions given out at sundry times by principall persons amongst them as that wee are guilty of treachery periury and apostesy that those that had a hand in the ordynation of our minister wear stilled sacreledigious theeves besids, what hath been publicly preached and asserted in the pulpit by mr chauncey as that our minister is noe mynister of Christ and can expecte no blessings on his labours thereby discouraginge persons in attendinge ordynances under his adminystration Comparinge our difereces to the difereces betweene papist and protestants deallinge with persons that have ocationally Commuynicated with us as havinge thereby felowshipec with the unfruitfull workes of darknesse alwinge the hearing of the word preached at our Com-

negation to be publicly called disorder and now at last utterly refusing to joyn with us in a day of fast on a solemn occasion in which wee are all interested. Injuring that hee should not in conscience heere our minister pray and preach, and that length of time hath no way abated the zeal of his spirit in this matter with many other things as much manifestinge an evil spirit as those of which things wee have desired mr Cheneys grounds in writinge whiche though wee have sometime gained a promise of him yet could never get any performance, wee have urged for an impartiall hearinge that we have received here in some measure healed which disease is refused and yet still a spirit of bitterness is maintained. All such things doe to playnly Intimate that there is a schisme and therefore necessarily temporall or spiritual is to libell regarded by them upon which grounds wee humbly conceive that it is unsafe and dangerous for us to be joyned in names with them. Our request therefore to this honored councill is that sum speedy and effectuall course may bee taken to satisfy our minds that wee shall not have our great enemies in our camps as those wee goe out against or otherwise that either wee or they may bee exempted from goinge out wee would not in this motion bee understood by way to hinder the weale of the Colony or discourage the souldiers out against the enemye in which designe wee are willinge to hazard our lives but wee count it dangerous to goe forth with such as will give us more biter and evil speeches then they cany himselfe and through sum false Conceited opinion cannot pray with us for our prosperity and blessinge in goinge forth subscribed by us.

+ the mark of mattheewell	Ephraim french	John	Job Drake
Piney	Antony hesskins	John Lou[don]	Jacob Drake
+ the mark of timothy Phelps		mark	John Terry
the mark of Andrew		Jacob filly	Timote Thrall
more A Peter Wapense		daniel Haydon	James Easter [?]
vander meulen ¹		John Robt [?]	James Egliston
Joshua Wills		John Stillness	George Griswold
Isaiah galloway	daniel King	John owens	Daniel Griswold
	Mark Kelsey	John persons	John Fitch
		Joseph owens	James Enno
		Josef Birge	Joseph Griswold
		Elias Shaduck	James Enno
			John Enno
			Thomas Stoughton

Both the Old Meetings-House belonging to the original church and the Town House, occupied by Mr. Woodbridge's church, had been for some time past in very dilapidated condition, and much needed repairs. Consequently on June 8, 1676, "the Townsmen met, and considering the ruinous condition our meeting-house is in, we do agree to get [it] set in good repair; the cost of doing it to have it paid by a town rate, which work we do determine to have to be done. Witness our hand. Matthew Grant, John Loomis, Jacob Drake, Thomas Bissell, John Maudsley." (*Town Acts*, Bk. ii. 49.)

The Woodbridge party probably thought that the Town House which they were occupying needed repairs quite as much as the Meeting-house. For, at the following meeting of the town, a paper was "presented by George Griswold, Timothy Thrall [and] Job Drake as followeth:

"To our respected friends the townsmen of Windsor.

Whereas there was a vote sometime passed by the town that both Meeting-houses here in Windsor, in respect to the covering outside, should be repaired on a general or

¹ *Peter Mills*, the ancestor of the Mills family, who was of Holland birth, and here signs his *un-Anglicized* name in full. See *Mills Genealogy*, in the 2d volume.

town account, and the old meeting house, as we apprehend, is already done in answer to that vote. We therefore whose names are underwritten as a Committee, in their [and] behalf of the new congregation here in Windsor do hereby present to you that the New Meeting-house may also be speedily done, there being great necessity of it, and we desire and request [it] may be especially attended, or if not you would give an answer to return to the company whom we represent, that they may consider what is to be done in that matter." *And*

To this the townsmen returned the following answer:

"Whereas we received a writing, dated July 27, 1676, from some of our friends, wherein they declare that formerly there was a town vote that both the meeting houses should be repaired upon a town account, and that they do apprehend that we have gone on to repair the old Meeting-house upon the account of that vote, and therefore [they] desire [us] as speedily to repair the new one, or else to give them a speedy answer. Therefore we having considered the matter, as it is presented to us, we do give this answer: that we have endeavored to repair the old meeting house, and do intend to perfect it as soon as we can upon a town charge, but not out of any respect to such a vote as you say was lately passed, for we know of no such vote—but we do, as looking at it to be a proper estate [custom] of the whole town, from the first setting up till now, for such a use as it is now put to. Therefore we looked at it to be a proper work of the town men to look to the repairing of it. And as to the town house, we looked at it to be as properly the town estate as ever, yet it being taken into the hands of some part of the town and improved to another use than was agreed by the town, and by them made incapable for that [former] use, that it was first intended [for], therefore now we do apprehend it is not the work of the townsmen to meddle with it upon the account of a reparation [repairing], until it be set in the state it was at the first, and then we look at it to be the townsmen's work to put it in repair."

MATTHEW GRANT,

JOHN LOOMIS,

JACOB DRAKE,

THOMAS BISSELL,

JOHN MACDISEA.

(*Town Act.*)

In this refusal to repair the Town House it is easy to discern that the townsmen, representing the orthodox, or First Church, were unwilling to recognize, by any official act, the existence or legitimacy of the new congregation. The repairing of a town house, occupied by the dissenters, "on a town account," would have been a concession which they would not make, and a precedent which they dared not establish.

The Woodbridge faction, of course, did not quietly submit to being thus tacitly ignored and snubbed by their fellow-citizens, and contention again arose in Windsor. At length, at a town meeting held September 22, '76, it was proposed "to make choice of indifferent men out of some other towns, who shall have power to advise and determine in what way and manner the two public meeting places of the town of Windsor shall be repaired. Also 3 men shall be chosen, one party [to] choose one, and other party [to] choose one, and the third to be chosen by those two men so chosen. This was voted affirmatively, and the man chosen by the New Congregation is Captain Allyn, and the man chosen by the other is Major Treat."

Finally at a town meeting held on November 2d, "it was voted by the major part that the old meeting-house and the other companies' meeting-house or Town house shall both of them be repaired, both on the outsides of them, on the town cost."

Here their difficulties rested for a short time. The Old Meeting-House and the Town House were both repaired, and at a town meeting, February 11, 1677, it was "appointed and desired that Mr. Wolcott, Sen'r, Capt. Newberry, and Capt. Clark, with the townsmen, should order persons seating in the meeting-house."

During the two years which followed various attempts at reconciliation and reunion of the two churches were made. But here a new difficulty arose. The First Church insisted that those members who had withdrawn themselves and joined the Second Church should be examined before readmission to the First Church. The Second Church claimed that this was unnecessary, inasmuch as they had been members of the First Church "in good and regular standing," and were at that time members in full communion with the Second Church. But the First Church stood firm on this point. At length, January 31, 1677-8, a council of fourteen members was mutually called by the two churches. This council advised "that the two congregations reunite and walk together in the same way and order, and this way of order, wherunto they shall meet in their future walk, shall be the known and settled walk of the First Church, which we understand to be the Congregational way of Church order."

That "those who were originally members of the First Church be admitted; and those who after the division joined the New Church be examined, if there was any objection to them, by the Rev. Mr. Rowlandson and the Rev. Mr. Hooker." Mr. Joseph Rowlandson was then pastor at Wethersfield, and Mr. Hooker at Hartford.

That "Mr. Chauncey be continued in his office and employment, acting according to the professed Congregational principles; and that Mr. Woodbridge be received to communion and assist in preaching."

This advice was partially complied with.

The following August the Second Church, through John Hosford, Timothy Thrall, and Jacob Gibbs, sent a communication to the First, stating that "we are satisfied in ourselves respecting our churchhood

¹ There is, to our mind, an especial significance in this frequently recurring phrase, "the Congregational way of Church order." Taken in connection with the term *Presbyterian*, as applied to the Woodbridge party in Windsor by Simon Bradstreet (see note to page 202), and other similar terms, it seems clear to our minds that *Presbyterianism* was creeping into the churches, and, as such, was recognized as a foe to the established or Congregational order. The Synod of 1708, at Saybrook, evidently developed many latent seeds of Presbyterianism in Connecticut.

and church membership;" and affirming their understanding of the council's advice to be that they (the Second Church) be received in a body, "without any trial of their fitness," by the First Church.

This communication being read to the First Church after meeting on the Sabbath, they voted "that they understood the Council's act otherwise, and should wait the Council's session for the clearing up of the matter."

On the 14th of January, 1678-9 "at a town meeting, the congregation in Windsor being met, did by their vote choose six men, who are desired and empowered to consult with the present Hon^{ble} and Rev^d Council, and any others able to advise, to what person to make application unto, to procure him to carry on the work of the ministry in this place, and so to return the Council's advice given to the congregation to carry it on to effect — to procure the person to settle amongst us here in Windsor in the work of the ministry. The above written is voted — and the persons chosen for a committee are the Worth Mr. Wolcott, Capt. Newberry, Capt. Clark, John Loomis, Jacob Drake, John Bissell."

Attest. JOHN ALLYN, Secy.

JAMES RICHARDS.

Town Acts, Bk. ii. 48.

"It was also voted that Mr. Chauncey and Mr. Woodbridge shall carry on the work of the ministry in Windsor jointly together, until a third minister be settled amongst us." (*Ibid.*, Bk. ii. 48.)

In October, 1670, the townsmen had contracted with Mr. John Witchfield for the use of his house and living for Mr. Chauncey, but this was soon made void, and Mr. Chauncey purchased of George Phelps and wife a house and lot, and afterward a five-acre pasture lot, situated next north of the present parsonage.

The Council recommended the Rev. Samuel Mather of Branford, and the Rev. Isaac Foster, as suitable candidates for settlement. And, January 27, 1678-9, —

"The Congregation being met to consider the return of advice that the Committee received from the Hon^{ble} Council — Mr. Mather being put to vote, there was forty-seven affirmative votes, and seventy-one negative. And for Mr. Foster, eighty-three affirmative and forty-four negative."

Also, "the congregation having passed a vote wherein they declare their desire to procure Mr. Foster, if he be free and suitably persuaded and accomplished to carry on the work of Christ in the ministry here among us, do therefore desire the committee lately chosen to apply to so many of the Hon^{ble} and Rev^d Gentlemen with whom they lately advised as may be (conveniently) come at, and with all convenient speed, procure not only their concurrence but assistance in obtaining the said Mr. Foster, provided it appears by sufficient information from such Hon^{ble} and Rev^d Gent^{men} in the Massachusetts [colony] to whom we shall apply by a messenger that he is not only congregationally persuaded, but otherwise accomplished to carry on the work of Christ amongst us" — *Town Acts*, Bk. ii. 48.

The committee accordingly waited upon the council, and in due course of time received the following reply (*Ibid.*, ii. 50):

HARTFORD, April 19, 1679

to the messengers.

We have perused the letters of Rev. Mr. Dakes and Mr. Mather in answer to ours concerning Mr. Foster, and entertain their testimony of him as to his parts and piety with great satisfaction and thankfulness. There seemeth to us a doubtfulness still ailing concerning his persuasion in point of church order, by reason of which we can not advise you immediately to make application to him, but rather think it advisable to send down Capt. Newberry and John Loomis with letters from Capt. Allyn, Mr. Richards, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Whitmer, to the Rev. Mr. Dakes and Mr. Mather, requesting them that they would improve their interest in Mr. Foster to gain a true discovery of his judgment of the premises, and in case they can obtain so much from him as shall equiptate them to assert that he is congregationally persuaded according [to the] covenants [of] '48 art. 1 & 2 that then they be entreated to lend their helping hands to promote the motion to him and persuade him to come to you otherwise not to meddle. This is the sum of our present thoughts. To which we add our earnest prayers to the Father of lights for his gracious guidance and blessing and remain your

Friends and servants,

JOHN ALLYN,
JAMES RICHARDS,
SAMUEL HOOKER,
JOHN WHITING

"At a town meeting, April 14th, the congregation unanimously voted their acceptance of the advice sent from the council."

They also "voted their willingness to give the said Mr. Foster an invitation to the work of the ministry" amongst them, and that in case of his acceptance of the same "there shall be allowed him for the first year, if he stay so long with us, the sum of seventy pounds." "The Congregation also by vote, desired and empowered the Committee to draw up a letter to Mr. Foster," which being done and read to the congregation, was "by them approved and ordered to be improved by the messengers, Capt. Newberry and John Loomis, according to the advice sent to us by the Council." (*Town Acts*, ii. 51.)

The messengers accordingly went to Massachusetts and brought back a favorable report. The congregation invited Mr. Foster to come to Windsor on trial, which he did, and gave them such "full satisfaction of his parts, ability, and persuasion, and some test of his labors," that they tendered him "a unanimous call" to settle among them. £100 per annum for his support was voted, and Capt. Daniel Clark was delegated "to accompany Mr. Foster to the Bay, and further his return again." The prospects now seemed bright of a speedy reunion and restoration of harmony to the unhappy and divided churches of Windsor. But, for some unexplained reason, Mr. Foster did not settle there, and the partial union between the parties was again broken.

In the contentions which ensued, as in those that preceded, it is not easy certainly to discover which side was most to blame. Both parties undoubtedly had good causes of complaint, and it was natural that they should be tenacious of the principles and rights for which each had so

long and warmly contended. And it is quite as probable that matters, in themselves comparatively trivial, had, by the heat of passion and the long continuance of dispute, assumed an undue importance in the eyes of the disputants. Yet we cannot avoid the inference, from the documentary evidence before us, that the chief thing which fomented and perpetuated this unhappy feud was an unwillingness on the part of the First Church and its pastor, Mr. Chauncey, to make any concession towards the other party. They seemed to have considered the Second Church as rebels, who should be received, if received at all, only on terms of unconditional surrender. But we will allow the records to speak for themselves.

At a Town-meeting, October 27, 1679, "it was proposed to the Congregation whether they apprehended themselves under the power of an ecclesiastical council, and whether they were willing so to remain under the said council." Voted in the negative.

Also George Griswold and Jacob Drake were desired "to repair to the Rev. Mr. Chauncey, and to desire him that both himself and the church with him would return their determinate answer whether they will admit Mr. Woodbridge to preach once on the Lord's day, as the Hon. Govt and the worshipful Capt. Allyn have desired in their last letter." In case of a negative answer from Mr. C. and the church, "the townsmen are desired to apply to the Civil Council in Hartford for their approbation and countenancing Mr. Woodbridge in preaching together with Mr. Chauncey, until we can be otherwise provided for."

In December 2, 1679, the town voted "to allow £80 to be divided between Mr. Chauncey and Mr. Woodbridge, according to their respective times and pains in the ministry." Mr. Chauncey already had, in November, 1679, accepted a call to Hatfield, Mass.

It is very probable that at this time the Second Church was the largest, as the passage of this vote in town meeting would argue the weight of influence to be on their side.

Mr. Chauncey and his church probably returned a negative answer, for we next find (Dec. 14, '79), that a committee of ten were appointed in town meeting "by order from the Governor and Magistrates" . . . "to act in endeavoring to [obtain] a supply in the ministry." This committee, however, composed of the following individuals, Mr. Wolcott, Sr., Capt. Newberry, Capt. Clark, George Phelps, John Loomis, Henry Wolcott, Jr., John Bissell, Thomas Bissell, John Moore, and Cornelius Gillet, was not acceptable to the people, 27 only voting in their favor at the town meeting of January 3, 1679-80.

Where the real trouble was we may perhaps learn from the following: Job Drake, George Griswold, John Moses, and Timothy Thrall [all active members of the Second Society or Woodbridge faction] subse-

quently presented to the governor and assistants a paper, dated July 5, 1680, containing sundry high charges, and the marshal was sent to bring them before the governor and assistants. They acknowledged the paper, and "did openly recognize the said scandalous and offensive writing, declaring themselves to be of the same mind." The court therefore bound them over in bonds of £10, to appear before the court in October, and answer for the defamation of authority in the said writing so avowed and justified as before, and contempt of authority . . . to the orderly and peaceable settlement of ministry in Windsor, according to lawful appointment." The court also did "farther enjoin and require the said persons, and all concerned with them, to carry peaceably towards their neighbors of the Church of Windsor, and not *interrupt or discourage the committee* appointed by lawful authority to provide an able ministry for the said Church of Windsor." See *State Archives, Ecclesiastical Papers*, i. 74, 77, 78. Also, *Col. Rec.*, iii. 72.

In May following a council was convened which gave the same advice as that of 1677.

In July the assembly again interfered and ordered the Second Society to suspend their meetings on the Sabbath and public days, and to unite with the First. "All actings contrary will be esteemed contempt of authority." They also advise the good people of Windsor to assist Mr. Woodbridge in the transportation of his effects to the Bay. Still the Second Church continued refractory. Meanwhile Mr. Chauncey had left Windsor, and a Mr. Stow¹ was preaching in his place to the First Church. Mr. Woodbridge still remained.

The assembly, finally, was obliged to issue another peremptory order, October 14, 1680:

"This Court, having considered the petition of some of Windsor,² and the sorrowful condition of the good people there, and finding that, notwithstanding all means of healing afforded them, they do remain in a bleeding state and condition, do find it necessary for this court to exert their authority towards the issuing or putting a stop to the present troubles there; and this Court do hereby declare, that they find all the good people of Windsor obliged to stand to, and rest satisfied with the advice and issue of the council they chose to hear and issue their matters, which advice being given and now presented to the Court, dated January, 1677,³ this Court doth confirm the same, and order that there be a reasonable uniting of the Second Society in Windsor with the first, according to order of the council, by an orderly preparation for their admission; and if there be objection against the life or knowledge of any, then it be, according to the council's advice, heard and issued by Mr. Hooker and the other moderator's successor; and that both the former ministers be released. And that the committee appointed to seek out for a minister, with the advice of the church and the town collectively by their

¹ Probably Mr. Samuel Stow of Middletown, who afterwards (1681) preached at Sunbury for 4 years. Although never settled, he formed the First Church in that town.

² *State Archives, Towns and Lands*, i. 77. See also same volume, Nos. 63-68, 71-79.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 63.

major vote, do vigorously pursue the procuring of an able, orthodox minister qualified according to the advice of the Governor, and Council, and ministers. May best. and all the good people of Windsor are hereby required to be aiding and assisting and not in the least to oppose them or hinder the same, as they will answer the contrary at their peril."

Soon after a communication without date is sent to the assembly, by the Second Society, complaining that the First Church would not receive them, and would not abide by the advice of council.¹

"Our communications," say they, "are not entertained or objected against [if they had been objected against they could have obtained certificates of orthodoxy from Mr. Rowlandson and Mr. Hooker] neither we or our minister could enjoy communion, or sacraments, nay the sacrament was professedly put by, that we might not. . . . Indeed we did enjoy the preaching by our minister, and maintenance by the whole [town] a little while, and then were jostled out of that too."

They furthermore profess their willingness that the First Church should call Mr. Chauncey back again, or get another minister, but even, if this is granted, "we are yet suffering that we had it not above two years and a half ago."

Tradition says, and it seems quite probable, that the people of Windsor had, by this time, become so disgusted with their own wranglings, and so dissatisfied with those who had preached to them, that they unwittingly found themselves *united* in one point, viz.: to seek a new minister. And at a town meeting held on March 11, 1680-81, "It was voted *unanimously*, that Mr. Mather of Branford should be sought unto and endeavorers speedily [made] to secure him, if God shall succeed, in the work of the ministry, and to tender to him a salary of £100 per year."

In May following (1681), Mr. Woodbridge's connection with the Second Church was severed. That there was some difficulty in the matter, and possibly some hard feeling, is evident from the fact that he complained to the assembly of injustice done to him by the Second Church. To this the assembly replied (May 19, 1681) as follows:

"This court having heard Mr. Woodbridge, his petition, do find that it may be difficult to come to a just issue of the case, and that it may be hazardous to the peace to enter particularly into the bowels of the case, as matters are circumstanced; therefore as a final issue of all matters of strife about demands by Mr. Woodbridge upon the people of Windsor for his labors there. This Court do grant unto Mr. Woodbridge the sum of 200 acres of land for a farm provided he take it up where it may not prejudice any former grant to any particular person or plantation. And this court do recommend it to those of Windsor who have been engaged to Mr. Woodbridge, that now at his parting, they would consider their engagements to him, and act towards him as they are in duty bound; and we recommend to Mr. Woodbridge as a friend to peace, that he would rest satisfied therewith.²

¹ Probably the First Church still insisted on terms which the Second considered as unjustly rigorous.

² John Ward Dean of Boston, thus writes to the author: "My ancestor, Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge, appears to have had opponents (and adherents too) wherever he

Meanwhile the people of Windsor, with an unanimity which must have surprised themselves, were negotiating with Mr. Mather, and a call was extended to him, 11 March, 1680-81. — *W. Records*. July 27, 1681, the town voted to have the Town House (previously occupied by the Second Church) "finished and made suitable for the entertainment of Mr. Samuel Mather, if God in his providence sends him amongst us." Also voted, to give him £100 upon his settlement, "and the use of the house and lands belonging to it."

There was still some impediment in the way of the union of the two societies, viz.: some *point of union* upon which both could reasonably and mutually agree. But the heartfelt desire for peace and quiet, which now possessed all minds, led them to make the following judicious and Christian resolution:

"August 25th, the Congregation being met, do jointly agree to present an invitation to Mr. Mather, and if it may be to obtain him, and leave the pursuance of the union of the two societies, till such time as he is present among us; and we are unitedly agreed in this, that so far as Mr. Mather can be helpful to us, from the word of God, to effect our union together, we shall readily attend. And wherein any person cannot concur with his apprehensions, we are willing to wait till God shall help us to see reason to concur with him, and in the meantime not to make any disturbance, or occasioning trouble."

But it was not until the following spring (May, 1682) that the way was fully prepared for the much desired union. Then the Assembly,

"Upon application made by the Church in Windsor, respecting the difficulties they meet with in the settlement of Mr. Mather, all former orders and endeavors not being effectual to remove the impediment that lies still in the way, that the matter of the union may be plainly stated, which is now mainly impeding unto them, this Court see cause to declare their ready owning of the said Church in the quiet practice of their professed principles in point of order, and so that the forementioned union be carried on in manner following, viz.: That Mr. Mather being in due time called and settled in office by the church of Windsor, thereupon such of the Second Society as desire fellowship with them in all ordinances (excepting those that were formerly in full communion with that Church, that are returned, or to return to the same standing in it), address themselves to Mr. Mather; and having satisfied him about their experimental knowledge, and the grounds of that satisfaction by him declared to the Church unto their acceptance, with encouraging testimony given in reference to their conversation, they be thereupon admitted."

was. After he left Windsor, he preached at Bristol (now in Rhode Island) and after that in Medford. A curious circumstance concerning him has been communicated to me by Rev. Mr. Page of Cambridge. There was trouble between him and a portion of his flock at Medford, and the matter was carried before the General Court, or Legislature, who ordered that the town should pay Mr. W. the (considerable) amount due to him, and that the church should then proceed to choose a pious and learned minister for their pastor. The money was paid and the church called together to choose a pastor, and the choice fell upon the Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge, the old pastor. There was some dissenting, but his opponents could not deny that he was a pious and learned minister, and the General Court had not ordered the church to choose another man."

¹ Various correspondence between Increase and Samuel Mather and other parties about this matter may be found in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series*, xxxviii. p. 98.

² This provision, for some cause, seems not to have been satisfactory, as in the suc-

The plan thus proposed by the court, and which gave the First Church all they ever demanded, seems to have reconciled the previous difficulties, and a new spirit of harmonious enterprise at once infused itself throughout the town. Yet the task of softening the prejudices and fusing the discordant elements of the two churches, was a work which required time and patience, as well as the exercise of sound judgment and consummate tact. All these qualities were in a high degree possessed by Mr. Mather; and, probably in the fall of 1684 he was fully ordained and settled in the charge of the united congregations of Windsor.

We are aware that Trumbull and other authorities assert that Mr. Mather was settled at Windsor in 1682, but the following vote of the town, Dec. 28, 1684, "to give Mr. Samuel Mather 100 acres of land at Salisbury plains *in case* he settles in office amongst us;" and also the record of admissions to the church during his ministry (as copied by Mr. Rowland from the original manuscripts of Mr. Mather — see *Ch. Records*), beginning thus: "The following were admitted to the church the 1st year, 1685," lead us to the conclusion that 1684 was the true date of his settlement and ordination.

At a town meeting in December of that year,

"It was voted, that the town allow ten pounds per winter to be payed out of the town rate towards procuring wood for Mr. Mather, the money to be laid out yearly by the townsmen, then in being, so as best [to] attain the end aforesaid.

Also that any man may have liberty to bring one load of wood yearly to Mr. Mather

ceeding October we find on record the following deed. "Know ye, &c., that I, Taban Grant, of Windsor, in the County of Hartford, and Colony of Connecticut, Blacksmith for and in consideration of the sum of One Hundred and Eighty pounds to me in hand paid by the Town of Windsor and of the inhabitants of the same upon the account and for the use of Mr. Samuel Mather of Windsor, &c., do grant, bargain and sell unto him the said Mather one dwelling-house and barn with four acres of land adjoining which I purchased of Lieut. Whiting," &c.

In December, 1684, "Mr. Samuel Mather hath granted from the Town of Windsor One Hundred acres of land at a place commonly called and known by the name of Salisbury Plain." He also had two hundred acres granted him by the General Court, east of the Great River.

In January, 1684, "In consideration of One Hundred pounds to me secured to be paid by Capt. Benjamin Newberry and others as agents in behalf of Mr. Samuel Mather Taban Grant deeds to Mr. Samuel Mather one piece of land being partly pasture and part arable land, containing eight acres; also one lot in the Great Meadow, five acres also, one other parcel in the Great Meadow, three and a half acres." Mr. Mather bought various other pieces of land some by himself and some in company with his brother, Atherton Mather.

The records do not give his annual salary until 1712, at which time Rev. Jonathan Marsh was his colleague. In 1712, Mr. Mather's salary was £50; Mr. Marsh's, £114. In 1713, Mather's salary was £60; Marsh's £124 15s. 6d. In 1714, Mr. Mather was voted £45, annually, during his life. In 1741, by a division of the common lands, a lot containing eighty acres was laid out to Rev. Samuel Mather's heirs. *Deacon J. B. Woodford's Address, Quarter-Millennial, Windsor Church.*

to be paid for the same out of their town rate, provided they bring it before the first day of February yearly, until the ten pound be expended. Should there not be so much wood brought to Mr. Mather before the first of February as shall amount to the cost, then any man may bring wood until the same be [made] up, and be paid as before said, the price to be three shillings and four pence the load."

"It is voted by the town that a new meeting house be built for the more comfortable carrying on the worship of God; and the form of the house to be according to the meeting house at Springfield, unless the committee chosen do see cause to make alteration in point of breadth. The Committee chosen to carry on this matter and to procure and agree with able workmen to do the work, are Benjamin Newberry, Mr. John Wolcott, Nathl Bessel, John Potter, and Timothy Threll."

The Springfield house had been built seven years before, by authority of a vote which specified that it should be 50 feet long and 40 feet wide, to be built so high, as it may be accommodated for galleries when the town shall see need.¹ This model was smaller than our estimate (see Appendix B.) of the first meeting-house of Windsor. But the Windsor Committee may have built higher and broader; the house had dormer windows, and it is not unlikely that tradition is true that this second meeting-house, on Palisado Green, "had two tiers of galleries."² A part of the timbers of the old house were used for building a barn, still standing, the property of Horace H. Ellsworth.

MR. SAMUEL MATHER, the second pastor of Windsor, was in every respect a fit successor to the venerable Warham. Descended from a highly respectable and gifted ancestry, he was one, and by no means the least, of a circle of noble men whose varied talents and pious lives have rendered the name of MATHER distinguished among the families of New England, even to the present day. He was born Sept. 5, 1651;³ his father, Timothy Mather of Dorchester, being a son of the Rev. Richard, third minister of that town; and his mother, a daughter of the excellent Major-General Humphrey Atherton. Thus highly connected, his earlier years were spent in the enjoyment of all the advantages which the best society of that day could afford. Graduating at Harvard College in 1671; he preached at Deerfield, Mass., in 1675; thence he went to Hatfield, Mass., and later to Milford, and to Branford, Conn. From thence he was called in the Providence of God, to Windsor, where the powers of his mind, the amiability of his character, and his piety, speedily won the esteem and love of his people, and composed the difficulties which existed among them.

¹ *Dr. Hayden's Address at Quarter-Millennial of Windsor Church.*

² Upon his own statement, according to Samuel Sewall's *Diary* (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vi. 196), though it is given in the *Mather Genealogy*, as July 5, 1650.

³ He succeeded Mr. Warham, and had the charge of the new church which was formed at Dorchester, Mass., after the emigration of the old church to Connecticut, 1635. It is a curious coincidence that his grandson should succeed Mr. Warham in the charge of the same old church in Connecticut.

"His ministry here proved to be a very fruitful one. It began with a revival which brought into the Church 28 during the first year and 16 the second; more than doubling its members; for there were but 54 members when he came. The records of this time, in his own handwriting, have such remarks as these at the close of the yearly entries: after the first year, 'The Lord make the next year also a good year.' And at the end of the fourth, 'Not so much as one were added to the Church, but as many died out of it as was added the year before. The Good Lord awake and humble us.'"¹

He was then in the prime of his life, grave and dignified in person, faithful and consistent in his daily life, and benignant and winning in manner. He died 18th March, 1727-8, aged 77. His connection by marriage with the daughter of the Hon. Robert Treat of Wethersfield, afterwards governor of the colony, was in itself happy, and served to increase the influence which his gifts of mind and heart had already secured for him in the public estimation. Thus happy in his domestic and personal relations, his life was quietly passed in the faithful discharge of his pastoral duties to this now happy flock. And it is pleasant to record that during the whole period of his ministry, not one shadow of complaint seems to have darkened his or their pathway. On the contrary, there is abundant evidence that he was the constant recipient of many marks of public and private respect and care.

He was not unknown as an author. At Boston, in 1697, he published "*A Dead Faith Anatomized*"—a discourse (probably preached at Windsor,) from James 2 : 20, "on the Nature and the Danger, with the deadly symptoms of a Dead Faith . . . In those who profess the faith of Christ." This was prepared with an introduction by his cousin, the celebrated Cotton Mather, in which he says:

"This discourse is what was delivered to a popular audience. And such was the savour which it left in the minds of its hearers where it was declared, as that the notes thereof have here come abroad," and thus concludes: "The author is known throughout the churches of the famous and happy colony [Connecticut], to none of the least whereof he hath for many years been a faithful Pastor: known for his Piety, Gravity and Usefulness more than any recommendations of mine can render him: and my relation to him will readily excuse me, as well as his modesty forbid me, for saying any more."

He also published a book entitled "*Self-Justiciary Convicted and Condemned*." The "Epistle Dedicatory," of 27 pages, is dated March 17, 1706. It was published, as a postscript informs us, at the cost and expense of "our good friend Nathanael Porter. Men who are at such Expence to Serve in this Way the Kingdom of our Glorious Lord, ought

¹ Rev. G. C. Wilson.

to have their Names gratefully Redeemed." The volume is of 92 (and more) pages, 12mo. Text, Romans x. 3. In Appendix to "Self-Justification," pages 85-92, written by Dr. Increase Mather (on page 91) he alludes to another of his works in a note, thus: "See my Epistle before Mr. Willard's Sermons: on 2 Tim. 3.5." This was written, he says, "with a design of being published in the Year 1698." "It is a time of much Degeneracy: *our Transgressions are many, and our Backslidings are increased*, as Jer. 5. 6. In great measure we in this Wilderness have *lost our first love*, as it is said of them, Rev. 2. 4. Yet they had divers commendable things among them. We do not walk with God as our Fathers did, and hence we are continually from year to year under his Rebukes, one way or other: and yet, alas, *we turn not unto him that smites us*: these considerations call for the utmost of our endeavours, for the reformation of what is amongst us, and for the upholding and strengthening of what yet Remains, and is perhaps ready to dy. Consider then these few words, &c."

This year: 1638.¹² good
Not so much as one
were added to the
Church: but many
had out of it, as we
added the year before
the good Lord aken, as
humble to us. those that dyed
were. Dorcas Mills: Nath
Cook. Mary: Filly: M^{rs} Clark
Nath: Loomis. John Parker
Mary Porter. Deacon John
Loomis. Joseph: Taylor.
9. in all.

FACSIMILE OF AN ENTRY ON THE CHURCH RECORDS OF WINDSOR, MADE BY REV. MR. MATHER — See opposite page.

CHAPTER X.

KING PHILIP'S WAR.

1675-6.

FOR nearly forty years the New England settlements had enjoyed a season of almost uninterrupted quiet and prosperity. Providence had smiled upon their labors, the wilderness had begun "to bud and blossom as the rose," and there was scarce a cloud upon the horizon of their condition. But suddenly the warwhoop of the Indian rang through the length and breadth of the land, and they awoke from this "sweet dream of peace" to find themselves involved in all the horrors and uncertainties of savage warfare. King Philip and his warriors had appeared on the eastern borders, and their course was marked by mangled corpses and burning villages. In the general consternation which followed, apprehensions were felt of a general rising of all the New England tribes.

We, of the present day, can scarcely realize the terror which filled the hearts of our ancestors as they found themselves again on the eve of an Indian war. The crisis, however, was boldly and promptly met. A momentary blanching of the cheek there might have been, but there was no flinching of the heart among those brave men of Connecticut. The safety of their families, the preservation of their property, the hopes of religious freedom depended on them, and they bravely prepared to defend the trust committed to them.

Fortunately and unexpectedly to them, the war did not reach the lower towns on the Connecticut, Simsbury being the nearest approach that the enemy made. Yet from the suddenness of the war, as well as the exposed condition of Windsor, Hartford, and Wetherstfield, those

¹ In the better light which time and historic investigation throw upon this subject we find that this apprehension was unfounded. King Philip himself inherited a strong friendship for the whites from his father Massasoit, the first to welcome the Pilgrims of the Mayflower—and was faithful to that trust. He was hurried into the war by the rash and unauthorized acts of some of his young men, and being thus compromised and proscribed by the English, was obliged in self-defence to take up the hatchet. Few characters in Indian history are more worthy of study and admiration than that of the talented and brave but unfortunate King Philip.

The action of the different tribes in this war was by no means concerted or similar and we cannot consider it as a general emeute.

towns were in a continual state of dread and alarm. The inhabitants literally slept on their arms, in constant expectation of an attack. Windsor, particularly, from its widely extended limits, was more exposed than its neighbors; and from its situation on the great thoroughfare between Hartford and Springfield, was constantly alive with the hurrying "to and fro" of troops and munitions of war on their way to the aid of the less fortunate towns above the falls. To all of the numerous levies drafted during the war Windsor contributed a large proportion of troopers; having in the service at different times not far from 125, mostly dragoons. These dragoons, from their greater facility of movement and better adaptedness to the nature of the service, were constantly employed in rapid marches, bearing despatches and scouting parties. In an old book of rates we find the following names of Windsor troopers who were in actual service, and received 6s. 8d. each, "on war account."

Capt. John Bissell,	John Hosford,	Capt. Sam. Marshall,
John Bissell, Jr.,	Anth'y Hoskins,	John Moses,
Nath'l Bissell,	Dan'l Hayden,	Thos. Moore,
Capt. Daniel Clark,	Joseph Loomis,	Mr. John Porter,
Edward Chapman,	Nath'l Loomis,	Mr. Henry Sanders,
Thos. Strong,	John Terry,	Mr. Henry Wolcott,

Immediately on the receipt of the news (July 1st) from Massachusetts, the governor and assistants at Hartford ordered a detachment of thirty dragoons to the defense of New London and Stonington, which were considered most exposed to attack. On this service were fifteen dragoons and five troopers from Windsor. The next month (August) she contributed fourteen dragoons to a relief party to Maj. Pyncheon of Springfield; and also twenty-five dragoons to a levy of two hundred and thirty from Hartford, New Haven, and Fairfield counties, ordered by the council "to be in readiness for the march upon an hour's warning, and to have their arms well fixed and fitted for service." Capt. Benjamin Newberry of Windsor commanded the Hartford County troops.

On the 31st of the same month, Major Treat, moving with his army toward Northampton, learned on his march that Christopher Crow of Windsor, while traveling between that town and Simsbury, had been shot at by four out of a party of eight Indians. Halting at Windsor, he sent back to the council for advice, who ordered him to leave thirty (of the Hartford Co.) troops there, and to move on with the remainder of his force.

On the same day John Colt of Windsor was shot at by an Indian, and a party of Indians were seen that evening skulking around the North Meadow at Hartford. These facts induced the council the next day (Sept. 1) to order the immediate return of Maj. Treat with his command to Hartford; requesting him also to send out three detachments

of dragoons of thirty each, one party to scout on the east side of the river from Hockanum River to Seantic; another to scout on the west side from Hartford to Wethersfield, and a third to search on the west side from Hartford to Windsor—and the troops, having fulfilled these orders, rendezvoused at Hartford on the following evening, when the Major proceeded again on his march to Westfield.

Sept. 3. "It is ordered by the Council, that in the several plantations of this Colony there be kept a sufficient watch in the night, which watch is to be continued from the shutting in of the evening till the sun rise; and that one fourth part of each town be in arms every day by turns, to bear guard in their respective plantations." "All soldiers from 16 to 70 years of age (magistrates, ministers, commissioners, commission officers, school masters, physicians and millers excepted) are to attend their course of watch and ward as they shall be appointed. It is also ordered, that, during these present commotions with the Indians, such persons as have occasion to work in the fields shall work in companies, if they be half a mile from town, not less than six in a company, with their arms and ammunition well fixed and fitted for service."

A heavy fine was also imposed on any one who should "shoot off a gun without command from some magistrate or military commander," except in self-defense, or "for the destroying of some wolf or such ravenous beast."

Sept. 4. "For the prevention of danger to travelers upon the road between town and town in this County,"—said towns were ordered to keep scouting parties of mounted men on the roads. "Windsor each other day, shall send four men to clear the roads to Simsbury, and two each other day, to clear the roads between Hartford and Windsor; Windsor to begin Monday next to Hartford, and Tuesday to Simsbury." Hartford was also to send two men each other day, to clear the road to Windsor. The men were to be taken out of the town guard, "and to be upon their work by sun an hour high each day."

Sept. 6. "Sgt. Joseph Wadsworth of Hartford, and John Grant of Windsor, were ordered to take twenty men each and pass up to Westfield and Springfield" which were threatened. The following is a copy of their instructions:

"To John Grant

"In his Majesty's name you are required to take under your conduct those dragoons now present, and lead them forth up to Springfield, there to assist against the common enemy, and there to continue till you receive farther orders from the council here, or are called forth to the army by Maj. Treat, or some of the chief commanders of our army. Also, in case you hear that any of our plantations are assaulted by the enemy, you are forthwith to post away to relieve the place or plantation assaulted; and in case you should be assaulted in the way, you are to use your endeavor to defend yourself and destroy the enemy.

"This signed pr. the Secretary."

These troops returned home in a few days by order of the council.

Sept. 28. Two hundred bushels of wheat were ordered for the sup-

ply of the army, ground and baked into biscuit. Windsor was to furnish 50 pounds.

The Springfield Indians, who had hitherto been considered friendly to the English, now treacherously received some 300 of Philip's Indians into their fort, intending to attack and burn the town which was a mile distant. The plot was fortunately disclosed by one *Toto*, a friendly Indian at Windsor, who was "domesticated in the family" of Mr. Henry Wolcott, Jr., (Morris' *Hist. Springfield*, 34; see also pages 110, 129, of this work), on the evening preceding the expected attack, and expresses were immediately sent to Springfield, and to Major Treat at Westfield, to warn them of the danger. The Springfield people, however, were incredulous, and suffered a surprise. They were only saved from utter destruction by the timely arrival of the Connecticut forces under Treat, who had promptly marched from Westfield to their relief, on receipt of the message from Windsor.

This was bringing the war pretty close home, and the council at Hartford, at its session of Oct. 5,

"Upon occasion of the dangerous and destructive assault of the enemy so near as Springfield, which may increase their insolency to attempt upon our towns suddenly" — saw cause "to order the immediate preparation in each town of places for defence, to which women and children might repair for refuge, upon any alarm. They also ordered "that the inhabitants of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield — do *forthwith* see themselves in such several quarters to join together to gather in their Indian corn, and to bring it and their English corn on the *east* side of the Great River, into places of best security in their respective towns. All persons were ordered to lend every assistance in their power, and the magistrates were authorized to impress men and teams, "this being a time for all private interest to be laid aside to preserve the public good." (*Col. Rec.*)

Nov. 4. "It is also ordered, that at Windsor, the town being so scattered as it is, it is difficult to maintain and keep a military watch, do recommend it to the military officers of that town to continue a double walking watch, as hath been formerly attended there since these present troubles have broke forth." (*Col. Rec.*)

About this time the commissioners of the United Colonies becoming convinced that the Narragansetts were deeply implicated in the designs of Philip, in direct violation of their treaty of peace, resolved to attack them at their own headquarters in Narragansett county. The season indeed was both difficult and hazardous for such an expedition; as they expressed it, "It was a lambing providence of God, that put his poor people to be meditating a matter of war at *such* a season." They wisely judged, however, that it was better to strike one bold blow at the enemy while in winter quarters, than to delay until the spring, when they would be scattered in different parts of the country. Accordingly a force of 1,000 men was raised for a winter campaign, under command of Josiah Winslow, Governor of Plymouth Colony. Of this force Connecticut furnished 300 men, together with 150 Indian allies—all of whom were

divided into five companies, commanded by Capts. Seely, Gallup, Mason, Watts and Marshall of Windsor. Major, afterwards Governor, Treat commanded the Connecticut troops. They arrived at Pettyquamscott on the 17th of December, and after a night of exposure, formed a junction with the Massachusetts and Plymouth troops. After another night spent in the open fields, exposed to all the severity of the weather, they commenced, at daybreak, their march to meet the enemy, some fifteen miles distant. The Massachusetts troops led the van, those of Plymouth came next, and the Connecticut forces brought up the rear. Wading through the deep snows they pressed gallantly on, without food or rest, until about one o'clock, when they came in sight of the enemy, who were entrenched within a fort upon an eminence in the center of a large swamp. This fort was well defended with palisadoes and a high thick set hedge, and its only feasible entrance was a fallen tree or log, protected in front by a log house, and on the left by a flanker. Without waiting to form, the Massachusetts troops dashed forward over the tree, and although they succeeded in effecting an entrance, were met with such a furious fire from the enemy that they were obliged to retire with a fearful loss. At this juncture the Connecticut troops came pouring in over the tree, and a small party at the same moment stormed the rear of the fort, which turned the tide of battle. After a few moments of desperate hand-to-hand fighting, the center of the fort was gained, the torch was applied to the frail and combustible wigwags, and the fate of the Narragansetts was sealed. Amid the shrieks of women and children, rattling of musketry, yells of despairing warriors, and exultant cheers of the English, their lamp of life went out, and the dense columns of smoke which arose from the smouldering ashes of their houses was all that was left of some four thousand once brave and happy souls.

It was a glorious victory for the English, but it brought sorrow as well as safety to their homes. Six captains and 80 soldiers were killed or mortally wounded, and 150 wounded. Nor was this all. Two days of exposure and fatigue, and three hours of hard fighting were followed by a distressing night march of some eighteen miles to headquarters, through storm and sleet and deep snows, bearing with them their dead and wounded. The next morning the snow was exceedingly deep and the cold intense, so that the jaded and frost-bitten army could scarcely move. Four hundred troops were unfit for duty. The Connecticut troops had suffered more in proportion to their numbers than those of the other colonies. Capts. Marshall, Seely, and Gallup "died in the bed of honor," while Mason was so badly wounded that he died within a year after. "The fire of the enemy," says Trumbull, "was dreadful, when the Connecticut men were entering, and after they first entered the fort, until the men who came in upon the backs of them, began to fire

their large muskets loaded with pistol bullets, upon the enemy, where they stood together in the closest manner. This at once disconcerted them, and checked their fire in that quarter."

Windsor had her full share of glory as well as of sorrow in this eventful battle. On the town books the recorder has entered the following :

"Here I set down the Deaths of several persons who went against the Indians and were wounded that they died. It was on the 19th of December, 1675."

Capt. Samuel Marshall,¹

Nathl Pond,

Ebenezer Dibble,

Richard Saxton,

Edward Chapman.

John Fitch was also wounded so that he died after his return home to Windsor. He left his estate to the town as a school fund. See *Chapter on Schools*.

In the State Archives (*War Doc's*, fol. 1.), is a petition dated May, 1735, signed by eleven persons, who believe themselves to be the sole survivors of the Swamp Fight, praying for a grant of land for their services. We find among them the names of *Josiah Gillet* and *James Eves*, probably of Windsor.²

And this is all that can be ascertained at this day concerning the names and exploits of those who represented our town in this hotly contested and important battle.

The Connecticut troops had suffered so severely that they were withdrawn from active service, but the Massachusetts and Plymouth forces kept the field for the greater part of the season, actively engaged in pursuing and harassing the enemy, who on their part were neither inactive nor relenting. But to return to affairs at home :

December 28 The council "thought meet to order and command that those that continue on the *east* side of the River in the plantations of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield, do *forthwith* repair into good and sufficient garrisons, in such manner for numbers as that in an ordinary course of God's Providence, they may be able to defend themselves; and that their grain of all sorts be brought into the towns or secured in some garrison on that side, and that they kill and secure all their swine that are fit to be killed; and that they keep no arms nor ammunition but in garrison houses, except what they carry about with them; and that they keep and maintain good and sufficient watches by night, and wards by day, for their own defence and security, or else send scouts to range the woods by day, to discover the approach of an enemy."

Again in February, 1675-6, as Indians seemed to be hovering around, the council warned the inhabitants on the *east* side of the river to convey all their corn and provisions over to the towns on the west

¹ Trumbull says, "Marshall was killed as he ascended the tree before the log house." Fourteen are mentioned as killed and wounded in his company.

² Simon Chapman, Eliakim Marshall, Thomas Elgar, and Peletiah Griswold, who are on the list, are also Windsor names, but whether *of* Windsor we are not certain.

side. In case they did not they were to establish themselves and bring all their cattle, hay, etc., into garrisons, and not go abroad singly or unarmed. Garrisons of six men each, at least, and well fortified, were ordered to be kept at Nathl Bissell's (Seantic); Thomas Burnham's (Podunk); Mr. John Crow's, at Naubuck (Glastonbury), and at Mr. Wyllys's farm.

In the month of March, the towns of Northampton and Springfield, Chelmsford, Groton, Sudbury, and Marlborough in Massachusetts, and Warwick and Providence in Rhode Island, were attacked, and some of them destroyed by the Indians, and the Connecticut settlers felt that at any moment they might hear the warwhoop sounding at their own doors. Therefore the council (March 16) issued the following stringent orders:

"In regard of the present troubles that are upon us, and the heathen still continuing their hostility against the English, and assaulting the plantations, to prevent their designs against us, it is ordered, that the watch in the several plantations about an hour at least before day, in each day, do call up the several inhabitants in each plantation within their respective wards who are forthwith upon their call by the watch to rise and arm themselves, and forthwith to march to their several quarters they are appointed to in their [wards] and elsewhere, there to stand upon their guard to defend the town against any assault by the enemy, until sun be half an hour high in the morning, and then the warders are to take their places, and two scouts in each end of every town are to be sent forth on horseback, to scout the woods to discover the approach of the enemy, and to continue on the scout, going so far into the woods as they may return the same day to give in account of what they shall discover, and the scouts are to take direction from the chief military officer residing in their respective towns, how and which way they shall pass to make their discovery."

March 25th. "Capt. Newberry was appointed to improve the soldiers of Windsor, in scouting the woods and was permitted to appoint some of them to assist Capt. Clark in the removal of the desolate widow to Windsor, provided they do not stay out above one night."

Also "upon a petition from sundry persons in Windsor, that they might have liberty to cut wood near their town, during this present war," the council ordered the authorities there to select such places as they might take wood from.

The burning of Simsbury on March 26, 1676, caused much alarm at Windsor. The settlers of Simsbury were mostly natives of Windsor, where they were now living, having removed thither for safety, by previous order of the council. So near an attack, and the destruction of the houses and goods of their friends and neighbors who were dwelling with them, must have vividly brought to the minds of the Windsor people the immediate danger to which they were themselves exposed. Fortunately these apprehensions were not realized, and the war never again approached so near the homes of Windsor. It was, however, by no means at an end. Repeated successes of the Indians filled the hearts of the whites with despair, and Massachusetts at one time seemed in a

fair way to be utterly depopulated. The tide soon changed. Captain Dennison and three others of Connecticut, organized several volunteer companies, and, with the help of a large number of friendly Indians, commenced a guerilla warfare, taking the field alternately by companies, with admirable success. In less than four months they had made ten or twelve expeditions, killed or captured 250 Indians, taken 50 muskets, and 160 bushels of corn, and completely cleared the country of the astonished and flying redskins.

On the 19th of May, Capt. Turner, with 150 choice soldiers, surprised and routed a large encampment of Indians above the falls now known by his name. The news was received the next day at Hartford, with a request for immediate aid. Capt. Benjamin Newberry of Windsor was dispatched up the river with eighty-one men, thirty-two of whom were his townsmen. On reaching Westfield, he was induced by the earnest solicitation of the inhabitants (whose garrison had been weakened by the recent engagement) to leave three men who were willing to remain. Arriving at Northampton, he found the people there anxious to march against the enemy. He himself thought it advisable, and writes to the council at Hartford, "it will be for great advantage to be so doing as soon as may be." Three hundred Indians were at Quabang, and he offers if the council will send Maj. Treat with his forces, or if they would dispatch only fifty or sixty men, to attack the enemy; and the men, he says, "would rather be in action than in garrison; little is likely to be *got* by garrisoning, whatever may be saved." If the council should not see fit to comply with his request, he asks whether he had not better undertake the enterprise with his own force, and such as he could pick up thereabouts, for he thinks the affair should not be delayed. He further suggests "whether it may not be well that Samuel Cross,¹ and *those dogs* he hath, may not be advantageous to the present motion to be sent up," probably with a view of employing them to track and hunt the Indians.

In the beginning of June, Maj. Talcott took the field with a large force of English and Indians, and spent that and the succeeding month in scouring the country, engaging the enemy wherever he came upon them, and gaining several very decided and important successes. In August, King Philip himself was killed near his old home at Mount Hope, where he had returned, as it were, in despair and desperation, to die. With him died also the hopes of the Indian tribes. His only son, "the last of the family of Massasoit," was sold as a slave and transported to the Bermudas. The once powerful Narragansetts were a "lost tribe." The sword, fire, famine, and sickness had swept them from the earth.

¹ Samuel Cross was of Windsor.

And the war, while it had given safety, and opened a wide door for immigration and improvement, had still been most disastrous to the whites. "Twelve or thirteen towns were destroyed; the disbursements and losses equalled in value half a million of dollars; an enormous sum for the few of that day. More than six hundred men, chiefly young men, the flower of the country, of whom any mother might be proud, perished in the field. As many as six hundred houses were burned. On the able-bodied men in the colony, one in twenty had fallen; and one family in twenty had been burnt out. There was scarcely a family from which death had not selected a victim."

While this was true of Massachusetts and Plymouth, Connecticut had suffered comparatively little. Her towns had escaped the ravages of the enemy, and her slain were but few. The Indians within her borders were not only friendly but aided her in the field. And she had the glorious privilege of repeatedly assisting her confederates, and of "rescuing whole towns and parties when in the most imminent danger." Yet all this was only accomplished at great risk and expense. Besides guarding her own towns and frontiers, she had sent into the field a larger force in proportion to her population than any other colony, and for three years after the commencement of the war, the inhabitants paid 11 pence on the pound, upon the grand list, exclusive of all town and parish taxes."

And when the Protestant Irish generously sent a contribution to relieve the necessities of the suffering New England colonies, Connecticut relinquished her share to the more distressed colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth. Nor was this all, but they even sent a voluntary contribution out of their own little store to their "brethren in distress in our neighboring colonies."

The record of Windsor's share in this work of mercy, as preserved by Matthew Grant, in the *Old Church Record*, forms an appropriate *finis* to this chapter.

"This is the account of what persons gave to the voluntary contribution made for the poor in want in other colonies upon motion sent to this colony of Connecticut. It was done June 11, '76.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Mr. T. Allyn,	0	6	6	Nicholas Buckland,	0	2	6
Benedict Alvord,	0	1	0	Joseph Birge,	0	3	"
Jeremy Alvord,	0	1	3	Samuel Baker,	0	2	6
Edward Adams,	0	0	7	Thomas Barber,	0	1	0
John Bissell,	0	2	0	Peter Brown,	0	9	7
John Bissell, Jr.,	0	5	0	Sarah Buell, silver,	0	1	0
Thomas Bissell,	1	0	0	Josias Barber,	0	2	6
Samuel Bissell,	0	4	0	Ephraim Bancroft,	0	1	6
Nathaniel Bissell,	1	0	0	William Buell,	0	1	3
John Brooks,	0	1	0	Mr. Chrouncey,	1	0	0
Benjamin Bartlett,	0	1	0	Widow Chapman,	0	10	6

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Samuel Cross,	0	2	6	Timothy Hall,	0	2	6
Nathaniel Cook,	0	1	10	Andrew Hillier,	0	2	6
Capt. Cook,	0	5	0	Ephraim Howard,	0	2	6
Edward Cornish,	0	1	3	Hanna Higly,	0	1	3
James Cornish,	0	5	0	John Hestord,	0	1	6
Nathaniel Cook, Jr. and				John Hoskins,	0	1	0
sister,	0	1	3	John Loomis,	0	6	9
Elakim Cook, Jr.,	0	2	6	and in money,	0	5	9
Job Drake, Senr.,	0	5	6	Daniel Loomis,	0	1	0
Jacob Drake,	0	3	0	Thomas Loomis,	0	2	6
Job Drake, Jr.,	0	3	0	Nathaniel Loomis,	0	5	0
John Drake, Jr.,	0	3	9	Joseph Loomis, Jr.,	0	1	3
Job, his brother,	0	1	3	John London,	0	2	3
Lydia, his sister,	0	0	6	his wife,	0	0	9
Israel Dewey,	0	4	0	Deacon Moore,	0	6	6
his wife,	0	4	0	John Moore, Jr.,	0	4	0
Thomas Dibble, sen'r.,	0	1	3	John Moses,	0	5	6
Abraham Dibble,	0	1	3	Simon Mills,	0	2	6
John Denslow's wife, flux,	0	0	9	May Maudsly,	0	7	6
Josias Ellsworth,	0	3	0	Mary Marshall,	0	8	6
Wid. Egelston, cloth,	0	4	0	Mrs. Newberry,	0	2	6
Thomas Egelston,	0	2	6	John Owen,	0	1	0
James Egelston,	0	1	6	Samuel O-born,	0	1	3
Walter Fyler,	0	8	0	George Phelps,	0	4	8
John Fyler,	0	2	6	Humphrey Pitae,	0	2	0
Zurab'l Fyler,	0	1	3	Sara Pinn,	0	1	3
Samuel Forward,	0	1	3	John Porter, Senr.,	0	10	0
William Filley,	0	0	9	George Phillips, bacon,	0	2	9
Samuel Filley,	0	5	0	John Potter, Jr.,	0	3	0
John Filley,	0	2	6	Nathaniel Porter,	0	1	0
Jonathan Gillet, Senr.,	0	4	6	James Porter,	0	2	6
Nathan Gillet,	0	2	6	Timothy Phelps,	0	2	6
Cornelius Gillet,	0	2	6	Thomas Puell,	0	4	0
Nicholas Godard,	0	2	6	Wm. Phelps,	0	9	0
Joseph Griswold,	0	2	6	Joseph Phelps,	0	5	0
Jonathan Gillet, Jr.,	0	2	6	Good-wife Palmer,	0	2	10
George Griswold,	0	3	9	Timothy Palmer,	0	2	6
Josias Gillet,	0	2	6	Humphrey Prior,	0	2	6
John Gillet,	0	1	3	John Pettibone's wife,	0	0	6
Matthew Grant, silver,	0	3	0	Abra'm Randall,	0	2	6
Samuel Grant,	0	5	0	Thomas Rowly,	0	1	3
Tahan Grant,	0	8	0	James Rising,	0	5	0
John Grant,	0	2	6	John Rising,	0	1	6
Walter Gaylord,	0	2	6	Hanna Rising,	0	1	3
his wife in cloth,	0	6	3	Samuel Rockwell,	0	2	0
his son Eliazer, flux,	0	1	6	John Strong,	0	11	0
John Gaylord, Senr.,	0	2	6	Return Strong,	0	5	0
John Gaylord, Jr.,	0	3	0	Thomas Stoughton,	0	2	6
Nathaniel Gaylord,	0	2	0	Hanna Shadock,	0	1	3
Joseph Griswold's wife	0	2	6	Joseph Skinner,	0	2	9
Jacob Gibbs,	0	2	0	Nicholas Suchion,	0	2	6
Samuel Gibbs,	0	3	0	John Saxton,	0	1	3
Robert Hayward,	0	5	0	George Sanders,	0	1	2

	£	s	d		£	s	d
Stephen Taylor, Senr.,	0	5	0	Mr. Wolcott,	0	10	0
Stephen Taylor, Jr.,	0	4	0	Mr. H. Wolcott, Jr.,	0	5	0
Owen Tudor,	0	6	7	Samuel Wolcott,	0	5	0
Samuel Tudor,	0	4	0	Robert Watson,	0	8	0
William Thrall,	0	2	6	David Winchell,	0	2	6
Timothy Thrall,	0	2	6	Nicholas Wilton,	0	1	8
Jud. Trumbull,	0	1	6	John Williams,	0	1	0
Hanna Trumbull,	0	1	6	John Renard,	0	2	6
Richard Vore,	0	1	3	Samuel Wilson,	0	1	3

This generous contribution of Windsor was, by the following special order of the court, appropriated to relieve the wants of the Simsbury people, and others whose property had been destroyed, and who were in circumstances of much destitution.

July 10th. "The council, being informed that through the good hand of God upon us, our people of this colony have bountifully, according to their ability, afforded some supply for our brethren in distress in our neighboring colonies, have thought meet to desire that our brethren in Windsor would improve what they have gathered of the good people there, to supply those in want that are removed by reason of the rage of the enemy into their town, and that the remainder of it be distributed among the people of Springfield, in distress, and those upper towns, according to the good discretion of Deacon John Moore, John Loomis, Jonathan Gillet, Senr., and Jacob Drake."

As far as can be ascertained, only two persons were killed by the Indians during the war within the present limits of Windsor.

HENRY DENSLOW had purchased, in 1662, a tract of land on both sides of Kettle Brook, including nearly the whole of the present town of Windsor Locks. He settled on this purchase about one-half or three-quarters of a mile south of the brook, and his was probably the only family in that part of the town until after Philip's war. Daniel Hayden was his nearest neighbor, at the distance of nearly two miles. When the war broke out he removed his family into the center of the town, but being a courageous man he ventured alone, as tradition informs us, to cultivate his lands. He was killed, however, in the summer of 1676, by the same wandering party of Indians who burnt Simsbury, and who afterwards confessed their crime at Hartford. See the *Chapter on Windsor Locks*.

EDWARD ELMOR, the emigrant ancestor of the Windsor family of that name, was also killed about the same time, near Podunk, in the present town of South Windsor. He resided in Hartford, but had a plantation at Podunk, and was either killed there, or, on his way thither.

EDWARD BARTLETT of Windsor was killed at Westfield, Mass.¹

¹ His will in the probate office at Hartford, is dated February 24, 1676.

CHAPTER XI.

ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIL HISTORY. EXTRACTS FROM TOWN ACTS

1675-1729.

1685. "At a town meeting June 23 1685. It was voted that the town would have a Patent according to charter taken out from the Governor and Company, of the township of Windsor.

"Also Captain Newberry, Capt. Clarke, Henry Wolcott, Thomas Bissell and George Griswold were chosen to take out the aforesaid Patent in their names from the Governor and Company in behalf of the town."

THE PATENT OF THE TOWN OF WINDSOR

(*State Archives Mss., Towns and Towns, Vol. I, 222*)

Whereas the General Court of Connecticut have formerly granted the proprietors Inhabitants of y^e towne of Windsor all those lands both upland & meadow, within those abutments upon Hartford bounds by y^e great River, where y^e fence of their meadow stood & to run as y^e s^d fence runs till it meets with a red oak tree marked for y^e bounds touching within y^e neck of fence in Thomas Butler's land, and from ye tree it runs a westerly line till it meets wth y^e brick hill Swamp & then it runs due North half a mile till it comes neere to y^e head of ye brick hill Swampe, & from thence westerly till it meets wth farmington bounds & abuts west on farmington and Synsbury bounds & North in y^e Commons & it extendeth from Hartford bounds on y^e South, North to a tree marked neere y^e great River two miles above a brooke known by y^e name of Kettle Brooke. On y^e east side of Connecticut River it abuts on a great elme on y^e South side of Podunk River & runs Easterly three miles & then South half a mile & from y^e half mil^s end it runs East five miles & abuts on y^e Commons on y^e East from sayd Hartford bounds, ye whole breadth till it extendeth two miles above y^e forementioned Kettell brooke, both on y^e East & west side of Connecticut River, y^e s^d Lands having been by purchase or otherwise lawfully obtained of y^e Indian native proprietors. And whereas the proprietors y^e fores^d Inhabitants of Windsor, in the Colony of Connecticut, have made application to y^e Governor & Company of y^e sayd Colony of Connecticut assembled in Court, May 25, 1685, that they may have a patent for y^e confirmation of y^e afores^d Land soe purchased & granted to them as afore s^d & w^{ch} they have stood seized & quietly possessed of for many yeares late past wthout interruption. Now for a more full confirmation of y^e aforesaid tract of land as it is buttet & bounded afores^d unto y^e p^rsent proprietors of y^e s^d township of Windsor, in their possession & enjoyment of ye Premises Know y^e y^e s^d Governor and company assembled in General Court according unto y^e Commission granted to them by his Majestie in His Charter have given, granted & by these presents do give, grant, ratifie & confirme unto Capt^m BENJ: NEWBERRY, Capt. DANIELL CLARKE, L^o THOMAS ALLYN, M^r HENRY WOLCOT, M^r THOMAS BISSELL, Ser^t, Mr. GEORGE GRISWOLD & Mr. JOHN MOORE & y^e rest of y^e s^d p^rsent proprietors of y^e township of Windsor, their heirs successors & assigns forever, y^e fores^d p^rcell of land as it is buttet & bounded, together wth all y^e woods, meadows, pastures, ponds, waters, rivulets, lauds, fishing, hunting, fowlings,

mines, mineralls, quarries & pretiose stone upon or within y^e sd^e tract of Land & all other profits & commodities therein belonging or in anywise appertaining, & doe alsoe grant unto y^e afore sd^e [names of the patentees, above, repeated] & y^e rest of y^e proprietors inheritants of Windsor, their heirs, successors, and assigns forever y^e afore sd^e tract of Land shall be for ever hereafter deemed, reputed & be an intire township of itselfe. To have and to hold y^e sd^e tract of land & p^rmisses wth all and singular their appurtenances, together wth y^e privileg & immunities & franchises heretofore given & granted unto y^e sd^e [names repeated as above] & others y^e p^rsent proprietors, Inhabitants of Windsor, their heirs, successors, and assigns, forever & to y^e only proper use and behoefe of sd^e [names repeated, as above] & other proprietors, Inhabitants of Windsor, their heirs, successors, and assigns, according to y^e tenor of East Greenwich, in Kent in fee & common socage & not in capite nor by Knight's service, they to make improvements of y^e same as they are capable according to y^e custom of y^e country, yielding, rendering & paying therefor to our Sovereign Lord y^e King his heirs, successors & assigns, his dues according to Charter.

In witness whereof we have caused y^e seale of y^e Colony to be hereunto affixed this 26 day of O^r Sovereign Lord JAMES y^e Second of England, Scotland, France and Ireland King defender of the faith &c.

ROBERT TREAT, *Governor*

p^r order of y^e Generall Courte, signed by John Allyn, Secretary.

p^r order of y^e Govern^r & company of y^e Colony of Conectecot.

[Signed by] JOHN ALLYN, *Secretary*

Entered in y^e Publiq Records, Lib. II, fol^o 141 142

MR. JOHN ALLYN, *Secretary*

This above written is a true copy taken out of y^e original & compared, March 7: 1697-8, by me,

HENRY WOLCOT, *Register*

1686. At a town meeting, "also the Town voted that Mr. John Wolcott shall be paid for the horse block he set up, at the ferry, also that the townsmen shall set up a good horse block at the meeting house on town account."

1690, Feb'y 2. "It was voted that Serg^t George Griswold and Ens^o Joseph Griswold shall have liberty to make a mill dam across the river at the upper end of the meadow at Poquonnuck — provided they build a good grist-mill for the use of the town within 3 years time, and keep the same in good repairs, and that they shall have liberty to build a saw-mill at the same place as long as they keep the gristmill in good repair. Always provided that in case said Griswolds fail to build the gristmill within 3 years as before said, then this grant is to return to the town."

"14 Sept., 1693, the townsmen met and took some of the town's lead in view, and found and left at Lt. Return Strong's old house, under the stairs, 359 pounds; and at Mr. John Fyler's 138 pounds, and it is judged under the meeting house north gallery [there is] 500 weight, besides a body of bullets at Mr. John Fyler's."

The meeting-house may perhaps seem a strange place for the keeping of military stores, but it was a very general custom at that day, as being a central and well-protected depot for such purpose. And it must be remembered, also, that our ancestors did not view the meeting-house as a *consecrated* place. They used it for all public purposes, without any compunctions of conscience, for what some might deem *sacrilege*.

1696-7. "At a town meeting, January 19, it was voted that whosoever shall at any town meeting speak without leave from the Moderator of the meeting, he shall forfeit one shilling and it [is] to be restrained by the constable for the use of the town."

This would indicate a growing boldness of manners and self-sufficiency, quite in contrast with the decorous propriety of the first generation.

Also at the same meeting "it was voted to forbid all persons to make turpentine or rosin within the town bounds."

Gov. Roger Wolcott mentions in his *Journal*, that "the year 1697 was a year of great scarcity and mortality. The summer was cool and cloudy, not a month without a frost in it; the winter was very long and severe. In February and March the snow was very high and hard; There was a great cry for bread; the cattle famished in the yards for want; the sickness was very distressing and mortal; those in health could hardly get food, tend the sick, and bury the dead. Many suffered for want of fire-wood and tendance."

1697-8, January 17. "Voted that all the male inhabitants of the town from sixteen years of age and upwards shall kill one dozen of black birds, or give one shilling to the town treasury. And whosoever shall kill above his dozen shall have one shilling paid out of the town rate, and whosoever shall kill six blackbirds in March or April it shall be accounted as if he had killed a dozen." (Bk. ii. 72.)

1698, April 2. "The townsmen thought meet to send Josiah Bartlett to Hadley to the wife of Caleb Smith, in order to the procuring a cure of his lameness, and we do desire Serg't Porter to take care to send him thither, and to do what is needful in that matter." On the 5th of April following, the "Townsmen met, and whereas Josiah Bartlett above mentioned is now at Hadley, we do further empower Serg't Porter in the name of the town to put him an apprentice to a suitable place, for time as his discretion shall guide." (Bk. ii. 73.)

December 27. "The town voted a desire that the Court would grant liberty to Alexander Allyn to sell wine and other strong drink, provided he do not allow any to drink it in his house, and that *he sell cheaper than others that have licence.*" (Bk. ii. 70.)

1698-9, January 31. "The town chose Lft. Hayden and Ensign Joseph Griswold to take care to prevent the carrying away of the *iron ore* at the marsh called Tilton's Marsh."

1699, March 14. The town voted to expend £100 pounds in cleaning sheep commons, each man to work out his part.

Also 4*d* per head for killing crows, and the same price as before for blackbirds, and no person hereafter to be fined for not killing them. (Bk. ii. 79.)

Also liberty was granted to any person to work iron ore [probably at Tilton's Marsh], provided they should sell "1000 lb. weight to the people of the town, one fourth part cheaper than the market price." (Bk. ii. 90.)

This offer was accepted by Mr. John Elliott.

1700, December 26. "Voted by the town to allow Mr. Samuel Mather for his salary for preaching the Word, for the present year, one hundred and ten pounds."

1701, February 11. Town meeting voted that as there was no stream sufficient for carrying on the iron works nearer than Stony-brook (in the present town of Suffield), that the ore found on the commons might be carried there; "and that the inhabitants of Windsor or Suffield may be indifferently employed to carry the said ore, provided the inhabitants of Windsor may be employed as well as the inhabitants

of Sufield to cut wood in Sufield common, and make and cart coal for the use of the said works."

December 29. "Voted to erect a pew between the pulpit and the Great Pew which is on the women's side [of the meeting-house], for the use of Mr. Mather's family during his life or abode in the town."

1702, June 5. Liberty was granted to certain men, to get turpentine out of the trees already boxed on the east side of the (Connecticut) River, on the condition that they should deliver one-fourth part of it, "barrels and all to the townsmen for the town's use."

1703, April 27. £20 was granted by the town, with which to procure "assistance in the ministry" for one quarter. The committee were directed to make application to a certain Mr. Reade, and if he could not accept, to Mr. Samuel Mather, the son of their pastor.

Mr. Mather was not a minister, but he was an educated man, had graduated from Cambridge two years before, and probably possessed all the requisite gifts of mind and character for "a supply."

In 1703, the term *Society* is first used on the town records of Windsor.

1707, December 19, the society voted to give Mr. Mather £110 as usual, for the salary for the current year ending in April, "but in case a help be provided, that so much be abated as his office is." It was also agreed "to make application to Mr. Jonathan Marsh, of Hadley, to be helpful in the ministry for half a year."

December 30. The society appointed a committee, who should have power to call meetings, order about repairing meeting-house, and any other business needful for the society.

1708, March 30. The society voted "to make application to Rev. Jonathan Marsh to desire his continuance with us in the work of the ministry in order to a settlement." This was unanimously voted, except one. His salary was to be £80 if he performed the whole or greater part of the labor; but if Mr. Mather was able to undertake one-half of it, then Mr. Marsh was to receive £70 in current country pay, or two-thirds in current silver money. "And for his further encouragement, voted to give £100 per year while he continues in the work after the decease of Mr. Mather besides what shall be done towards his honorable settlement."

In January, 1709, they offered Mr. Marsh £100 in "current country pay," in case of his settlement among them; which terms were accepted, and he was ordained colleague pastor with Mr. Mather some time in 1709-1710.¹ This mark of respectful consideration for the infirmities of their

¹ Timothy Loomis's memoranda records under date of "August 29th, 1710, Mr. Marsh's first Lecture."

venerable pastor is farther enhanced by their voting him, in December of the same year, £60 "for his honorable maintenance."

"December 8, 1709, liberty was granted by the town to Jonathan Ellsworth, Thomas Marshall and Thomas Moore, to erect a mill on the mill brook on the south side of the river, provided it be built within two years."

1710, December 4. The town voted to give the Rev. Mr. Marsh the improvement of the town orchard, bounded north on the highway, and south by John Grant's heirs, so long as he shall continue in the ministry.

1711, April 2. A letter of this date (in possession of Chas. M. Taintor, Esq., Manchester, Conn.), written from Windsor, by Joseph Pomeroy to Mr. Nathaniel Loomis of Colchester, says: "I being here at Windsor to see whether Mr. Thomas Ellsworth would come and complete the Bargain which he and you made concerning y^e finishing of our meeting-house and he says y^t he is no ways concerned having agreed with you to finish the work, which I know to be so, and your not coming to do it makes some trouble amongst us," and urges him to come and attend to the matter, threatening if he does not that "we shall speedily put you to trouble about it," etc.

1713. *Windsor's claim in the Disputed Boundary Lines.* In 1642 the boundary line between the Massachusetts Bay Colony and Connecticut was run by order of the General Court of Massachusetts Bay. Through some error, the surveyors struck the Connecticut River several miles too far south, so that all the territory now included in Enfield fell within the limits of Massachusetts. Though Connecticut never admitted the accuracy of this survey and even protested against it, yet the matter was suffered to remain unsettled for several years. In 1648, the General Court of Massachusetts ordered that all the land on the east side of the Connecticut River, from the town of Springfield down to the warehouse, which they had formerly built [at Warehouse Point], and twenty poles below the warehouse, should belong to Springfield,—so that Enfield for nearly a century was a Massachusetts town. Each town fixed the limits of its border towns according to its own idea of the correctness of the 1642 (known as the "Woodward and Safferey") survey. As a result, a strip of land nearly two miles in width was claimed by both Windsor and Enfield. Numerous lawsuits and several arrests resulted from the controversy, and every town-meeting, in each town, had a fertile subject of discussion and excuse for the appointment of committees of conference. Failing to settle the difficulty between themselves, the towns appealed to the legislatures of their respective colonies for redress; but the two governments, having already had the matter under their consideration for a long time, were no nearer a satisfactory settlement than the towns themselves; Massachusetts standing by the survey of 1642, while Connecticut demanded a new survey of the lines according to the provisions of the

charters of the two colonies. So, in 1713, after twenty years of controversy, the matter was settled by compromise. It was agreed that each colony should retain jurisdiction over the towns it had settled, and that for the determination of the boundary between the towns the line should be run due west from the Woodward and Safferey station, and "as many acres as should appear to be gained by one colony from the other should be conveyed out of unimproved land as a satisfaction or equivalent." It was found that Massachusetts had encroached upon Connecticut to the extent of 105,793 acres; of this, 7,259 acres lay in the disputed tract between Windsor and the towns of Suffield and Enfield. Windsor surrendered her claim to this tract, and as an equivalent for her loss received the same number of acres in unoccupied lands elsewhere.

A reduced copy of the "Woodward and Safferey" survey map will be found on p. 144 of *Hartford Co. Mem. Hist.*, vol. ii., from which work we have taken the above brief history of this ancient controversy.

It may, also, be noted in this connection, that in an affidavit made, in 1751, by Ebenezer and Daniel Hayden (grandsons of William, the settler), they say: "We have always lived about three miles from Kettle Brook, and near the house where John Bissell lived, and always understood that it [the brook] was about the north bound of Windsor, that when the artists came on from Boston [1702] and run the line [between Massachusetts and Connecticut] across John Bissell's chimney, the ruins of which remain to this day, and took the height of the sun at noon-day, we were told by those who were with them at the time, that they said they were several miles too low [down the river]."

1716-17, March 18. "Voted to divide the Law Books belonging to the town, according to the list of 1716," the selectmen to divide them into three parts according to the lists belonging to each side of the river. "After the books are divided by the Selectmen as above, that Thomas Moore distribute according to said list on the south side of the rivulet. Israel Stoughton on the north, and Deacon Samuel Rockwell on east side Great River."

1724, September 24. "Voted and desired that the Reverend Ministers of this town recommend the sore and difficult circumstances of our good friend Nathaniel Cook, to their respective congregations, to consider his case by way of brief as soon as may be."

1725, May 11. "Voted to sell the town guns at vendue, at the sign post at the beat of the drum."

1725-6, February 24. "Voted that persons from other towns who take any wood from the town commons should pay 20s. a load."

1728-9, February 3. "Voted that if any person at this meeting or any town meeting to be holden hereafter by the inhabitants of this town, shall presume to speak in town meeting without liberty of the Moderator, he shall pay a fine of 20s. to the town treasurer."

Judging from the increased fine, the *manners* of the people had grown much worse since the similar vote in 1696-7.

CHAPTER XII.

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR, 1702-1713, AND INDIAN WAR OF 1722-24

IN May, 1702, Queen Anne of England, the Emperor of Germany, and the States-General united in a declaration of war against France and Spain. This, of course, involved the American colonies in a French and Indian war. Instantly they were encircled by a terrible but unseen *cordon* of wily and ferocious enemies. Death hovered on the frontier. "In the following years the Indians stealthily approached towns in the heart of Massachusetts, as well as along the coast, and on the southern and western frontiers. Children, as they gambled on the bench; reapers, as they gathered the harvest; mowers, as they rested from using the scythe; mothers, as they busied themselves about the household — were victims to an enemy who disappeared the moment a blow was struck, and who was ever present where a garrison or a family ceased its vigilance. If armed men, rousing for the attack, penetrated to the fastnesses of their roving enemy, they found nothing but solitudes." Each night was full of horrors, to which day scarce gave relief. Summer's foliage concealed the lurking foe, and his steps fell lightly amid the rustling leaves of autumn. Even winter's icy barriers and drifts of snow were defied by his bloodthirstiness and the snow-shoes which he wore. Deerfield, Hatfield, and other towns were attacked, and their flames lighted the pathway of captives hurried away to a Canadian captivity, the recital of whose horrors still curdles our blood.

Amid the accumulated horrors of such a warfare Connecticut was, as usual, alert and helpful, both in protecting her own borders and assisting her more exposed sister colonies. Every town was put into a complete state of fortification and defense.

"At a town meeting in Windsor, March 23, 1704-5, named by order of general court to consider about making of fortifications, but nothing was agreed on at said meeting concerning the matter.

"Also Lieut. Timothy Thrall [was] chosen to take care of the town arms and ammunition, and to be accountable for them, and the townsmen were appointed to agree with him, and to give him a reasonable satisfaction for his trouble."

Simsbury, Waterbury, Woodbury, and Danbury, then the frontier towns of the colony, were objects of special care and precaution. The whole militia of Connecticut were held in readiness for active service

upon an hour's warning. Indians were employed, with high wages, to range the woods as scouts. Windsor at this date (1702) had three trainbands, one of which was on the east side of the river.

1704, January. In the War of the Spanish succession, in Europe, 400 men were ordered from the Colony of Connecticut. On the Committee of War for Hartford County was Capt. Matthew Allyn of Windsor; and, as we know from his letters preserved among the *Wolcott Mss.*, was in active service this year at Westfield.

Such were the daily trials and anxieties which for many slow years tortured the New England settlers, and impeded their advancement. Connecticut, although herself untouched and uninvaded, had many men in the service of the New York and Massachusetts colonies.

"August, 1708, one BARBER of Windsor was slain a 100 miles up the Great River."

As may well be imagined, this constant apprehension of assault and surprizes had sorely galled and worn upon the patience of the colonists; and when at length, in May, 1709, a demand was made upon them for troops and munitions of war, to assist in the reduction of Canada, Acadia, and Newfoundland, none responded with more alacrity or energy than Connecticut. Three hundred and fifty men, under the command of Col. William Whiting, were raised and ready to sail for Quebec by the 20th of the month. General Nicholson (formerly Lieut.-Governor of New York and of Virginia) had command of the provincial army which lay in camp at Wood Creek, near Albany, awaiting the arrival of the British fleet and forces preparatory to a simultaneous attack on Canada. Disaster to their Portuguese allies, however, changed the destination of the fleet to Portugal instead of America. Meanwhile a great mortality prevailed among the troops at Wood Creek; and disappointed in his hopes of a reinforcement from England, Nicholson, early in the fall, returned to Albany. This failure entailed a heavy expense to the colonies, and a loss of more than a quarter of the brave men who enlisted. In *Stoughton Mss.* we find Gov. Gordon Saltonstall's original requisition upon the Captain of the *East Side* Trainband, to "Impress forthwith seven effective men for her Maj. service," &c., dated 13 May, 1709.

Captain MATTHEW ALLYN led a company from this town in this unfortunate campaign. We learn from his letters to his wife (*Wolcott Mss.*)

¹Deaths in Hatfield, *Gen. and Hist. Reg.*, ix, 162. Possibly it is this Barber of whom tradition had preserved the story (recorded in Oliver Ellsworth, Jr.'s *M.* of 1802) that "one Lieut. Barber, who lived as long ago as when W. was first settled [?] or soon after its first settlement, was a very large stout man, and famous as a Lieutenant of Militia. The Indians making an insurrection, Lt. Barber went to quell them, but in the skirmish was shot and had his thigh broken; being thus disabled, however, he shot the Indian who shot him, and knocked down with the butt of his musket another Indian who was advancing upon him; but other Indians coming up, he was killed and scalped."

scripts, Library of the Conn. Hist. Soc'y) from the camp at Wood Creek, that himself, "TIM PHELPS, OBADIAH OWEN, NAT TAYLOR, and BARTLETT are sick, Taylor the worst."

On the town records are the following entries :

"Sept. 24, 1709	BENJ'S NEWBERRY, JR.,	died at the camp at Wood Creek.
October "	HEZEKIAH BISSETT	died near Albany.
	SGT. ISAAC PINNEY,)	
	WILLIAM STRATTON,)	died aboard the vessel coming from
	STEPHEN TAYLOR,)	Albany
	SAMUEL THRELL,)	

In this expedition Rev. Timothy Edwards of (East) Windsor, and the Rev. Mr. Buckingham of Milford, were appointed by the legislature chaplains to the Connecticut troops. Leaving Windsor for New Haven in July, Mr. Edwards reached Albany with a detachment under command of Lieut.-Col. Livingston on the 15th of August. Their march to Albany through a wild and uncleared country was full of toil and exposure. On his arrival there he wrote a letter to his wife, from which we make the following extract :

"Whether I shall have any time to write you after this, I know not; but however that may be, I would not have you discouraged or over anxious concerning me, for I am not so about myself. I have still strong hopes of seeing thee and our dear children once again. I can not but hope that I have had the gracious presence of God with me since I left home, encouraging and strengthening my soul, as well as preserving my life. I have been much cheered and refreshed respecting this great undertaking, in which I expect to proceed, and that I shall, before many weeks are at an end, see Canada, but I trust in the Lord that he will have mercy on me, and thee my dear, and all our dear children, and that God has more work for me to do in the place where I have dwelt for many years, and that you and I shall yet live together on earth, as well as dwell together for ever in Heaven with the Lord Jesus Christ and all his saints, with whom to be is best of all."

On the 20th of August the troops marched for Wood Creek, but Mr. Edwards, being overcome by the unaccustomed fatigue and exposure, was taken sick; and on the 4th of September was conveyed in a boat to Stillwater, and from thence to Albany, through the woods in a wagon, and on a bed. After remaining a short time he was, by the failure of the expedition and consequent return of the army, restored in safety to his anxious family and parishioners.

Nothing of importance was accomplished the next year (1710) except the reduction of Port Royal, to which Connecticut, although poorly able, contributed 300 troops. Flushed with this success, General Nicholson made a voyage to England to solicit the means for another invasion of Canada. Contrary to all expectations of the colonies, he succeeded in his design, and in June arrived at Boston with the news that a fleet

¹ Sprague's *Annals of the American People*.

might soon be expected from England, and with her majesty's orders that the colonial government should have their quotas of men and means in immediate readiness for the expedition. Among the *Stoughton MSS.* we find an autograph copy of the Connecticut Governor's proclamation, signed by his own hand, as follows:

By the Hon^{ble} Joseph Gordon, Secretary, Esq^r, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Majesty's Colonial Government in New England.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS the General Assembly of this Colony have granted, 300 men, to Serve in the Expedition for Majesty's best appointed for the Reduction of Port Royal and Nova Scotia, under the Command of the Hon^{ble} Col^l Francis Nicholson, as General of all the forces in the said Expedition, and the Hon^{ble} William Whiting, Esq^r, as Colonel of the Regiment to be Raised in this Colony for the said Service—

For the encouragement of able bodied Persons to enlist themselves Volunteers in the Same, I do hereby by & with the advice of the Council and at the desire and with the Consent of the Representatives in General Court assembled—assure all such persons who shall Voluntarily enlist themselves for the said Service with the Captain or other Chief Officer of the Respective Companies to which they belong, or the Major of the County in which they reside, that they shall each of them have a Coat of the Value of thirty Shillings, a flock of the Value of forty Shillings, three years freedom from all Imposts to serve out of this Colony, & one months pay in hand before they go out of the Colony, go under our own officers & return home as soon as Port Royal and Nova Scotia are reduced, or the Expedition otherwise determined. Given under my hand in New Haven the 9th day of August in the 9th year of her Majesty's Reigne. Anno Dom. 1719.

G. SALTONSTALL.

God Save the Queen

The above document is interesting as showing what inducements were offered to volunteers for war service in those days.

But, when the British fleet arrived it had neither pilots nor provisions. The colonies found that nearly the whole burden of the affair was to be thrown upon them, and the suspicion which naturally arose, that Queen Anne's tory ministry were not very anxious about the conquest of Canada, rather served to dampen the zeal which they had for the service.

Yet "in a little more than a month from the arrival of the fleet the new levies and provisions for that and the army were ready." Connecticut, besides victualing her own troops, furnished New York with 200 fat cattle and 600 sheep. More than this could not have been expected. On the 30th of June a splendid fleet, under Admiral Walker, having on board an army of 7,000 troops, sailed from Boston for Canada. On the same day General Nicholson began his journey to Albany, where he found himself at the head of 4,000 men from New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, the latter commanded by the veteran Colonel Whiting. Admiral Walker, however, loitering on his way, and calculating the possibilities of winter dangers, was caught by a terrible storm on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, among the Egg Islands. Eight or nine vessels

were shipwrecked, and nearly a thousand lives lost, and the admiral sailed for England, consoling himself that had he "arrived at Quebec, more than five thousand men must have been left to perish of cold and hunger; by the loss of a part, Providence saved all the rest!" The failure of Walker left Nicholson no option but to retreat. Thus ingloriously terminated the campaign which had been heralded by so much preparation. It was a sore blow to the hopes of the colonies, and many began to think that "it was not the design of Providence that this northern continent should ever wholly belong to any one nation."

In Timothy Leornis's memorandum book is recorded that

"The Training Day they had throughout the Colonies to press soldiers to go take Canada, was the 6th of July, 1711. There went out of Col. Allen's Company *seven*. The names are as follows: JOSEPH HOLCOMB, THOMAS GILLET, BENJAMIN HOWARD, BENJ. BARBER, BENEDICT ALVORD, EBENEZER COOK, NATHAN GRISWOLD.

They set away from Windsor July 19, 1711. They returned to Windsor again October 12, 1711.

The following Windsor men were also in service, in Captain Moses Dimond's Company (*State Archives, Mss. War, iii. Commissary Account of Roger Wolcott*):

Lieut. SAMUEL BANCROFT,
NATHANIEL GRISWOLD,
JOSEPH GRISWOLD.

Sgt. NATH. PINNEY,
ISAAC PINNEY.

ROGER WOLCOTT (afterward Governor) was Commissary of the Connecticut Stores in this expedition.

The following year (1712) was unmarked by any occurrence of importance. Various scouting parties were employed in ranging the woods.

JOSEPH PHELPS, Jr., of Windsor, while engaged in a scout under Lieut. Crocker, in the summer of this year, had a narrow escape from the Indians, in which he lost his coat, blanket, hat, and divers other traps. (*State Archives.*)

In 1713 the war, which had grown out of European changes and convulsions, was ended by the treaty of Utrecht, which, by establishing the territorial relations of France and her neighbors, closed the series of universal wars for the balance of power, and left no opportunity for future contest.

The peace between England and France did not wholly relieve the New England colonies from trouble and alarm from their Indian neighbors. The latter, under the insidious influence of the French, continued to show signs of restlessness and ill-will, which, in 1724, broke out into actual hostilities. These lasted until the close of 1724, when a satisfactory peace was established between the Indians and whites. In this

war Massachusetts was the heaviest loser. Connecticut, however, was obliged to make heavy sacrifices for the common safety. The whole colony was put into a complete state of warlike defense, but suffered no loss of lives. Besides garrisoning her own frontier settlements, Connecticut furnished and paid fifty or sixty men each year for the defense of Hampden County, Mass.

The Windsor militia were not called into very active service during this war. 1723, Capt. Matthew Allyn of Windsor was again on the War Committee of Hartford County. Certain hostile movements of the Indians in the vicinity of Litchfield, in the summer of 1724, induced the government to guard against any sudden attack by establishing a line of scouts from Litchfield to Turkey Hills, including the most exposed portions of Simsbury. AZARIAH PINNEY, SHUBAL GRISWOLD, and NATHAN WATSON were stationed at Litchfield on this scout. Watson claimed to have shot an Indian, which was stoutly denied by some of his companions, but as stoutly affirmed on affidavit by others.

At Turkey Hills a garrison was established, to which nine Windsor men were sent: six of them remained from July 4th to August 13th, and three until August 22d. On the 12th of July "an alarm at Turkey Hills" induced the Council to send there three sentinels from Windsor, under Captain WOLCOTT and Lieut. ELLSWORTH. They were, however, dismissed after one day's service.

At length there came a respite from war's fierce ravages. Again

"Life, active, prosperous life,
Ran through the woods, and mantled o'er the land;
As the trees fell, the log-hut sprang in place;
The log-hut, like the tent in fairy tale,
Expanded to the village."

CHAPTER XIII.

WINDSOR'S SHARE IN THE OLD FRENCH WAR¹

1739—1762.

IN the latter part of 1739, England declared war against Spain, and the American Colonies were called upon to assist in the proposed expeditions against the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. Four regiments of troops were to be raised in the north, who were to form a junction at Jamaica with the largest fleet and the most powerful army which had ever been sent into the Gulf of Mexico. The colony of Connecticut seconded the wishes of the royal government with her usual alacrity. The governor issued a proclamation for volunteers, recruiting officers were appointed in each county, and every influence was used to forward the objects of the expedition. It was at this time that *regimental organizations* were first established in Hartford County; thirteen regiments, each commanded by a colonel, were made up. Windsor and Wintonbury companies were in the *First Regiment* of Hartford County, the history of which will be found in *Hartford Evening Post*, 17 March, 1880. In October, 1740, the armament, under the command of the able and popular Lord Cathcart, sailed for the West Indies. At Dominica, Cathcart fell a victim to the climate, and the command devolved upon his second, Wentworth, and Vice-Admiral Vernon, whom they were to join at Jamaica.

"The enterprise, instead of having one good leader, had two bad ones." Wentworth lacked experience and resolution; Vernon was arrogant and impetuous. There could be no unity between such different temperaments, and the fate of the expedition was virtually sealed before it fairly commenced. Time was foolishly wasted; and, when the splendid fleet of over 100 vessels, with 15,000 sailors and 12,000 troops, fully provisioned and equipped, at last set sail, it was on a fool's chase after the French and Spanish fleets, which had already left the fatal climate.

¹ We have endeavored, as far as possible, to designate the parishes of Ancient Windsor, to which individuals belonged, by the following abbreviations: E. W., *East and South Windsor*; Ell., *Ellington*; Wby., *Wintonbury*, now Bloomfield. All others are supposed to have belonged to Windsor proper. The Wintonbury names are mostly gleaned from the MS. pastoral records of the Rev. Hezekiah Bissell, first minister of that parish. The others from town and church records, and the State Archives.

Then, instead of attacking Havana, which was the keystone of the Galt, although poorly defended, Vernon preferred to attack Carthagena, the strongest point in the Spanish power. A brave but rash attempt to storm the town was repulsed, with heavy loss to the assailants: then the rainy season set in, and the fever of the marshes began a havoc among the English troops more deadly and rapid than the heaviest fire of artillery. *In two days there died three thousand four hundred men.* Of nearly one thousand New England men who left their homes but a few months before, scarce one hundred survived, and before the return of the fleet to Jamaica, in November, 1741, it was estimated that twenty thousand lives had been lost, mostly by the pestilence. In every town, and in almost every family in this and the neighboring colonies, was heard the voice

“of farewells to the dying
And mourning for the dead.”

Several citizens of Windsor enlisted in this unfortunate expedition, according to *Timothy Leomin's MS.* records.

“July 6, 1741. Volunteers appeared in Capt. Henry Allyn's company for Cuba, alias the West India settlements, viz.:

“THOS. EDGAR, ALEX. ALVORD, CYRUS JACKSON, ASAHEL SPENCER, AARON COOK.”

From the *State Archives* we glean the names of RETURN STRONG, NATHANIEL HAYDEN, and ROGER NEWBERRY.

The latter gentleman was a distinguished citizen of Windsor, and his death is thus quaintly recorded on the town books:

“ROGER NEWBERRY, Esq., Capt. of one of His Majesty's Companies belonging to Connecticut, and Listed in His Majesty's Service in y^e war against y^e Spanish West Indies dyed according to the best account that is yet given May 6, 1741. In his Return from Carthagena to Jimica about Three days before y^e Transport arrived at Jimica.”

The character of this excellent man is thus portrayed in the following obituary notice, found by us among some ancient manuscripts in an old garret in South Windsor, and reprinted here *verbatim et literatim*:

“Windsor, July 29, 1741. Last Monday we had the Melancholy news of the Death of the Worthy Capt. Roger Newberry who went from this Town on the Expedition. He was well descended. The Honorable Major Benjamin Newberry, that had adventured his Life in his Country's Service in the Indian war, and sate several years att the Councill board, was his Grandfather. Capt. Benjamin Newberry, who died of Sickness in the Expedition formed against Canada, 1709, was his father.

“This Gentleman had a Liberal Education Bestowed upon him which he was careful to Improve and was an accomplished mathematician and Good Historian. He always carried about with him a Lively Sense of the Divine providence and of man's accountableness to his Maker of all his tho'ts, words and actions, and gave his Constant Attendance on the Worship of God in the Public and Private Exercises of it, was Just in his Dealings, a Sure friend and faithful Monitor.

He had a very Quick and Clear apprehension of things, a solid Judgment and True Conscience, his Discourse and Conversation was affable and Instructive and so pleasantly winning that those were his Real friends as were acquainted with him. His great Talent was turned for Business, which he followed with an indefatigable application by which he not only discharged to Good Acceptance the public Trusts that were put upon him, but also advanced his own Estate.

In May, 1749, he being then a member of the Generall Assembly was pitcht upon by the Governor and Council, you had the suffrage of the Assembly to Invite him to Lead one company of the Troops from this Colony in this Expedition. He took it into Consideration and after Some time appeared Inclined to undertake it, whereupon some of his Relations to Dissuade him from it had before him the Dangers of his own Fate and the Great Loss his family would sustain if he should miscarry. He answered,

'I am Lest very Finely with the Divine Providence, and as to my own Life Since it is not Left with men to Determine the time or place of his Death I think it not best to be anxious about it. The Great thing is to Live and Dy in our Duty. I think the War is just and my Coll is Clear. Somebody must venture and why not I, as well as another.' So he took out his commission and Proceeded to fill up his Company, and there appeared such a Readiness to serve under him that he said he thought he could have made up his Company in [his] own Town.

He was at the Taking of Bete Chica, from which fort two Days after he wrote a cheerful Letter to his Wife Expressing his Great Hopes of Taking the Town of Carthagena and thereby finishing the Expedition and opening a way for his Return.

But soon after this he was Taken Sick and Languished until the fifth of May. When he had almost Completed the thirty-fifth year of his age, he not far from Jamaica Departed this Life and wee Shall see his face no more untill the Sea gives up the Dead that are in it.

'He hath Left his intant mother to Lament the Death of this her only Son. His own Widow with seven small Children one at her Breast, a Family to mourn under this heavy Bereavement and Combat with the Difficulties of an unequal World.'

In March, 1744, France, long suspected by England of assisting Spain, boldly threw off the mask, and war was mutually declared between the two nations. In the hostilities which followed success for a time attended the French, who captured Canso, and whose cruisers took many vessels and completely broke up the English fisheries. This, of course, deeply touched the interests of the New England colonies, who were largely engaged in the fish trade, and it became the general desire of the country that Louisburg should be taken. Having unsuccessfully applied to the home government for assistance, they at length resolved to undertake it alone. The deliberations on the subject were weighty and divided, but the war party preponderated, and preparations were accordingly made. None of the colonies outside of New England would join the hazardous undertaking, but nothing daunted by this or the manifold obstacles which presented themselves, an army of 4,000 troops, together with a fleet fully equipped, was raised within the short space of two months. To this force, which was commanded by Lieut.-Gen. William Pepperell, of Massachusetts, Connecticut contributed 500 men, under command of Lieutenant-Governor ROGER WOLCOTT of Windsor. Under com-

¹ See, also, biographical sketch in the *Newbury Genealogy*, in 2d volume.

mission as Major-General, from Govs. Shirley of Massachusetts, and Ledy of Connecticut, he was *second* in command of the united colonial army. Of his arrival at and departure for the seat of war, from New London, Miss Caulkins' history of that town gives the following account :

"April 1st, Gen. Wolcott arrived, and was welcomed with salutes from the fort and ship *Intrepid*. His tent was pitched on the hill at the S. E. corner of the burial place. On Sunday, the 4th, Mr. Adams preached to the General and soldiers, drawn up on the meeting-house green. On the 7th the commissions were published with imposing ceremonies. The eight companies were arranged in close order on the green, and the throng of spectators around the hill. Through them, Gen. Wolcott, supported right and left by Col. Andrew Burr and Lieut.-Col. Simon Lothrop, marched bareheaded from his tent to the door of the custom-house, where the commissions were read. The troops embarked Saturday, April 13th, and the next day, at one o'clock P. M., the fleet sailed. The *Defiance* carried Gen. Wolcott and 100 men."

On the 22d of April the army was joined at Canso by Commodore Warren, from his station in the West Indies, with a fine fleet of large ships : and full of joy and enthusiasm the army and fleet set sail for Louisburg. It is needless here to recount the details of that eventful siege, which lasted from April 30th till its capitulation on June 17th. Suffice it to say that after numerous successes by land and water, which seemed like special interposition of Providence ; after miracles of valor, bravery, and endurance, Louisburg, the apparently impregnable Gibraltar of North America, capitulated to the brave New England troops. Not until the victorious army entered the gates of the city, did they know the extent of their achievement, nor the difficulties which their bravery had overcome. Wonder struggled in their hearts with emotions of adoration to Him who had given them the victory. "God has gone out of the way of his common providence," said they, "in a remarkable and almost miraculous manner, to incline the hearts of the French to give up, and deliver this strong city into our hands." God had indeed granted to an undisciplined army of mechanics, farmers, and fishermen, led by a merchant general, a victory almost unparalleled in history. The news was received in England with exultation, and in New England with a frenzy of popular joy. Words cannot express the enthusiasm which was everywhere felt.

It was a proud day for Windsor when she welcomed home again her brave son, the lieutenant-governor. His journal affords us a pleasant glimpse of the scene.

"Tuesday 30th. Col. Whiting with his troops and sundry Gentlemen from Hartford and Wethersfield came to me at my lodgings [at Wethersfield, on his way from New London, where he had arrived July 18th], from whence they attended me to my own Home at Windsor, where we arrived about two afternoon. Here we had a Good Dinner, Drank some bowls of Punch, &c., and after the Discharge of the Great Artillery and small arms Gave 3 Huzzas, and parted Good friends." — *Coll. Conn. Hist. Society.*

Among the *Windsor MSS.* in Library of the Connecticut Historical Society, is preserved his daily journal, from May 30th to July 2d, inclusive, detailing the events of the siege and giving copies of the official communications between the respective commanders-in-chief. Following this journal is a connected narrative of some twenty-eight folio pages, in his handwriting, in which he gives a careful "retrospect of the expedition, in the projection, prosecution, and success of it." Its length precludes insertion here, but it is but just to say that it displays, in a most forcible manner, the Governor's strong character, and, above all, his deep, sincere trust in the wise orderings of a great and merciful God.

Windsor contributed many of her best citizens to this enterprise, but it is impossible to ascertain the names of all.

Probably, in this expedition were the following *East Windsor* men, whose names are found in a document among Capt. Ebenezer Grant's papers, endorsed :

"An Acct of y^e Men that went up on an Expedition into y^e frontiers under my command, Dec. 19th, 1745.

" Lt. Thomas Grant	Caleb Booth, Jun ^r	
Ensign Gideon Wolcott	Elisha Munsil	
Serg't Thomas Drake	Joseph Ezel-stone	
Serg't Thomas Skinner	Benj. Bancroft	
Serg't Joseph Diggins	John Osband	
Clerk Josiah Wolcott	John Prior	
Ammi <u>Tumbleton</u>	John Grant & John Grant Jr	
Sam ^l Watson	John Sikes	Eph ^m Wolcott
Nathaniel Stoughton	Sam ^l Smith	Benj Phelps
James Harper	Jerijah Bissell	Joseph Nuberry
Gershom Bartlett	Ezra Elgar	Zebulon King
Joseph Bartlett	Ebn ^r Moor	Abijah Skinner
Jacob Elmor	Sam ^l Bartlett	Nath ^l Porter Jr
Will ^m Bissell	Benj Cook	Joseph Elmor Jr
John Gaylord	Azariah Grant	Robert Wood
Ebenezer Bliss	Tim ^o Strong	John Anderson Jr
Noah Bissell	James Rockwell	Matthew Grant
Moses Bissell	Job Rockwell	Benoni Olcott
John Kellogg	John Stoughton ¹	

"All returned from their Expedition &c except Drake, Moor, Elgor & Gershom Bartlett."

¹ Of JOHN STOUGHTON, in the above list, the author of *Windsor Farms* says (p. 107) that he "was soon promoted to a lieutenantcy and afterward became a colonel in the colonial army, and at the close of the French and Indian war received a large grant of land near Ticonderoga in consideration of his services, but was soon after drowned while transporting stock across Lake George. In a quaintly-worded letter (in the compiler's possession) written from New York, where he was then stationed, he informs his brother Lemuel that "I am recovering from the Small Pox. I have had about *twenty* of them, just enough to show that I have had it." His solid silver-hilted sword, carried at the siege of Fort William Henry, and a map of the siege and engaged forces, drawn by himself, which he sent to his brother, Col. Lemuel Stoughton of E. W., are also preserved. The map has been reproduced in *facsimile* in *Windsor Farms*, and is a valuable contribution to the history of the French War on Lake George.

Capt. Grant's commission as captain of a "Train Band," east of Connecticut River, issued from Gov. Jonathan Law, Oct. 29, 1742, is still in possession of his descendants.¹

ALEXANDER afterwards Dr. Wolcott accompanied the Connecticut troops as surgeon's mate.

ISRAEL STOUTON.

Capt. DAVID ELISWORTH (E. W.).

JOHN WARHAM STONG was a first lieutenant in service.

JAMES EGGLESTON, Jr. (Why.), was impressed into the service.

EZRA LOOMIS (Why.) died at Louisburg, aged about 24 years, Dec. 18, 1745.

THOMAS BARBER (Why.) died at Louisburg, aged about 24 years, 1745.

STEPHEN GILLET (Why.) died at Louisburg, aged about 34 years, Feb., 1746.

CALEB CASE (Why.) died at Louisburg, aged about 34 years, May 10, 1746.

JAMES BARNETT (Why.) died at Louisburg, aged about 22 years, April 24, 1746.

JEREMY ALFORD (who lived on Cook's Hill) distinguished himself by his bravery at Louisburg.

For a while America seemed destined to be the theatre of the Anglo-French war. France planned the recapture of Louisburg, but the fleet under D'Anville, in 1746, was met by storms and pestilence, and, worse than all, left without a commander by the death of D'Anville, and the suicide of his successor — so that it never accomplished anything. Another French fleet, the next year, was captured by the English admirals, Anson and Warren. The New England Colonies proposed a plan for the conquest of Canada, but it was not seconded by the mother country. At length, a season of "masterly inactivity" was ended by the general peace of Utrecht in 1748; and England, France, and Spain mutually restored to each other the fruits of their conquests. "Nothing was gained, humanity had suffered, without a purpose, and without a result."

The war which the colonies had entered into with such zeal and at great expense, had not brought them any special advantage. On the contrary, it had been an almost useless expenditure of resources, and a loss of thousands of their young men: it left them with a depreciated currency, a paralyzed commerce, and that saddest accompaniment of war, a fearful deterioration of public morals.

The peace of Utrecht, however, procured but a slight cessation of

¹ Stouton's *Windsor Farmer*, 106

hostilities. France, always restless and intriguing, soon began to infringe on the British possessions in Acadia and Nova Scotia. She also, in direct violation of treaty stipulations, extended her frontiers toward Crown Point and Tonawanda on the north, and Virginia on the west, with the evident design of forming a connection between the head of the St. Lawrence and their possessions on the Mississippi. This, together with their relations with the Indian tribes, would have given them a command of the extensive trade of the interior; and an opportunity to harass and annoy the English colonies, which the latter could never consent to.

About this time a number of lords and gentlemen in England, and planters in Virginia, associated themselves under the name of the Ohio Company, and obtained a grant of 600,000 acres of land in the Ohio River country. This movement was immediately resented by the French, mutual skirmishes and reprisals followed, and finally, in 1754, the Virginians, who had commenced a fortress on their patent, were attacked by an overwhelming French force and driven from the ground with a loss of all but two of the English traders, and skins and property valued at £20,000. On the same spot which commanded the whole Ohio and Mississippi country the French built a fortress which they named Fort du Quesne. As may be imagined, this event caused much alarm and apprehension to Great Britain and her American colonies. Virginia, South Carolina, and New York were speedily in the field, and Col. Washington (afterward the hero of the American Revolution) having defeated a party of French belonging to Fort du Quesne, was afterward attacked by Villiers, the commandant of that post, with a large force; and after a brave defense in a hastily constructed fortress, accepted honorable terms of capitulation, which his bravery had extorted from the French general. At this juncture a convention of delegates from the several colonies was held, at which was discussed the feasibility of a union of the colonies for mutual protection and defense against the French and Indians.

This necessary movement was warmly approved by the colonies, but, as might have been expected, was strongly opposed and denounced by Great Britain, whose whole policy was repugnant to anything that savored of colonial independence. She evidently feared that the combined strength of the latter might some day be employed to sever the chain which bound them to herself. Consequently a meeting was proposed of the governors of the several colonies, who should, in the largeness of their wisdom, devise ways and means of defense, government, and protection; and the colonies were to be taxed for the expenses of the whole. At this council, held at Albany, N. Y., 1754, Connecticut was represented by ROGER WOLCOTT, Jr. It is needless to say that this plan met with the most universal disapproval of the colonies themselves: for they were as unwill-

ing to trust their interests into the hands of kings and favorites as the latter were to grant them any independent powers.

Hostilities between France and England had now proceeded to the extent of actual war. Four expeditions were planned against the former; one against Fort du Quesne, under General Braddock; a second against Nova Scotia; a third against Crown Point, and a fourth against Niagara. In the spring of 1755 the northern colonies were alive with preparations for the coming campaigns. Special assemblies were held and taxes levied to defray the necessary expenses of fitting out the army. It was proposed to raise in New England 5,000 men, of whom Connecticut was to furnish one-fifth, to attack Crown Point and occupy the country around.

In the meantime the expedition against Nova Scotia under Col. Moncton was already in the field. Three several encounters with the French troops and their Indian allies resulted in success to the British arms, and placed the whole of Nova Scotia in their possession. The Acadians, numbering some 15,000, were disarmed and removed to New England and other colonies, where they were distributed as prisoners of war among the different towns. Some of them were sent to Windsor, but their names and subsequent history cannot now be discovered.¹ This event has received a new and romantic interest from Longfellow's beautiful poem, entitled *Evangeline, a tale of Acadie*.

While this was going on at the north General Braddock, with 1,500 regulars, had arrived in Virginia from England, and commenced, though tardily, his preparations for the expedition against Fort du Quesne on the Ohio. The history of that expedition is written in letters of blood upon the page of our country's history as Braddock's defeat. The rashness and arrogance of its leader were atoned by his death, and redeemed only by the bravery and good sense of George Washington and the Virginia troops. Let us, however, turn from this scene to the operations of the expedition against Crown Point and Niagara, which are more intimately connected with the purposes of our history. The former, under the command of Gen. Johnson, luckily intercepted the Baron Dieskau, who, with a large force of French and Indians, was advancing to cut off Fort Edward, which was garrisoned by New York and New Hampshire troops. The battle which ensued resulted in the complete defeat of the French, although with a loss to the British of some brave officers and men. The remainder of the fall of this year was busily occupied in building a fort at Lake George and completing the works at Fort Edward, all of which had to be done in a trackless forest, and in face of many

¹ We can only learn that three men came here and lived for a while on Hinsdale Hall, as the little eminence was named, on which the present Sixth District school-house now stands.

obstacles. All the colonial troops, except those in garrison, returned to their homes in November.

BENJAMIN ALLYN, Esq., of Windsor, was appointed Captain of the 4th Company in the 3d Regiment, in August, 1755. The following is the muster-roll of his company, nearly all of whom were from this town.¹

"Roll of Capt. Benj. Allyn's Co. Crown Point Expedition, 85 men enlisted."

Isaac Tucker,	Nathl Gaylor,
Reuben Crow,*	John Japhet,
Zaccheus Crow,	Thos. Hawkins,
Levi Chapin, 1st Lt.	Reuben Cook,
Noah Hunt,	Zebulen Winchell,
Elijah Barret,	Robert Westland,
John Hosmer,	Benj. Baker,
Patt O'Connell,	And ^r Shilling,
Chas. Burnham,	Jona ^s Pinney, Jr.,
John Abbot,	Daniel Filley,*
Hez. Welles,	Elijah Denslow,
Elijah Evings,	Elisha Williams,
Geo. Colton,	Jona ^s Buckland, Sgt.
Daniel Eaton,	Ephraim Parker,
Jacob Osborn,	Joseph Winchel,*
Gideon Loomis,	Ebenezer Loomis,
Capt. Allyn,	Zephaniah Snow,
Giles Wolcott,	Asa Pinney (Perry or Pinney?),
Joel Soper,	Ely Parker,
John Eggleston, Jr.,	Appleton Hollister,
Abner Prior,	Orvis, 2d Lt.
Ozias Grant,	John Strong, Drummer,
David Bissell,	Jona ^s Pinney, Corp ^t ,
Jona ^s Gillett,	Benj. Kinney, Corp ^t ,
Joseph Moore,	Eliphah ^t Loomis,
Joseph Moore, Jr.,	Charles Burnham,
Gideon Prior,	Drake, Sgt.,
Silas Wells,	Zeb. Winslow,
John McManuen,	Josiah Standliff,
Wm. Thomson,	Thomas Jarwell,
Eben Belknap,	Keup Perigue (Indian),
Asher Islam,	

ISAAC DRAKE (Wby.) was buried at Lake George, Oct. 26, 1755, aged 22 years.

The Niagara expedition, commanded by Gov. Shirley of Massachusetts, was too tardy and too poorly provisioned to effect much. They,

¹ *State Archives, War*, vol. VI.

*Those thus marked remained in garrison during the winter of 1755-56, their names being found in "A Role of Capt. Noah Grant's company in Garrison at Fort Edward Nov^r 5^r 26, 1756, their wages made out from y^r 23 of Nov. 1755 to y^e 26 of March 1756."

however, built a new fort near the old one (on the site of the present city of Oswego), and, leaving a garrison there, returned home in October.

The campaign in 1756 opened brilliantly under the command of Lord Loudon and Gen. Abercrombie. A fine army, including 7,000 Provincials, was early in the field, anxious to be led against Crown Point, but its leaders were dilatory. Time was wasted, and after a somewhat indecisive success by Col. Bradstreet, and the inexcusable surrender of Oswego to the French, by which they obtained command of Lakes Ontario and Erie, and the surrounding country, the campaign ingloriously terminated.

Capt. BENJAMIN ALLYN was in commission this year in the Crown Point expedition.

MEDINA FITCH (Ell.) was first lieutenant in 7th company, 2d regiment.

MOSES GRISWOLD was first lieutenant in 1st regiment.

DANIEL BROWN (Why.) died at Albany in September.

SAMUEL BELCHER died in war, as it is supposed, near Crown Point, 1756.

ITHAMAR BINGHAM (Ell.) was appointed commissary (March, 1756), of the hospital in this expedition.

Extensive preparations were made by Great Britain for the campaign of 1757, and early in July a powerful fleet, under Admiral Holburn, with 6,000 regular troops under Gen. Hopson, arrived in Halifax. Here they were joined by Lord Loudon with 6,000 provincials, eager to be led against Crown Point. Lord Loudon preferred to attack Louisburg; but so dilatory was he that, before they were ready to sail, Louisburg was reinforced by the arrival of a large fleet; the project was abandoned, and Loudon returned leisurely to New York.

But Montcalm, the French general, first surprising and defeating a detachment of 400 near Ticonderoga, pushed on and invested Fort William Henry, which was fortified and garrisoned by 3,000 men. After only six days' siege, during which it made a brave defense, it capitulated to the French. Gen. Webb, who was occupying Fort Edward only 14 miles distant, and might easily have relieved his braver compatriots, not only failed to do so, but sent a letter to Col. Monroe, advising him to surrender. The British were allowed to march out with arms, baggage, and one cannon. But the French and Indians, contrary to stipulations, plundered them of their baggage, killed the Indians in their service, and chased the unfortunate English themselves nearly to Fort Edward, where they arrived in a most piteous plight. Albany was thus threatened, the

¹ A parade was held in Windsor for "enlisting men for Crown Point expedition" on 10th April. (*Gloult MSS.*)

people were alarmed, and the colonies sent on large numbers of troops. Connecticut alone furnished 5,000 men within a few days.¹

Windsor was by no means behind her sister towns in responding to the call. The following document serves to give us an idea of the urgency of the occasion. *Olcott Family MSS.* (South Windsor).

* To Benon. Olcott, Clerk of y^e 3d^d Company or Trainband in Windsor, greeting. Whereas I've Rec^d special orders from Lieut. Colonel Geo. Wyllis, Lieut. Col. of y^e first Regiment of y^e Colony of Connecticut to muster my Company for a speedy march to Fort Edward for the relief and saving of y^e King's garrison and subjects there. These we therefore require you, forthwith to notify all under my Command that they appear complete in their arms at landltd Porter's tomorrow morning at 6 o'clock for y^e attending to y^e business abovest as they will answer their neglect at y^e peril of y^e Law. And not of this writ to make Return to my Lieutenant.

Dated at Windsor y^e 12th day of August A D. 1757.

EBENEZER GRANT, Capt. for 3d Company.

P. S. If we march it will be on horse."

Of the Windsor men who responded to the Fort William Henry alarm, the same month, we have found but three names, viz.: Lieut. DAVID PHELPS of West Windsor, and SAMUEL STROUGHTON and AMMI TRUMBLE of East Windsor. *MSS. Archives of the State.*

Thus ended this year's campaign, as a British historian remarks, "to the eternal disgrace of those who then commanded the armies and directed the councils of Great Britain."

The year 1758 opened hopefully for the cause of Great Britain. The reverses and losses of the three previous years were so evidently the result of incapacity and bad management as to demand a change of ministers and policy, in order to retrieve the waning fortunes of the British arms. A new cabinet was formed, and the genius of Pitt and the sound sense and integrity of his coadjutors gave renewed hope of better days. New measures were proposed, a new spirit was infused into every department of the service at home and abroad. Louisburg was to be reduced, Crown Point and Fort du Quesne were to be the main points of attack in the coming campaign. The colonies were in ecstasies, their darling projects were at last about to be realized: and, when his majesty's letter, composed

¹ SAMUEL ALLEN (son of Joseph and Mary of E. W.) was among the few who escaped. When running through the woods with nothing but his breeches on, he was caught by an Indian who sprang from behind a tree and seized him by the back of his neck. He turned suddenly upon the Indian and brought his knee forcibly against the pit of his stomach, and brought him to the ground and despatched him by jumping both feet upon his breast.

He ran in this situation for a while, then meeting a man Mr. Allen said to him: "I cannot run so; do for God sake give me your jacket," which he had the kindness to do.

He then proceeded to Fort Edward. Mr. Allen carried the marks made by the Indian's finger nails upon his neck to his grave. (*MSS.* of Mr. Henry W. Allen of Warehouse Point, Conn.)

with the matchless art of Putt, was received, requesting their loyalty and support in the raising of 20,000 men, the whole country was in a fever of loyal joy. Connecticut immediately proceeded to raise 5,000 more than she could well afford, yet it was done not only cheerfully, but with enthusiasm. They were to be divided into four regiments, each with its colonel and chaplain; the already large bounty offered for enlistment in previous years was increased, and everywhere the work of enrollment went briskly on. Meanwhile across the broad ocean was sailing a noble fleet under Admiral Boscawen, bearing 10,000 troops, commanded by the circumspect Lord Amherst," and the scarcely less skillful Gen. Wolfe. On the 2d day of June that fleet lay before the battlements of Louisburg, and on the 8th the English landed through a rolling surf which upset and broke their boats, and in the very teeth of bristling ramparts and a perfect hailstorm of artillery, drove the French from their batteries and invested the city. For nearly two months the siege went on, but not until the city was a heap of ruins, not until the finest ships were burned and their batteries disabled, did the brave French surrender. With Louisburg fell Cape Breton and Prince Edward's Island. Wolfe returned home to meet the commendations of his sovereign, bearing with him the praises of New England, whose great heart was overflowing with joy and gratulation.

Dr. ELIHU TUDOR (E. W.), MARK FILLEY and his elder brother (E. W.), were engaged in this expedition.

While this was being enacted the colonies were actively pushing forward their preparations for their long-cherished attempt on Crown Point.

"On the banks of Lake George 9,024 provincials, from New England, New York and New Jersey, assembled. There were the 600 New England rangers dressed like woodmen, armed with a firelock and a hatchet, under their right arm a powder horn, a leather bag for bullets at their waist; and to each officer a pocket-compass as a guide in the forests. There was Stark, of New Hampshire, now promoted to be a captain. There was the generous, open-hearted Israel Putnam, a Connecticut major, leaving his good farm, around which his own hands had helped build the walls, of a gentle disposition, brave, incapable of disguise, fond of glorying, sincere, and artless. There were the chaplains, who preached to the regiments of citizen soldiers a renewal of the day when Moses with the rod of God in his hand sent Joshua against Amalek. By the side of the provincials rose the tents of the regular army, 6,367 in number; of the whole force Abercrombie was commander-in-chief, yet it was the gallant spirit of Howe that infused ardor and confidence into every bosom." (*Butterfield*, Vol. iv, 299.)

On the 5th day of July the whole army of more than 15,000 men embarked at daybreak on Lake George in 900 small boats and 136 whale-boats, together with artillery on rafts, and "the fleet, bright with banners and cheered with martial music, moved in stately procession down the beautiful lake, beaming with hope and pride, though with no witness

at the wilderness." Early the next morning they landed at the northern end of the lake, and, forming in four columns, began their march to Ticonderoga. But after two miles had been passed they came in the depths of the wilderness upon a large body of French. The struggle was sharp and resulted successfully to the English, but they lost their bravest man, Lord Howe himself, "the idol of the army"; and, grief-stricken and dispirited, the army encamped on the battle-field which it had so dearly won.

The next morning Abercrombie returned to his landing-place and sent out an engineer to reconnoitre the French works. The engineer reported that they were of flimsy construction, but the better practiced eye of Stark and the New England woodsmen decided otherwise. Abercrombie, however, heeded only the advice of "his Rehoboam counsellors," and gave orders for storming the French position. But they had an enemy who was wary, cool, and prepared at every point. Again and again, through the hours of a sweltering hot July day, the brave grenadiers and active provincials charged upon those rude ramparts only to be mown down and hurled back by the steady and resistless fire of the enemy. At last, near sunset, they fled promiscuously from the field, leaving 1944 killed and wounded, mostly regulars.

While Montcalm had been in the thickest of the fight, with his coat off, seeing, comprehending, directing everything, Abercrombie had been snugly but ingloriously ensconced at a sawmill two miles distant. And although the English possessed the advantages of position and heavy artillery, and in numbers they still exceeded the French fourfold, Abercrombie embarked his army the next morning, and rested not until "he had placed the lake between himself and Montcalm."

Thus disastrously ended the expedition which had been inaugurated with such bright hopes. Its shame was, however, somewhat redeemed by Col. Bradstreet, who, at his own desire, and according to his own plan, was detached with a considerable force against Fort Frontenac, on the St. Lawrence, near its junction with Lake Ontario. This, after a two days' siege, he captured and destroyed, with its large stores of provisions and military equipments, and nine armed vessels. He then returned to Oswego, having frustrated a proposed attack of the French on the Mohawk River settlements; restored the communication between Albany and Oswego, and obtained the command of Lake Ontario.

In the south, Fort Duquesne had been taken nominally by Gen. Forbes, but really through the sagacity and energy of the youthful Washington, who commanded the Virginians. On its site the flag of Great Britain was joyously planted, and the place was named *Pittsburgh*, a most enduring trophy of the glory of William Pitt.

Thus, with the exception of the unfortunate affair at Ticonderoga,

this campaign closed with honor to the British arms, presenting a marked contrast to the bad management and accumulated disaster of previous years.

JOHN CHICK was 2d lieutenant in 3d company, 1st regiment.

JOHN ELLSWORTH was ensign in 9th company, 1st regiment.

MEDINA FICH was a first lieutenant.

JONATHAN GILLET was a first lieutenant.

SILAS CASE (Why.) aged 18, was buried, Sept. 16, 1758, half-way between Albany and Lake George.

JONAH FILLEY (Why.) died 1758.

ABEL LOOMIS (Why.) buried October 16, 1758, at Greenbush.

JOHN LOOMIS (Why.) buried November 12, 1758, between Albany and Sheffield.

JOHN MUMFORD (Why.) aged 21, died 1760, with smallpox, in December, above Albany.

RICHARD FITCH, aged 18, enlisted and went to Oswego and Montreal; on his return took the smallpox, which he communicated to three children of his father's (James) family.

FRANCIS DRAKE and JEDIDIAH EGGLESTON were impressed and enlisted in the spring, but on account of sickness were allowed to return home, where they were a long time sick.

The campaign of 1759 opened with a free seacoast and a clear road into Canada, whose conquest became the great object of the British ministry. To effect it, three expeditions were planned, which should act simultaneously. Gen. Wolfe, the hero of Louisburg, was to attempt the capture of Quebec. Gen. Amherst was to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and then form a junction, via the Sorel and St. Lawrence rivers, with Wolfe at Quebec. Gen. Prideaux was to move against Niagara, and, if successful, to embark on Lake Ontario, and passing along the St. Lawrence was to besiege the city of Montreal. The colonies were required to furnish the same number of men as for the previous year, and "Connecticut," says Bancroft, "which distinguished itself by disproportionate exertion, raised, as in the previous year, 5,000 men. To meet the past expense, the little colony incurred heavy debts, and learning political economy from native thrift, appointed taxes on property to discharge them."

Gen. Amherst was first in the field en route for Ticonderoga, which the enemy abandoned on his approach, and retreated to Crown Point, which they also evacuated in a very few days. Once in possession of these important posts, the general took active measures for the building of a fleet on Lake Champlain, to oppose that of the French at that point. Meanwhile Ticonderoga was repaired, and a strong fort erected at Crown Point.

While Amherst was thus employed, Prideaux had set siege to the fort at Niagara, where he was killed; but his place was ably filled by Sir William Johnson, who in a sharp and protracted encounter completely routed the enemy. Three important posts were now gained, but *Quebec*, the heart of the French dominion, was still untouched, and to its reduction every effort of combined skill, sagacity, and numbers was turned.

On the 26th of June, a splendid British fleet, with 8,000 picked troops, under Wolfe, arrived before the precipitous and apparently impenetrable cliffs of *Quebec*. On those battle-crowned summits Montcalm commanded, and though feeble in numbers, he was, as usual, cool, wary, and intrepid: and his chief strength was the nature of his position. Such were the peculiar difficulties and obstacles to be overcome, that, in spite of repeated but unsuccessful attempts and the utmost sagacity and energy, it was not until the 15th of September, that any full assault could be made. On that night, in silence and darkness, the perilous ascent was made, and at daybreak Wolfe and his army stood in battle array upon the Plains of Abraham, and the next day *Quebec* was in their hands.

Among the loose manuscripts of the town is the following subscription paper, circulated among the members of the First trainband in Windsor, under command of Captain Nathaniel Hayden:¹

" Windsor, 13th of April, 1759.

" Whereas y^e Providence of God Binds a Necessity upon us to exert ourselves to y^e utmost of our Power in y^e Present warr and a number of our Young men called to enter His Majesty's service this Currant year, and altho' y^e Assembly have done considerable to encourage men to enlist freely into said service, it is thought advisable that since a number of our friends must go, and y^e service attended with much hardship as to require encouragements, that a further encouragement be given by y^e subscribers to encourage men in y^e said 1st Company in Windsor to enlist into said service, & it is Hoped & Expected & Requested y^e all within y^e limits of y^e said 1st Company, whether in y^e [Train] Band or out of y^e [Train] Band, give their encouragement."

This was subscribed to by forty-six influential men of Windsor, on condition that the sons and servants of such subscribers should be exempt from impressment. The amount subscribed, £54 17s., was to be divided among the enlisted and impressed men. The state requisition was for sixteen men. On the back of the document was the following endorsement:

Soulgers that Listed.

" ROGER ENSO,
JOHN GRANT,
JOSEPH MARVIN.

Soulgers Prest.

JOEL PALMER,
NOAH BARBER,
JOSEPH YOUNGS,

¹ Mr. J. H. HAYDEN doubts if Nathaniel Hayden was Captain of the Windsor Trainband at this time, since he was then but 21 years old: and says that his father, " Ensign " Nathaniel, was then 59 years old, yet may have been in command at that particular time through lack of superior officers. Our own remembrance is that the original document, which we copied in our first edition, contained the name of Capt. Nathaniel.

JOHN ALFORD,
DANIEL FILLEY,
EBENZER LOOMIS,
JOHN ALLEN, JR.,
URIAH PEEBLET,
SAM ENO, JR.,
JOHN JAPHET (colored) "

Moses BARBER
JEREMIAH ALFORD, JR.
Sgt. PHINEAS DRAPER

AUGUSTIN HAYDEN of (Hayden's) Windsor, born 1740, though only 18 years old at this time, enlisted under this call. His journal (which he kept during the campaign of 1758-59, and which is now in possession of Mr. J. H. Hayden) opens thus, on the day after: "April 14, 1759. Then I, Augustin Hayden, Listed into his Majesty's service." June the 8th he "set away from home to Hartford;" on the 9th he "set away from Farmington;" the next day from Harwinton; thence through Goshen, Cornwall, Canaan, Sheffield, Spencertown, the "Patrons Land," etc., and "Centerhook [Kinderhook]. The 18th day, from K. to Greenbush and then we joined the regiment" — Col. Lyman's. Evidently he was one of a squad which overtook the regiment at Greenbush. Their destination was Lake George and the capture of Fort Ticonderoga, which failed; but the young man saw some pretty rough service—all faithfully recorded in his journal. He reached home again 12 Nov., 1758, and records that he received his "winter's pay, which was £8. 2. 0; and to get a coat, £1. 15. 0; and my first month's wages which was £1. 16. 0." The taste of war which he had in this campaign seems not to have satisfied his appetite, for he served (and kept a minute daily journal) through the campaign of 1759.

SAMUEL LATTIMORE also appears on bills in this campaign.

The year 1760 opened with an attempt by the French to retake Quebec, which was for a while averted by the vigilance of the general in command. On the 26th of April, however, the enemy invested the city, and the British commander, foolishly preferring to risk a battle rather than endure a siege, found himself overmatched and obliged to retire within the walls with a heavy loss. The French, flushed with this success, set actively to work to capture the town, which was only saved by the opportune arrival of a large British fleet.

Montreal, also, had been invested by three large English armies under Lord Amherst and Generals Haviland and Murray. It shortly after capitulated on honorable terms, and with it all the French possessions in Canada passed into the power of Great Britain.

The Windsor men in this campaign were mostly in service in this siege.

By the kindness of Mr. Elihu Marshall of Poquonock, Windsor, we are enabled to present our readers with the following digest of two mus-

regolls of General Lyman's regiment in this campaign. One of these, evidently an orderly-sergeant's roll, was entitled :

"A Muster roll of Gen^l Lyman's Company" in "Camp at Montreal, Sept. 4th, 1760."

This we have copied, with sundry additions and items gleaned from the other document, which is "A List of General Phineas Lyman's Company of duly enlisted men, with the time of their several enlistments, and the time of the death of those that are dead, and that are deserted, or never joined; and the time of their receiving the King's bounty." This is drawn up in a formal and handsome manner, on a large sheet of paper, and endorsed on the back "R[oyal] A[rtiltery], N^o 42."

General Lyman was a distinguished officer in Connecticut, and a native of Sudbield. His company, as will be seen, was made up principally of Sudbield and Windsor men; and, indeed, so intimate has been the connection between the two towns, that we have not been able to locate many of the names which have become so common in each place. We have therefore left that to the more abundant leisure and industry of descendants and genealogical investigators. Windsor, more especially the Poquonock district, is well represented.

Rank.	Names.
Gen ^l	Phineas Lyman.
Capt.	Giles Worcester.
Lieut.	Roger Enos.
Do.	Silas Holcomb.
Ensign	John Strong.
Do.	Elihu Humphrey.
Serg ^t	Major Sam ^l Granger.
Gr Serg ^t	James Harmon.
Serg ^t	Joel Addams.
Do.	Joseph Marvin, enlisted March 24.
Do.	Oliver Hanchet.
Do.	Ephraim Addams.
Do.	Shoreck Phelps.
Do.	John Fild.
Do.	Phineas Southwell.
Do.	Eleazer Smith.
Do.	Reuben Denslow.
Do.	Wm. Ross.
Do.	Jon ^h Allyn.
Do.	Philander Pinney.
Do.	Thomas Jerri ^t , enlisted March 25.
Do.	Zephany Snow, enlisted Do.
Do.	Jon ^h Beaman, enlisted Do.
Clerk.	Joab Griswold, enlisted March 24.
Do.	Nath ^l Humphrey.
Doct ^r	How.
Do.	Andrus.
Chap ^l	Beckwith.

Rank.	Names.
Corpl	Abiether Evans, enlisted March 25
Do.	Dan King
Do.	Ebenezer Phelps
Do.	Elisha Spencer
Do.	Stephen Holcomb
Drummr	Ephraim Goodrich
Do.	Elijah Reed
Do.	Sam ^l Marvin, deserted Sept. 22d
Privates,	David Eues, enlisted April 1st
	Nath ^l Griswold, enlisted March 24
	Francis Griswold, enlisted Do.
	John Lewis, enlisted March 26, deserted Sept. 15th
	Timothy Soper, enlisted April 4th
	Abiether Jones, enlisted Do. 26.
	David Jones, enlisted Do. 26
	Ephraim Webbott, enlisted March 25.
	Moses Fargo, enlisted Do.
	Jonas th Bewell, enlisted Do. 16.
	Sam ^l Blackmore, enlisted Do. 25.
	Berijah Brunson, enlisted Do. 25.
	Elisha Pondal, enlisted March 25.
	Roswell Davis.
	Jonath ⁿ Brown, enlisted March 24
	Richard Fitch, enlisted March 25
	Simeon Allen
	Austin Phelps, enlisted March 24
	Benajah Webster, enlisted March 25
	Isaac Crowfoot, deserted Sept. 15.
	Phineas Huxley.
	Joshua Preston
	Ebenezer Burbank.
Privates,	Joseph Townner.
	Stephen Buff ^{ly} , enlisted March 25.
	Joseph Stoughton.
	David Allyn.
	Silas Simms
	Tho ^s Newberry, enlisted March 25
	Jon th Gillett, enlisted May 1, died Oct. 3d.
	Joseph Easton.
	Thos. Austin.
	David Allyn, Jr.
	Moses Warner.
	Reuben Phelps.
	John Rimington.
	W ^m Middleton.
	Marshall Stanly.
	Elias Austin.
	Hosea Brunson.
	John Alford, enlisted March 24.
	David Spencer.
	Ebenezer Halladay.
	Thaldeus Lyman.
	Brown Be ^{ck} with.

Ranks.	Names.
Privates.	Enoch Grainger
	Thos. Williams, Jr.
	Dudley Hays
	Jesse Goddard.
	Jehiel Messenger.
	Richard Andors
	Isaac Goff, died Sept. 13th.
	Aaron Noble, enlisted April 4
	Moses Holcomb, died Oct. 4th.
	Shadrach Phelps, Jr.
	Primus Hills. ¹
	Isaac Fosbery.
	John Williams.
	John Forward.
	Joseph Hinkman.
	Thos. Davis.
	Abel Norton, died Aug. 27th.
	Dan Pom[er]oy.
	John Thomas, enlisted March 28th.
	Joel Peck.
	Timothy Wills
	Wm. Cammel.
	John Dewey.
	Benjamin Thrall.
	Elijah Brunson.
	John Thomas, enlisted March 28.
	William Harrington, enlisted March 26. Not joined.
	Thomas Parsons, enlisted May 21. Not joined.

GILES GIBBS (Ell.), aged 17, was drafted and died, north of Crown Point, of camp-distemper.

The French war was now virtually at an end. The balance of the year 1760 was occupied with a distressing and harassing war between the Southern Colonies and the Cherokees, which was finally brought to a successful close. The year 1761 was mostly spent in repairing and strengthening the numerous posts gained from the French, a work in which the provincials were much employed.

At the commencement of 1762, England found herself involved in war with the principal continental powers and the greatest part of the maritime power of Europe. The colonies were therefore required, as heretofore, to furnish men and arms for service, and in an expedition which was made against Martinique and the French posts in the West Indies, in the early part of 1762, a large number of colonial troops were employed.

Shortly after, war was declared against Spain, and a large fleet with some 15,000 or 16,000 troops was sent to attempt the reduction of Havana and the Spanish West Indies. A large number of provincials,

¹ Probably the old colored *Dr.* Primus, afterwards of East Windsor.

under their own officers, joined this undertaking. The greatest obstacles of nature and art, the terrors of pestilence, and the burning rays of a tropical sun, endured for two long months, had almost wasted and destroyed this courageous and energetic army, when their drooping spirits were revived by the opportune arrival of a reinforcement from North America, and the 15th of August, the town, the shipping in the harbor, and a large extent of territory, were surrendered to the English commander. New England in this enterprise lost a large number of her sons. Slain in battle or swept off by the pestilence, but few ever returned to their homes.

THOMAS PARSONS (Why.), aged about 26, died October, 1762, and was buried in Cuba.

JOHN EGGLESTONE (Why.), aged 34, and ELIPHALET LOOMIS (Why.) aged 32, died 1762, and were buried in the ocean coming from Havana.

REUBEN COOK (Why.), aged about 36, died at New York, December, 1762, on his return from Havana.

Dr. ELIHU TROOP (E. W.) was on the surgical staff.

Capt. ICHABOD WADSWORTH and ISAAC HUBBARD (Ell.) were in Putnam's regiment during this siege.

BENJ. PIERSON, son of Simeon (Ell.), died at New York, November, 1762, on his return.

BENJ. PINNEY, son of Benjamin (Ell.), died at New York, November, 1762, on his return.

JOSEPH PINNEY, son of Joseph (Ell.), died at Havana, November, 1762, on his return.

PEUBEN STILES was in the expedition, and returned safe and sound.

Sudden and unforeseen changes in European affairs soon after turned the scale of fortune in favor of England, and enabled her to treat for peace, without relinquishing a single advantage which she had gained in North America. Accordingly a definitive treaty of peace between England and France was entered into on the 10th of February, 1762, and the series of long and bloody FRENCH WARS was ended.

It may, perhaps, be thought by some that we have occupied more space with this subject than is appropriate in a local history. But, when we consider how devotedly the colonies sacrificed lives and means in the service of their king: when we remember how great a change the French wars produced in the character of New England society and manners; above all, when we reflect that they were pre-eminently THE SCHOOL in which God was drilling and disciplining the American Colonies for that greater struggle for their own independence, it does not seem that we have given it too prominent a place in our Windsor history. For, in the long Canadian campaigns, the colonial troops, fighting by the side of the

disciplined masses of England's choicest soldiery, and under the eye of England's best generals, were silently learning their own defects, and strengthening their own powers.

Nay, more: for as they measured their own success with the cumbersome inefficiency of the regular troops, they gradually learned to rely on themselves. And when in after years, they met those same troops as foes, upon the battle grounds of American liberty, it was not with the taint of timid novices, but as practiced athletes, wrestling with those whose prowess and abilities they had already tested in former contests.

We append the names of some who served in the French wars, but of whose *time* or *place* of service we have not been able to find the exact data:

JOHN, son of Nathaniel and Ruth (Stiles) TAYLOR (E. W.), died January 6, 1757.

BENONI STILES (E. W.) died in war, aged 24 years.

JOHN and HEZEKIAH BISSELL (E. W.) were in one or more campaigns.

THOMAS (son of Roger) NEWBERRY of Windsor, at the age of 16, went to East Windsor to learn a trade, and there enlisted under Capt. Erastus Wolcott, with whom he served several years in Canada.

NATHANIEL OWEN was in one or more campaigns.

SOME (EAST) WINDSOR WAR LETTERS.

Originals in possession of Mrs. Hannah (Grant) Collins, of Wapping, Connecticut; copied in February, 1873, by D. Williams Patterson:

I.

HARTFORD, March 29th, 1757.

then William Grant, Alexander Grant, Jonathan Bement, Zephaniah Snow, John Ripen, Alexander Woolcott Jun. & John McCuen all which I enlisted Private Soldiers under Lt. Sam^l Welles in the Company of Maj^r Nathan Payson in his Majestyes Service for the next Campaigne on this day offered themselves to be mustered, and were accepted!

per JOSEPH PITKIN, Colonel!

Wm. Grant, Alexander
Grant, Jonathⁿ Bement, Zephaniah
Snow and Alexander Wolcott Junr
were Impressed by Capt. Grant y^e 27th

II.

CLOUFERECK [CLAVERACK].

May the 2 1757 having an oportunyty to wryght to you though some after our parting but not knoing when I sh^d have another chance to send to you I thought I wold wright a few Lins and this may Inform you that I am got well into Cloufereck and am in good helth and fare consderabel well and I wold not have you be two much consarned about me we dont know when we shall go from this place Some are apt to think we shall tary hear a month we got into this place on the 29 day of Aprel and are stashed [stationed]

out about 3 miles from the River. these lines to all my friends that are in Windsor especially to my Father and Mother. these Lines were writing by me in hast in one of the Dutch barns which is our place of Lodging

WILLIAM GRANT

to Captain
Thomas Grant
at Windsor

III.

WINDSOR May 6th, 1757.

LOVING BROTHER. We Received your Letter May 5th & are Not a Little Rejoiced to Hear y^e you are In Health and fare so well and Through the Goodness of God every Present are all Well — & I hope we May See Each other again in the world, but If God in his Providence Hath Decreed y^e we Shal^d not I hope we shall have a joyful Meeting at the Right hand of him that gave us our Beings. at Present I have nothing strange to Wright to you. I Know of no Patison Sick amongst us. Father and Mother Bare with your absence Better than I Expected I wold Not have you fail of Wrighting Every opportunity. Pleas to Desend as far into Perticklers as you can. So I Pennin your Most

Affectionate Brother

S. ROCKWELL GRANT

P. S. My Respects to My Friends —

I Dont Know but I May after a while Come and See you. I wold have you wright what you Stand in Most Need of y^e I Can supply you with.

R. G.

To Mr.
William Grant at
Clawverick Belonging
to Major Palysons
Company of Connecticut
with Care.

IV.

CLOVERECK May the 10, 1757. after my Duty to my father and Mother I wold Inform them and all my friends that I am well and in good helth, and so I hope these Lines will find you all. We are in expectaeson of Marching from this place in a short time to Albiny. our fare is not so good as when at hom but it is as good as I did expect it wold be and for the most part I am contented with my condishum. We have no preching on the Saboth but the Conishen ofisers Do Cary on and every night and Morning thay pray with us and for the Most part Sing a psalm in the Evening. I have nothing Strange to right to you but only that Lord Leweston [Livingston] with a party of men haue had a batall with another party that Leue [live] upon his Land and he kild two of them and thay wounded 5 or 6 of Leuistons party. one of the Men that was killed was Danel prat, he was shot into the brest if you haue any opportunity to let me hear from you i should be glad you wold and i do beleve you may by Leftenant Wells that i do expect will cary this Leter to hartford.

WILLIAM GRANT.

We have orders to March from this place on the 11 day of May to a place a Letel above Albiny and below the half-moon and i do Suppose from there to the forts. I should be glad you wold pay to Alecksander Allian what Is due to him and tack care [take care] of my thing[s] as well as you can.

to

Captain
Thomas Grant
at East Windsor
in Conectecut.

V.

1757. WINDSOR, May 14th 1757

Your J Rec^d One bearing Date May 2^d, the other 10th In which I have the joyfal News of your Helth. Through the Goodness Of God we are at Present So — at Pres- ent I have Nothing strange

Thomas Grant at
East Windsor in
Connecticut please
to Deliver with
Care and Speed

VI.

WINDSOR June 20th 1757 -- LOVING BROTHER Yours we Rec^d Dated May 22^d — wherein we have the Pleiour to Hea^r y^e you are In Helth — So These Lines all of us Through the Goodness of God nothing very Remareable Except a Destructing Drouth & three Men at Hartford Died very Sudantly two of them were drowned one of which was seuling, the ore Slipt over the Pin which Cased him to fall over, his Name we Lost De^r Langerell ventered on to Save his Lyfe ware Both Drowned — aNother Man the same Instant Dropt Down Dead his Name was Ensign — Please to Wright all oportuni- ties So I Remain — Your Most

Affectinate Brother

ROCKWELL GRANT

P. S. we have had no oportuntaty to send you any Dollars — I Believe y^t I shall Come and see you some Time this Sumier — If you are stationed at the faul — Please to Rite what you no Concerning the small pox — we herd a tiling (tlying) Report, as though it was in the army &c ———

Mr To
William Grant
at fort Edward
Belonging to Major
Pason Compney of
Connecticut

VII.

FORT EDWARD July the first 1757. LOVING UNCLE I Recued your letter Dated June the 18 on this very Day the 1 of July wich Informed me of you and your famely and of my fathers famely being in good helth as usual wich I greatly Rejoys to hear and hope it may be Continued to you and through the Wonderful goodness of God I am at present well in helth as ever I was in my Life a marcy grate I dead wich I Desier ve may be all thaufull for as we shold be and mack a good Jmprovement of that and all other marcy that we are Daly made the Subiets of it is a very helthy time in the Camp Conselering the number of peple being upwards of Five thousand men incampt together. genarel web is latly arived from Albany to Fort Edward, and a consederable Artillery of brase Canon what the Desine is I am not able to tell many hands are dayle Imploid a bulding the fort and mucking a nuw Intrentment at a Desentes a fue Rods from the other. no moor men kild, or tacking by the Indyns then I supose you have heard of as 5 kild and tackin at one time and 4 kild and 3 tacking at another time; one kild one wounded at another time. Scouts are ofen sent out, one of about 30 men is out at present and Capt. Putman is out with a party is expected in so[on]. two Cap- tines have ben tacking one by Capt. Putman and one by the Mohocks, and on the 28 day of June there was 13 french men came into the Camp and Resind themselves up and was thought to be some that came from Cand[a]ly or Crown pint wich made us to Rejoys whil while but some found out thay ware Some Deserted from New York of the

Nutrels wich mad it some not so good nuws. I have ben out one Scout my Self up to fort An[n] whar was to be sent the work of our fore fathers wich was plesing to me from fort an[n] we went to the Clear River, and from thar we went to the East bay and from the East bay to the south bay and from there we Returned home to the fort and mad some Discovery of Indlyins shot at some and some plunder. Nothing more att Present So I Remain your Harty well wisher and Louing Cousin

WILLIAM GRANT

Plese to give my Suteble Regards to all my frinds in Portekler to my father and mother brethren and sister and if you or they shold have any opertunity to wright to me I shold be exelindz glad you wold Improue the same and if brother Rockwell shoud come up as he told of in the last I Recued Dated may the 6. I shold be glad he wold bring up some Cheese and drid apfel and a letel tee and some mony, but I wold not have them be two much Consarned about me so as to put your self to trouble in coming for as long as I am well I hope I shall not sufer but in case he should come thes things wold sut uery well

This Leter I trust will get to you being put in the Cear of Sarg' Gil[e]s Wolent

Doct^r To.
Mathew Rockwell
at East Windsor
in Connecteent plese
to Deleuer with Cear
and spead.

VIII.

WINDSOR July 4th 1757

LOVING BROTHER

After Dew Regard to you J wold Inform you yt Thees Lines Through the Goodness of the Eternal God Leave us in Helth as J Hope thay may find you — Though we are separated at a Grater Distance than Euer we ware before yet J hope In God's time we may Behold Each others faces with harts filed with Thankfulness But Jf god H's other ways Determined yet Either of us must Incounter with Grim Deth J Hope y it May be our Happy portion whilst our Bodys are Moldring into Dust our unspoted sols May Sore above The Starry Sky & Rest in the Louvng arms of God yt Gave us ouer Beings there to La his Euerlasting Praises throughout the Neverending Ages of a Long and Enles Eternity yt this May be our Portion is the Constant Prayer of your Most Loving Brother.

ROCKWELL GRANT.

P. S. Lord Loudon Saild from york 10 or 12 days ago with about 120 sail it is Credbaly Reported that yt the fleet is at Hallifax. — Things upon the farm Look Middel ling well. Ry wheet Judian Corn we haue Brok up about 5 acres $\frac{1}{2}$. Your old mair has got a snoty Mare Colt Dibel ox ant [aint] Like to sh d his Coat Much before the fall —

My Respects to all My friends Espesuly those from Windsor. Tel them J shold be Glad to Se them at Days to Drink a litle Chery with them

S. R. G.

Mr To
William Grant
at fort Edward
in Major Pasons
Company of
Conecticut.

IX.

CAMP AT FORT EDWARD Au^r 23^o 1757

D^a SER^t. GRANT

I have Rec'd yours wharein you Inform me you are very Sick at Green Bush, why Did you go over that Side; I have apply'd to Gen^l Webb, his order is that you go

immediatly into the Hospital in Albany where you will be very well look'd after and
 all those that belongs to Connecticut Regiment
 I hope you will soon Recover

This from your Officer

N. PAYSON

To Ser^t W^m Grant.
 (Superscribed.)

To

Sarjeant
 William Grant
 att
 Green Bush

X.

SHEFFIELD June 14th ad 1758

SIR after my Regards to I would Informe you that J am in good Helthe and hope
 that these Lines will find you so tow, and all the Rest of oure Company are well and J
 hope that we shall See Canaday before that J com home and ples to give my Regards
 to all our friends and J would not haue not fale of Righting to me and J will do the
 same to and ples to giue my Comt to mis E. G. and to all Rerest of the fameley and so
 J Remain yours to Sarv and sofrth

GILES WOLCOTT.

To Mr
 William Grant
 att
 Windsor.

XI.

CAMP ATT CROWN POINT.

SIR after Due Regards to you wo^d Jest informe you that J am in good helth at Present
 and that J Did arive at this place on the 15 of this Enst october & all my men with me
 sate Sarg^t. Fitch who J left Sicke at nomberfore and it is a genrel time of helth in our
 Camp there is not Bout teen or twel out of our Reg^m that have Died this yeare, J
 haue lost three of my men sence J Left Camp—and these Desartters that Cap^t Enos
 took up haue Resc^d there ponishment Rider of my company had 900 well put on.
 Conet had 600 as well put on and those that J tooke up ha'n't had thre ponnesment
 yet ———

and no more at present Bot J must Beg leaue to subscribe my Seleff your humble sarv^t.

GILES WOLCOTT.

P. S. ples to give my due Regards to your Honord father and mother Brothers
 & Sister & teel hur that J Do inJoy my seleff much Beter at present than when a mong
 the Darned Lying Crue for now J Can seet long with a woman as Long as J ples and
 they onle sa that J Did it a boue fore or fife times

G. W.

To
 Mr William Grant
 at
 Windsor

pr favor of m^r
 Mather —

to Wright — J wold not Hav you fail of Wrighting all oppertunitys and Let us Know
 Jf you are Jn want of any thing y^r J can supply you with — Jn Dew time I hope

God in his Infinite Goodness will Return you to your friends Laden with the Experience of his Goodness to you which y^e it may be is the Constant Prayer of your Most Affectionate Father

THOMAS GRANT

Cast your Care on him y^e Cares for you.
Let the fear of God be always before
your Eys

P. S. You Need not be Concerned about your bisness J'll see A. Allen P^d
Your Mother, Brothers and Sister Remember their Love to you.

To Mr
William Grant
at Clawverick in Major
Pasons Company of
Connecticut
With Care.

XII.

June the 10 1757. After My Duty to my Parente I wold inform them that I am well and in good helth and fare as well as can be expected in a Campain, and as I Recev^d your Leter Dated May the fortenth which Informd me that you was all well I was very much Rejoys to hear of it and I hop the same and all other Mercys that you stand in need of may be Granted to you as far as is fittest and Best for you and that you may make a good Improvement of the same and I hope in Due time we may See one another again and be Inabled to give God thanks for his wonderful goodness towards us and althow the dangers of sin and of Life—some to be in more hazard yet god is Able to Preserve and to make all things work together for good to them that Love him, tharfor I wold not have you be too much concernd about me but put your trust in one that is able to Dwo for us in a far moer abundant way and maner than we are Able to do or Lay out for our selfe.

I have nothing Remarkable to wright to you of the Afaires in the Camp But only that on the beginning of May there was 4 men kild and 5 tacking within about half a mild of this Fort. Scout are sent out but make no Descumeryes, Captⁿ Putman set out with About 100 men for 18 days scout and was to be Joinde with two moor Companys when they got to the Lack [Lake George?] to go to the Norews [Narrows—Lake George] as was talkd of when they went away, the 5 day of June thur was two captives came in too the fort one was taken at Swago, and the other in capt Rodgers Fight and they bring nuws that thar is a grät Scarcety of Prouisons and that they are very much Descordged and I mad Inquiries about Captin Noah Grant and he told me that thar was nothing heard of him after he set out with Captⁿ Sheperd, thes men set out from Moryall 13 days befor they came to this Fort

These Lines from your most Duteful Son

WILLIAM GRANT.

Captⁿ to
Thomas Grant
at East Windsor
in Connetecut These
to Deliuier with Cear
and spcad.

XIII.

FORT EDWARD, June the 12 1757 Honored father hauing writ a Leter June the 10 and Sent it and presently after I writ the Same Day thar was a soreful Acedent Hapened wich I had not oportunity to put in. A party of men went out with Leftenant Pillings

about three quarters of a mile from the Fort to work and there went a guard with them of about 15 men and about nine a clock they came in to Breakfast and went out at 10 and had but just set the Sentry before the Enemy Fired upon them and kild 4 of them upon the spot and 5 or 6 more are absent and without Doubt are kild or taken. a number of our men run out from the fort and fired at them but Doubt no that they kild any. two of the men that was kild belonged to captain Wilsies company the names of them was Martin Hooker and Thomas Buckley and the other two Belonged to Captain Slop, one of them was Ric Edwards, the other was an Indyan fellow the names of two of the men that was taken was John Wolcott and David Camel and the other three Belonged to Captain Fitch. a Sorrowful Sight to Behold Martin Hooker was a Live when they found him and they Brought him into the fort and he Lived a moments and did. he was Shot brow with two bullets and staved with thar knifs in two or three places and scalped and a hol out in his neck with a hatchet news is come sence that 2 men was taken at Lack George {Lake George} the day befor, but how true I cant tell we seeme to be Exposed to many danger but what is Determined for us God only knows.

WILLIAM GRANT.

thes lins ware Sent from fort Edward the 23 day of June, no oportunyti befor thar is Some things if I had time I shold have writ but cant now if thar is any oportunity to let me hear from you please to Improve it and let me hear how the Affaires are at home, thes lins leve me well.

Captian to

CHAPTER XIV.

ECCLIASTICAL HISTORY. — THE FIRST, OR OLD SOCIETY IN WINDSOR.

1711-1776.

THIS society was organized about 1703. The "Ecclesiastical Society" of New England was the necessary outgrowth of the division of a town, or of an extension of religious privileges in the formation of a new church congregation. Previously to this the town and the church were practically one as regarded their material interests, and the records of the town embraced the history of both. But, when new parishes began to be formed and there were two or more in the same town, then the State established ecclesiastical societies, defined their boundaries, and gave into their hands all the powers relative to ecclesiastical affairs, schools, and the care of the "burying ground" which the towns had previously exercised. All property within the limits of a society was taxable, on vote of the society, for the support of the Gospel and for schools. Subsequently, under the pressure of an increasing desire for "liberty of conscience" in matters of faith, this law was modified. The first to be exempted from the tax laid by the Congregational Society were members of an Episcopal Society, located in the southern part of the State. Later still, the exemption included all persons who belonged to any religious society and who, by certificate, notified the clerk of the Congregational Society in which they lived, of the fact; whereupon such persons were taxed only for the support of such other society as they belonged to, and thus, directly or indirectly, all property was taxed for the maintenance of religious institutions.¹ The Constitution of 1818 exempted every one from an ecclesiastical tax, unless they voluntarily assumed it; but the old school system yet remains unchanged, and parties who maintain private

¹ It was not until near the beginning of the present century that men were allowed to "sign off" in order that they might support preaching of some other than the "established order." Numbers of these notes or "certificates" which are recorded, show how unwilling many were to be taxed for the support of a ministry in which they had no faith. One dated Nov., 1808, reads, "This may certify that MARTIN PALMER, of Windsor, does not mean to uphold the idea of Religion being supported by the civil sword; therefore, by this he certifies that the Baptist order are according to the Apostolic plan, discarding the usurpation of the Peto-Baptists, or Presbyterians, and will not support them, from this date."

schools must still pay their tax to support the State system of public instruction.

The separate *parish* records of Windsor begin Aug. 31, 1711; previously to this, though, for some few years, the east and west sides of the river voted separately in parish matters, both for the support of preaching and for schools. Separate books of record were not kept.

1712-13, Feb. 3. "Voted, To give the Rev. Samuel Mather this year, and also during his life for the future, the sum of £15 in pay, or two thirds in money, yearly, and so on, portionably, for a lesser term of time."

1716-17, Jan. 30 - Feb. 6, That the south and north sides of the Meeting house, and the east end be changed into pews.

Forced. It shall be determined in what manner the said pews shall be built.

"*Voted*, That the Society shall be at the charge of making the pews around the Meeting house as above."

It will be remembered that, in the case of similar previous alterations in the first meeting-house, they had been made at the expense of the individuals who were to occupy them. This vote of 1717 marks a progress towards equality in the house of God, "a leveling up of the people, not by pulling down the pews of the dignitaries, but by building pews for the untitled—a venturing to relax a little the outward deference paid to official station, a process which has been carried so far in our day that the Governor of the Commonwealth sits among the people who elected him, with no outward sign of his rank"; but for a long time after this, the dignitaries continued to sit in "the highest seats," and the common people were "seated" as shown in some of the following records:

Twelve years later we have the items of expense paid by the society¹ for "seating the meeting-house."

do "To Jonathan Gillett for warning pew men to meet the seaters to consider what to

"To Dea. Thomas Marshall, 5 days at 3s., seating the meeting-house,	15s.
"To John Palmer, Sen., 5 days " " "	15s.
"To Israel Stoughton, " " "	15s.
"To Capt. Moore, " " "	
"To Dr. Samuel Mather for part of a day seating the meeting-house, and a copy of the dignification,	
"The Socy is indebted to Eliakim Marshall for 19 dinners to seaters of the meeting-house, from Feb. 23, to March 18,	19s.
" " for drink,	4s. 4d."

¹ Dr. Samuel Mather (who was also one of the committee to "dignify the seats,") was permitted, by special vote of the society, to "have room to erect a pew from the Gallery stairs, going into the women's gallery, to extend to the South Guard, including one casement."

The seaters were especially instructed in the performance of their duty, to have due regard to age and estate, "none to be degraded," *i. e.*, none to be assigned to a seat less honorable than they had previously occupied. Also, "Voted, Those that have seats of their own granted are not to be seated nowhere else, except they resign up their seats to the Society."

Also voted, "That the sexters shall not seat the minister's pew."

"Voted to permit Isaac Skinner, Stephen Palmer and Enoch Drake to have liberty to make a pew over the women's stairs, provided they fill the said pew, and don't hinder the light."

December 30th, 1718. "As to the middle pew in the gallery, the Society voted that notwithstanding any former right any person had, by building or being settled in the aforesaid pew, the Society takes it into their own custody, to dispose of it as they shall think fit, allowing those persons what they shall think reasonable that built it."

"Vote 1, That the Society will give to the persons that built the pew in the gallery, 31s. for it."

The committee were ordered to seat it.

December 31, 1719. "Voted "that the pew next to the pulpit shall be for the use of Mr. Marsh's family and no other."

In the year 1724, the inhabitants of the Poquonock district were set off as a distinct parish, and the style of the "Society West of the River," is after this date changed, on the records, to the *Old*, or *First*, or *Middle* Society.

January 29, 1729. It was voted, that Deacon Thomas Marshall shall set the psalm on Sabbath day.

April 5, 1731. "Voted that this Meeting House shall be repaired, with new window frames, sash frame, and well glazed forthwith, and clab-boarded anew where it is needful; also that the under pinning be well repaired and the dormant windows, so called, taken down and the space fill'd up with boards and shingles."

At a subsequent meeting this vote was reconsidered, and it was ordered that "the meeting-house windows shall be made in the same form as they now are, and that the dormer windows be unchanged."

February 4, 1734-5. The society committee were instructed to "purchase a good suitable black broadcloth, which may be creditable to cover corpses withall when buried, and that the same be left with Mr. Thomas Filer, so that any person may know where to take it when any person is buried; and it is to be purchased on the society's cost, and the cloth to remain for the use aforesaid."

Also, "Voted, that the Society drum be fitted in good rig, and some person hired on the Society's cost to beat it on the Sabbath days."

About this time the meeting-house was seated anew, and it was ordered, "that each person is to be seated according to his age and rates."

¹ In the Town Records is a "Pewman's Bond," dated Dec. 19, 1718, which corresponds with the above. It was executed by Enoch Drake, John Stiles, Isaac Skinner, Nath. Allyn and Thos. Allyn, Jonathan Barber and Daniel Griswold, for the sum of £5 each. It bound "all and every one of them, their heirs and administrators, to well and truly pay, or cause to be paid, his or their ratable part of building a Pew, which we are now about to build in the gallery of the Meeting-House." None were to sell out their right, without the consent of all the rest; and none to sell it for more or less than its original cost. Matthew Allyn afterwards sold his right to his brother Thomas, and he to Simon Chapman.

and not to have any regard to anything else, but only no man to be seated lower than he is now seated."

In society expenses, the next year, are the following items :

- * John Wilson, for poll 28 1/2s.
- " " " to turning a pair of beamsticks, 6d.
- Josiah Allen for beating down.
- John " " " " " "

In 1756, or thereabouts, there seems to have been quite a commotion in various churches of the colony, occasioned by a *new fangled* method of singing, introduced by a certain Mr. Beal, and called *Singing by Rule*.¹ In the church of Windsor, its attempted introduction gave rise to much excitement, during which an amusing incident occurred, which is thus naively described on the Society Records by Henry Allyn, clerk :

July 24, 1756. At a society meeting at which Capt. Pelatiah Allyn was moderator, "The business of the meeting proceeded in the following manner, viz., the Moderator proposed to the consideration of the meeting in the 1st place what should be done respecting that part of Public worship called singing, viz. whether in their Public meetings as on Sabbath days, Lectures, &c. they would sing the way that Deacon Marshall usually sang in his lifetime, commonly called the 'Old Way,' or whether they would sing the way taught by Mr. Beal, commonly called 'Singing by Rule' and when the Society had discoursed the matter, the Moderator proposed to vote for said two ways as followeth, viz. that those that were for singing in public in the way practiced by Deacon Marshall should hold up their hands and be counted, and then that those that were desirous to sing in Mr. Beal's way, called "by Rule," would after show their minds by the same sign, which method was proceeded upon accordingly. But when the vote was passed, there being many voters, it was difficult to take the exact number of votes in order to determine on which side the major vote was, whereupon the Moderator ordered all of the voters to go out of the seats and stand in the alleys, and then that those that were for Deacon Marshall's [way] should go into the men's seats, and those that

¹ Rev. Thomas Walter, a minister of Roxbury, Mass., from 1718 to 1725, was one of the early movers toward this reform in church singing. The following is his testimony as to the condition of this part of public worship in his day.

"About the commencement of the eighteenth century, music had been so much neglected that few congregations could sing more than four or five tunes, and these few had become so mutilated, tortured, and twisted, that the psalm singing had become a mere disorderly noise, left to the mercy of every unskillful throat to chop and alter, twist and change, according to their odd fancy—sounding like five hundred tunes scored out at the same time, and so little in time that they were often one or two words apart, so hideous as to be bad beyond expression, and so drawling that we sometimes had to pause twice on one word to take breath, and the decline had been so gradual that the very confusion and discord seemed to have become grateful to their ears, while melody sung in tune and time was offensive, and when it was heard that tunes were sung by note, they argued that the new way, as it was called, was an unknown tongue, not melodious as the old—made disturbance in churches, was needless—a contrivance of the designing to get money, required too much time, and made the young disorderly, old way good enough."

A writer in the *New England Chronicle*, about the same time (i. e., in 1723, said, "Truly I have a great jealousy that if we once begin to sing by note, the next thing will be to pray by rule, and preach by rule, and then comes Popery."

were for Mr. Beal's way should go into the women's seats, and after many objection making just that way, which prevailed not with the Moderator, it was complied with, and then the Moderator desired that those that were of the mind that the way taught by Deacon Marshall as it was said would signify the same by holding up their hands, might be counted, and then the Moderator and myself went and counted the voters, and the Moderator asked me how many there was. I answered 42 and he said there was 63 or 64 and then we both counted again and agreed in the number being 43. Then the Moderator was about to count the number of votes for Mr. Beal's way of Singing called "By Rule," but it was offered whether it would not be better to order the voters to pass out of the meeting house door and there be counted, which method although by some objected against, was ordered by the Moderator, and those that were for Deacon Marshall's way of singing, as aforesaid, were ordered to pass out of the Meeting House door and there be counted, who did accordingly and their number was 44 or 45. Then the Moderator proceeded and desired that those that were for singing in Public the way that Mr. Beal taught, would draw out of their seats and pass out of the door and be counted, they replied they were ready to show their minds in any proper way where they were, if they might be directed thereto, but would not go out of the door to do the same, and desired that they might be led to a vote where they were, and they were ready to show their minds which the Moderator refused to do and thereupon declared that it was voted that Deacon Marshall's way of singing called the "Old Way," should be sung in Public for the future, and ordered me to record the same as the vote of the said Society, which I refused to do under the circumstances thereof, and have recorded the facts and proceedings."

At the next meeting in January, 1736-7, Deacon Marshall's method *was dropped*, and it was *voted*, that the Society would sing in their public meetings, for the year ensuing, one part of the day in the old way of singing, as it is called, and the other half of the day in the new way of singing, called singing by Rule."

At last came the triumph of the reformers.

"Feb. 1738-40. *Voted*, That the way of Singing in public shall be by the way or method commonly called singing by rule, or the way Mr. Beal taught this Society."

"*Voted*, That Deacon John Wilson tune the Psalm."

"*Voted*, That Deacon John Cook shall read the Psalm."

In the winter of 1740-1, occurred the famous revival of religion known as the Great Awakening. Commencing at Northampton under

¹ Rev. Timothy Edwards, of the Second Parish (East Windsor), in his private account book, thus writes concerning Mr. Beale, and seems to have favored his style of singing — indeed, took an active part in the reform. During the five months in which Mr. Beal and his son made Mr. Edwards' house their home, off-and-on, they visited Hartford, Springfield, Willington, and the west side of the river, undoubtedly about their singing business.

"March 13, 1727. Mr. George Beale and his son Matthew came to my house at noon, and went that day to Dinner, both of them, and at night to Supper, and Lay here that night and went to breakfast and dinner the next day; in y^e afternoon went to Hartford, viz. on Tuesday."

"March 17. Y^e both came again on Friday and Supped and Lodged here, and continued here until y^e next Tuesday after dinner and y^e went again in the afternoon to Hartford."

"March 24th. On Friday, in the evening y^e came again, Supped and Lodged here."

the preaching of the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, it extended throughout the breadth and length of New England until almost every church had partaken of its influences. The first parish in Windsor, under Mr. Marsh, was richly blest, as Mr. Edwards says, "about the same time as we in Northampton, while we had no knowledge of each other's circumstances; there has been a very great ingathering of souls to Christ in that place."¹ About this time the celebrated Whitfield preached, at least once in Windsor. The meeting-house, which at that time stood on the Palisado green, opposite Dr. Pierson's, was very large and had two galleries, yet it could not accommodate hundreds who came to listen to the burning eloquence of the man of God.

In 1747, the Rev. Jonathan Marsh, third pastor of this society, rested from his labors. He possessed great amiability of temper, with strong powers of mind; and fervid piety was happily blended with sound judgment. Tradition relates that not unfrequently, when the sands of the pulpit hour-glass had quite run out, he would turn it over, and preach almost to the end of the second hour. His life was one of laborious effort, and his ministry was attended with great success.

His monument, in the old cemetery at Windsor, bears the following truthful epitaph:

"Here lies interred the body of the Rev^d M^r JONATHAN MARSH, a faithful and successful Pastor of the first church of Windsor, who died Sept^r 8, 1747 in the 39th year of his Ministry. — *Etatis Sui 63 — Sic Transit Gloria Mundi.*"

The love and respect with which he had inspired his people, and their tender care for his family, is evinced in the following society votes:

and continued with us till Tuesday after dinner, viz. sometime in y^e afternoon went to Hartford.

"March 31. Y^e came again on Friday evening and continued here till Tuesday after dinner as before.

"And so Mr. Beale hath been here after the same manner ever since, with his son, only y^e week our Singing Lecture was, his son was here from the Friday night of the week before all y^e time to y^e next Thursday after dinner.

This was written May 9th.

"July 12. Mr. Beale and his son went in y^e forenoon to y^e West side of y^e River and came home in y^e evening."

But it is to be noticed that Mr. Beal's way, commonly called "Singing by Rule," did not prevail in the Windsor Society until twelve years after he tabernacled with Rev. Mr. Edwards, showing the existence of a strong, conservative force in this ancient parish. Under the new style, congregational singing in New England was greatly improved. Then, just before the Revolutionary War, Mr. William Billings arose — born in Boston, 1746, and accounted a great musical genius — who wrought a wondrous revolution. Under him came church choirs, fuging tunes, singing schools, the bass-viol, etc., etc. His music went through the churches like a fresh breeze." *Condensed* from Rev. Increase N. Tarbox's *Address on Singing Customs in New England Churches*, read at the Quarter-Millennial of Windsor Church, 1880.

¹ Jonathan Edwards's *Hist. of the Great Revival*.

"At a Meeting of the 1st or Old Society in Windsor lawfully warned and assembled in the Old Meeting House in Windsor on the first Monday of October, A D. 1737, to consider what we shall do under our sore and heavy bereavement, brought on us in the Death of our Late Rev^d Mr Jonathan Marsh, our pastor, voted, that Deacon John Wilson, Deacon John Cook, Ebenezer Hayden, Daniel Bissell, Jonathan Stiles, John Palmer, Jr., and Henry Allen, or the major part of them, be a Committee for this Society, to seek after and provide some meet Person to preach with us under our present circumstances."

"Voted, to raise £200 for the Gospel ministry, and to pay Mr. Marsh's heirs the balance of his salary."

The society, in April, 1748, voted, in consideration of the "late depression of our currency, and the charge of the decent Interment of the Rev. Mr. Jonathan Marsh, our late worthy Pastor, it is now voted to grant to his heirs £175 money, old Tenor, in addition to what has hitherto been granted."

During Mr. Marsh's ministry the church and parish had suffered further diminution by the separation of Poquemoek, and the establishment there of an independent church and society in 1724, and by a similar happening at Wintonbury (now Bloomfield) in 1739.

Shortly after his death, and before his successor had been decided upon, the society began to agitate the subject of a new meeting-house, and straightway became involved in one of those quarrels which—alas, for poor human nature!—are so frequent in New England churches, the matter in dispute being, as usual, the location of the new edifice. From the first settlement of the town, the meeting-house had stood on the Palisado Green, north of the rivulet. A rule, very generally recognized in locating churches, was to take the sum of the distances from each dwelling in the parish and to find the *common center*. "Thus in this case, the distance was measured from every house on the north side of the river

¹ In 1715, the society voted to give Rev. Mr. Marsh £70 this year; in 1718, £85 this year; in 1719, £90 this year; in 1720, £95 to be paid in money or grain; in 1721, £100 to be paid in money or grain; in 1722, £100 in money this year; in 1724, £110 in money this year; in 1727, £125 in money this year; in 1739, £130 in money this year; in 1735, £100 in money this year; in 1736, £165 in money this year; in 1737, £180 in money this year; in 1739, £190 in money this year; in 1740, £200 in money this year; in 1741, £200 and £30 for wood; in 1744, £240, he furnish wood; in 1745, £250, he furnish wood; in 1746, £260, old tenor.

The town of Windsor, by votes bearing date December 1713 and 1716, did give to the Rev. Jonathan Marsh sixty acres of land within the township of Windsor, which land was surveyed out to him in 1722.

In January, 1726, Mr. Marsh bought, for £36, of Daniel and Thomas White, six acres of land north of the rivulet. In April, 1736, Thomas Shepard, in consideration of a certain sum of money paid to him by Jonathan Stiles of Windsor, quitclaimed unto the Rev. Jonathan Marsh all his right and title to a certain piece of land in Windsor, containing seventy-five acres.

In May, 1740, Rev. Jonathan Marsh purchased a lot of seven acres on the west side of the Great River, thus showing him to have in possession at least 140 acres of land.

to the Meeting-house, and the sum of these distances added together; then the number of the houses multiplied by the distance from the meeting-house, *via* the ferry road, the ferry, thence to the David Rowland house, then south, thence west to the north end of Broad street, and the sum of these distances added to the former. Then the distances from all the houses on the south side to the north end of Broad street, and thence, *via* the ferry to the meeting-house, were measured, and it was found that the people on the north side could reach Broad street with less travel than those on the south side must travel to reach Palizado Green."—*J. H. Hoppen. Tradition* (*Per. Frederic Chapman*, b. 1760) says that a center thus obtained, measured by the usual path of those who resided in what is now the Fourth School District (the vicinity of the Old Mill) who usually came down a road through the Hollow Fall and crossed the Rivulet in their own boats, thirty or forty rods above the present railroad bridge, would have located the new meeting-house on the site of the old one; but those who lived south and west of the Rivulet claimed that those who lived in the old mill district should have their distances measured via the public highway and ferry, and by this strategetic move those south of the Rivulet finally carried the day, and the society in 1754 agreed to erect the new meeting-house on Broad street.¹

In 1755, the society appointed a building committee to build "where the County Court had set the stake"; in 1756, they voted that the house should be 60 feet by 45 and 24 feet in height. It was erected, as we learn from the date on its corner-stone (since inserted in the foundation of the present edifice) in 1757.²

¹ There is now in the town clerk's office a map which was drawn up at this time, and with special reference to this question of locating the meeting-house. From some notes on its margin we gather the following items:

The travel of the inhabitants on the <i>south</i> side of the Rivulet to Dr. Wolcott's	
(the house now occupied by the widow of Sidney Bowers), is	112 miles.
The travel from Dr. Wolcott's to the meeting-house, is	56 miles.
	<hr/> 168 miles.
The travel of the inhabitants on the <i>north</i> side of the Rivulet to the	
meeting-house, is	71 miles, 253 rods.
The travel from the meeting-house to Dr. Wolcott's, is,	39 miles.
	<hr/> 110 miles, 253 rods.

Making the travel of the south side people 58 miles, 253 rods more than that of those on the north side.

² Illustrative of the custom of the day to raise all needed funds, however insignificant, by taxation, we copy a vote of the first society to procure step-stones for the meeting-house (south side of the river), seven years after the house was first occupied:

1765. "Voted to raise two farthings on the pound on the poll and ratable estate of said society, as set in the list of 1764, for the payment of the step-stones, which the meeting-house committee had not money to pay up."

In January, 1758, the new meeting-house seems to have been nearly completed, for the society instructed the committee "to pull down the Old House, sometime in March or April next, and that it be applied for finishing the new"; and the new edifice, which stood where the academy since stood, in front of Widow Bowers's, was never quite finished.

April 28, 1758, the society voted, "to meet for worship in the future in the new meeting-house," and in July of the same year, it was voted "to give the Rev. Mr. Russell that timber that was picked out for a barn, out of the old meeting-house timber." There is little doubt that the tradition which points out Mr. Horace Ellsworth's barn as the veritable one built out of the timber of the old meeting-house, erected one hundred and six years ago, on Palisado Green, may be accepted as true.

The dissatisfaction, however, of those who lived north of the Rivulet, resulted, in 1759, in the securing of a legislative enactment, authorizing the formation of a distinct ecclesiastical society. This was done, and the *Seventh Society*, or the *Society in North Windsor*, as it was termed, erected an edifice on the west side of the road, about one and a quarter miles north of the Old Church, and nearly opposite the present residence of Mr. Hiram Buckland; and, in September, 1761, were by act of the Consociation of the North District of Hartford County, solemnly set apart as a distinct church of Christ. In October, 1765, a unanimous call was extended to the Rev. Theodore Hinsdale to become their pastor; and he entered upon his duties on the 30th of April following. He was a graduate of Yale College, in 1762, and a man of deep piety and excellent attainments.

But each of these societies were weak, and each lamented the other's perversity in refusing to cross the Rivulet. The First Society, from their house on the south side of that stream, in 1767, only five years after the organization of the (Seventh) society, sent out a pathetic appeal "to the 7th, or our brethren on the north side." Reviewing the successive steps of the disagreement which had alienated them, they allude to the event as one "which we then took to be a great misfortune to both, which experience proves to be true," and they continue, "if the north side will annex themselves to us, we will finish the meeting-house where it now stands at our own cost, within five years, and exempt the brethren on the north side from taxes to support the ministry for four years." This proposition shows that, after nine years occupation, their building was so far from being finished, that it would require five years more to complete it, and there is a tradition that it never was completed as originally proposed.

The only condition imposed upon the "7th Society" people by this offer, was that they should "freely and cordially" annex themselves and their public stock to the First Society; and that, in case of future divi-

sion, each were to have their own back again; and such property as should have been acquired after the reunion should be divided by the amount of their respective lists at the time of division. This proposition, however, was not accepted by the North Society, and the division continued for twenty-five years longer.

Meanwhile, the First Society remained without a pastor for four years after the death of the venerable Marsh. An invitation to a Mr. Graham, in 1740, and one to Mr. Joseph Fowler of Lebanon in 1750, were both declined. At length, in February, 1751, the society voted to call the Rev. WILLIAM RUSSELL, Jr., of Middletown. The call was accepted by him in person, in April following, and he was ordained July 24, 1751. The terms of his settlement, as per society vote, were, "To raise £1,600 to give to Mr. William Russell encouragement to settle with us in the work of the Gospel ministry: £800 to be raised on the list of 1750, the other £800 on the list of 1751. In addition to this an annual Salary of £67, Coined Silver money, at eight shillings per ounce, and a suitable supply of Fire-Wood."¹

The new pastor was the son of the Rev. William Russell of Middletown, Conn., and had graduated in 1745, at Yale College, in which institution he afterwards held the office of tutor. He came to the charge of the Windsor church at a peculiarly trying time, when the minds of the people had become unsettled by the want of a regular ministry, and by the contentions and divisions which were then agitating the parish in regard to the building of the meeting-house. Yet, so far as we can learn, he ruled his charge with mingled prudence and fidelity, and his intercourse with the Rev. Mr. Hinsdale and the new congregation was such as to secure their respect and affection.

April 19, 1775, the society were bereaved by the death of Mr. Russell. In the twenty-four years of his ministry, he had baptized 319, and admitted thirty-nine persons to the communion of the church. "Dur-

¹ In 1760, it was voted "to give Rev. William Russell, £13 as a pledge to be paid out of money now in Committee's hands"; in December, 1762, voted "To give Rev. William Russell Ten Pounds more than the original Covenant was, for the ensuing year." In December, 1763, a similar for £12; October, 1768, salary for ensuing year, £67 8s. *id.* "Voted to get Mr. Russell's Wood by a spell of sledding." In 1774, voted "Mr. Russell's salary £57 8s. 7d., and £12 for wood, *if he will get it himself.*" In 1753, Dea. Samuel sold him two pieces of land, one of about 1½ acres in the Palisado [Mrs. Anson Loomis place 1891] on the westerly side of the old meeting house; the other of 5½ acres, near Kettle Brook. In 1771, his second wife, Abigail Newberry, bought an acre in the Great Meadow. In May, 1775, the society voted, "That the Society Committee let out the Church land and Town Lot, reserving so much of said land as to keep one Cow for Mr. Russell's children if they should keep house here this Summer, or hire it to be kept, if that should be thought best." Mr. Russell had died during the preceding month.

ing his pastorate, there was a shower of divine grace by which twenty of the above number were added (*Ms. Church Rec.*). His loss was felt not only by the people of his own charge, but by the town; and the attendance upon his funeral gave evidence of a sorrow as widespread as it was heartfelt. He was buried on the same day on which the news of the battle of Lexington was received at Windsor.

Note on Military Affairs.—The office of sergeant-major, created in 1672, and the highest military office in each county, was held in Hartford County by Roger Wolcott of Windsor, in 1724. In 1702, Windsor had three companies of infantry, or "train-bands," one of which was located east of the Connecticut River.

In 1737, Maj. Roger Wolcott's command was called a regiment, but strictly was not so. It contained *forty-seven* companies of Infantry, numbering 3,489 men and *two* of horse, 196 men. Windsor contributed *seven* companies, under Captains Henry Allyn, Peletiah Allyn, Joseph Phelps, John Ellsworth, Thomas Griswold, and Lieuts. Daniel Ellsworth and Peletiah Mills.

In 1739, regimental organizations were first regularly established, and thirteen regiments, each commanded by a colonel, were formed. Windsor, which was included in the First Regiment of Hartford County, has been commanded by the following Windsor men:

1724-41, Maj. and Col. ROGER WOLCOTT; 1777-85, Col. ROGER NEWBERRY; 1792-95, Lt.-Col. OLIVER MATHER; 1815-18, Col. JAMES LOOMIS; 1829-33, Col. WILLIAM HAYDEN (a native of East Windsor, though a resident of Hartford).

In 1741, a troop of horse was authorized for each regiment; in 1776, five troop of light horse were formed out of the then twenty-four regiments of militia. The militia system was radically changed in December, 1776, divisions and brigades being then first organized, and the First Regiment came into the First Brigade. In 1872, there were twenty-seven militia regiments in the State, Windsor being in the 1st, and East Windsor in the 19th Regiment, in which they have since remained.

CHAPTER XV.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY—WINDSOR THIRD, OR POQUONOCK SOCIETY.

1724—1841.

THAT portion of Windsor known as Poquonock¹ was settled about 1649, at which time Edward Griswold and his sons, Francis and George (both grown to manhood), Thomas Holcomb, and John Bartlett (the "rivulet" ferryman of 1648) were living here. See p. 80. These first settlers of Poquonock, in view of their exposed condition, "and nearness to the Indians," had one man on training day excused by the General Court from the military duty exacted from other settlers of Windsor. Gradually the little community increased in numbers, and its inhabitants still worshiped with the old church at Windsor, of which some became members. Benajah Holcomb, George Griswold,² and wife Mary, Joseph Griswold, Hester, wife of Josiah Phelps, and Nathan Gillett, Senr, united with the Windsor Church between 1685 and 1700. Of the original Windsor families, fourteen became subsequently well represented in Poquonock, viz.: *Barber, Clark, Cook, Denslow, Gillet, Griswold, Hillger, Holcomb, Loomis, Marshall, Moore, Palmer, Pinney, Phelps.* Oliver Ellsworth, Jr.'s, MSS., 1802, says: "One part of Powanok [Poquonock] was settled by the Welch, for, within the memory of those living, this Powanok was called 'Wales,' and a certain fishing place on the Little River was named *Breakneck*, after (probably) Breakneck in Wales."

As early as 1717 the inhabitants were allowed by the Old Society,

¹ The Indian name Poquonock, variously spelled, denotes "cleared land," that is, a tract of land from which trees and bushes have been cleared, to fit it for cultivation — *Trumbull's Indian Names in Conn.* In 1882, Mr. C. B. Tourtellote, postmaster of Poquonock, made a list of *forty* different ways of spelling the name, on letters received at that office within twelve months.

² One line of George Griswold's descendants owned the place now occupied by Mr. Samuel L. Smith. The old brick house west of Mr. Smith's was built probably by a grandson of George, Lt. John Griswold, born in 1712. A part of the brick of its walls were brought from England. It was considered an old house a hundred years ago.

³ "Wales" lies at the foot of the falls on the east side of the river, and was so named because John Owen, a Welchman, was the first settler there. He was in Windsor 1650, or earlier; lived about twenty years on the road leading west from the Falls, and the family removed to his land below Strawberry Meadow. His house stood where the late Nathaniel Owen lived, and where Nathaniel's daughter, "Aunt Esther," the last of the Owens of Wales, died, about 1855. Breakneck is not in that locality. H.

to which they still belonged, the sum of £4 for *schooling* their own children; but, though the distance to Windsor Church was felt to be an increasing hardship, several years elapsed before they attempted to secure for themselves the benefits of an independent church organization.

In January, 1723-4, however, at a meeting of Windsor West, or Old Society, it was "voted, that the inhabitants of Poquonock, with the people adjacent, viz., as far as Peter Brown, Jr.'s, inclusive, and Thomas Thralls exclusive, shall be freed from paying to the ministry here in proportion to such time as they shall hire an orthodox minister among them that shall preach." By the same vote, the Old Society released the following inhabitants of Poquonock, on the south side of the Rivulet, from paying ministerial taxes:

John Brown,	David Griswold,
John Brown, Jr.,	Lt. Daniel Griswold,
Jonathan Brown,	Edward Griswold,
Peter Brown,	Joseph Griswold,
Hester Barber,	Sgt. Benajah Holcomb,
Benjamin Barber,	Wid. Martha Holcomb,
Wid. Martha Barber,	Joseph Holcomb,
Nathaniel Griswold,	Benjamin Moore,
Peletiah Griswold,	Sgt. Joseph Barnard,
Ens. Thomas Griswold,	Wid. Hannah Phelps,
Thomas Griswold, Jr.,	William Phelps, Jr.,
Sgt. John Griswold,	Josiah Phelps,
Daniel Griswold, Jr.,	Lt. Nathaniel Pinney,
Matthew Griswold,	Nathaniel Pinney, Jr.,
Ens. George Griswold,	David Marshall,
Francis Griswold,	

Their list of estates for 1723 amounted to £1,570 10s.

On the north side of the Rivulet,

Sgt. Benjamin Griswold,	Thomas Phelps,
Benjamin Griswold, Jr.,	Enoch Phelps,
Nathan Gillet, Sr.,	David Phelps,
Isaac Gillet,	Samuel Phelps,
Obadiah Owen,	Sgt. John Phelps,
Nathaniel Owen,	Stephen Winchell,
Ephraim Phelps,	

Their list of estates for 1723 amounted to £590 11s.

In May, 1724, the Poquonock people made a formal application to the Assembly for incorporation as a distinct society. This petition states that they number forty families, most of whom are four miles distant from the Old Society meeting-house; and that they have a "difficult river to pass" in going there. The assembly granted their request, and they, in October, 1724, were duly incorporated as the *Third Society* in Windsor.

At the same time their bounds were extended, which much "grieved" the Old Society, who petitioned in vain for a reconsideration.

The new society, by vote of April, 1725, called Mr. Daniel Fuller of Wethersfield; and after a trial accepted him as their pastor, and appointed a day for settling him. From some unexplained cause, however, they suddenly dropped him. Whereupon (Oct., 1726), the discomfited minister, then a resident of Wethersfield, petitioned the assembly for redress, claiming that he was put to much inconvenience and expense, as he had been at Poquonock for a year, and had moved his family there. The Society denied that they had wronged him; but a committee, appointed by the assembly, decided that they had not treated him well, and must pay him £50 damages. This verdict the Society petitioned against, but found no relief.

Of the real causes of dissatisfaction between pastor and people we are ignorant, with the exception of the little light that is shed upon the case by the following amusing affidavit:

"May, 1727. Cornelius Brown [a deacon in the Poquonock church] testifieth that when Mr. Daniel Fuller was at Poquonock, I was one of them that sought for his settlement in y^e work of y^e ministry there, but perceiving great uneasiness amongst y^e people in that affair, and particularly at y^e shortness of his sermons, I prayed Mr. Fuller to apply himself to his work, and lengthen out his sermons, that if possible he might gain disaffected persons. Mr. Fuller replied that he did not concern himself about it, if they were but orthodox they were long enough for Poquonock.

— Cornelius Brown."

In 1727, the Poquonock Church erected their church edifice, south of the present "old meeting-house," on the west side of the road, and south of Mrs. Niles' present garden. Stones from the old foundation have been plowed up within a few years past. It stood for seventy years, serving the congregation during and beyond the ministry of all its pastors.

Their first pastor (1727) was Rev. JOHN WOODBRIDGE, son of Rev. John of West Springfield, Mass., and fifth of a line of Johns of that name.² He graduated at Yale College, 1726; was probably ordained here 1727 or 1728; was dismissed from here in 1736 (*Dexter's Annals of Yale College* says, "probably 1737") and removed to Suffield, his wife's home. In 1742, he was installed at South Hadley, Mass., where he labored until his death, 10th Sept., 1783, his last years being full of in-

¹ Rev. DANIEL (S. THOS.) FULLER, b. Dedham, Mass., 20 April, 1699; grad. Y. C. 1721, studied theol., and in 1728 was ord. pastor of the ch., org., 1727, in the new township of Willington, Conn., where he gained a precarious living until his death, of small-pox, 6 Dec., 1758. He was, theologically, a "New Light." He m. 7 Aug., 1723, Lucy (d. Jonathan and Abigail Crafts) Goodwin of Wethersfield, Conn.; had four sons, four daus.; inventory, £254, included abt. 25 vols. of books.—*Dexter's Annals of Yale College*.

² And his grandson, Rev. John Woodbridge, D.D., formerly of Hadley, Mass., d. about 1870, aged 85.

firmities. He bore the character of "a prudent and blameless pastor, and a sound and evangelical preacher." In April, 1730, he purchased at Poquonock a homestead of thirty acres and a house; this residence was on the site of John E. Griswold's present dwelling; his neighbor on the south, near Mr. William Barnes' present residence, was Benjamin Barber; on the west, Lieut. Nathaniel Pinney; east, land of Barber and of Daniel Griswold, Jr., of whom Mr. Woodbridge bought.

Of the organization and membership of his church, but little can be gathered.¹ George Griswold, and Mary, his wife, had died before its organization; but Benajah Holcomb, who had united with the Windsor Church forty years before, may have been dismissed to the new church. Nathan Gillett was probably a member, and Cornelius Brown, who died 1747, aged 75 years, was a deacon.

Old papers evidence that the pulpit was supplied during the summer of 1738 by a Mr. Rockwell, probably "Dr. and Rev." Matthew Rockwell of East Windsor.

In January, 1740, the Rev. SAMUEL TUDOR of East Windsor was settled as the second pastor. He was born *Sam^l Tudor* in Windsor 1705, graduated at Yale College 1728, and for twelve years preached in various localities. At one time he supplied the Fourth Church in Guilford, Conn.; in 1734 he was in the Highlands near the Hudson River, and was mentioned in the New York papers as having been pursued by robbers near Fishkill, August 12th. About the same time, also, he preached at Goshen, N. Y., and the congregation there applied to the Presbyterian Synod to send a committee to ordain him. The committee which was sent, assigned Mr. Tudor a Latin exegesis and a popular sermon on Rom. xi. 6. But he was not ordained there, and his character and scholarship were such as to suggest that the difficulty must have been in some doctrinal difference between the candidate and his examiners. The text assigned renders this not improbable.²

Mr. Tudor was a gentleman of very high classical attainments, a faithful and beloved pastor, and a sincere follower of his Master. He died Sept. 21, 1757, aged 52, and was interred in the Old Burial Ground of East (now South) Windsor, where not long before he had removed his family to a farm. His death was caused by "camp-distemper," or dysentery, communicated from his son Theophilus, who contracted it in Canada during a French war campaign, and who died of it after his re-

¹ No paper, or record of Mr. Woodbridge's ministry has been found, except his autograph on two documents, one of which is a receipt, dated April 13, 1736, for £118 9s. on account of his salary for that year.

² Dexter's *Annals of Yale College*.

our home, Sept. 10, 1757, as also did a sister, who died two days before. The Rev. Mr. Tudor was father of the celebrated surgeon, Dr. Elihu Tudor of East Windsor. His residence in Poquonock was just north of the present dwelling of Mr. Cyrus Phelps, where he purchased in 1741, from Stephen Palmer, his next neighbor north being Nathaniel Griswold.

His death was followed by a season of trouble and disquietude. The people were divided in their wishes and opinions: some opposing the settlement of a minister, because they doubted if they could properly support one, while others desired a dissolution of the Society. During this period the Revs. Asahel Hathaway, Ebenezer Guild, and Oliver Noble, a former pastor of Coventry, Conn., were among the occasional supplies obtained at long intervals. In August, 1763, a meeting of the Society was called to invite a Mr. Collins to the pastorate. Three years later, September, 1766, a meeting was called to see if a man should be employed as a candidate. Three years later still, November, 1769, a Mr. Church of Springfield was paid 20s. for preaching.

Separatists, also, "attending on what they call laymen extraordinarily qualified to preach," became a disturbing element in this parish, as elsewhere. Petitions to the Assembly to be annexed to Wintonbury parish, or to the Old Society; applications to associations and councils, and committees, whose decisions always failed to give satisfaction to the inflamed prejudices of the disputants, followed each other with ceaseless rapidity, but all to no purpose.

The only knowledge we have is the following document (for which we are indebted to Mr. Elihu Marshall of Poquonock), dated in 1771, fourteen years after Mr. Tudor's death:

"We the Subscribers members of y^e Second Society of Windsor Reflecting on the Melancholy state of s^d Society in this Very great Particular viz our having for a Long time and still Continuing to be Destitute of a settled minister & some part of y^e time without a preached Gospel among us and also Reflecting on y^e great Improbability of ever being able to bring about y^e settlement of a Gospel minister in y^e Common & ordinary way y^t y^e Gospel is settled and supported in other Societys: and also being sensible of y^e Solemn obligations y^t are upon us to support y^e Gospel in a Regular and Honourable way & manner in Tenderness to our own souls & those of our Children & friends & for y^e promoting outward good order among us have agreed to make one Effort more for the Quiet and peaceable Settlement & Support of y^e Gospel, hereafter in s^d Society, y^t is to say y^e Supporting a sound orthodox Dissenting Congregational or presbyterian Minister, & whereas it appears [to be the most] likely method to bring s^d

y^e same quietly to maintain & support (also being of opinion y^t Sixty Pounds Law[full money per annum] salary a suffici[nt] sum to sup[port] & maintain a Gospel Minister among us) this is to Bind [ourselves] to pay according to y^e proportion we Shall Hereunto with our names annex according to List with those y^t hereunto annex their names y^e whole of our proportion according to our Lists. In consideration of what is above written we promise to pay our several proportions as Subscribed Hereunder to a Com^{ty} we shall appoint for y^e use above said when & so long as a Gospel minister remains settled among us & to be by s^d Com^{ty} levied & Collected p^r

annum for y^e use & benefit by a rate or Tax made on all y^e members of s^d Society & Collected in y^e usual way & manner as Done heretofore.

"In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands this 14th day of January Anno Domini 1771

Isaac Pinney,	Ezekiel Clark
Edward Barnard,	Joseph Alford,
Hez. Griswold,	Timothy Phelps, Jr.,
Geo. Griswold, Jr.,	Elisha Phelps,
Simoon Moore,	Isaac Griswold,
Reuben Denslow,	Isaac Phelps, 3d,
John Phelps, 1 st ,	John Phelps,
Francis Griswold,	Isaac Phelps,
Aaron Griswold,	John Griswold,
Samuel Holcomb,	Martin Holcomb,
Nath. Griswold,	Matt ^w Griswold,
Nathaniel Owen, Jr.,	Alex ^r Griswold,
William Phelps,	Moses Griswold,
Edward Griswold, Jr.,	Phin's Griswold,
Abel Wright,	Noah Griswold,
John Ross,	Thomas Griswold,
Joab Griswold,	Moses Griswold, Jr.,
Geo. Griswold,	Alven Owen "

It may be noted here, that comparing this list with that of half a century before, we find the *new* names of *Wright*, *Ross*, and *Alford*.

(From this point until the present time, we present the history of the Poquonock Church, as given, from authorities not attainable by us when we published the first edition of our history, in the Rev. N. G. Bonney's *Centennial Sermon*.)¹

The result of this effort was that the following spring Mr. DAN FOSTER of Stafford was invited to become pastor of the Poquonock Church, and was ordained at the meeting-house then standing south of Mrs. Niles's present residence, June 12, 1771. His father, Rev. Isaac Foster, the pastor at Stafford, preached the sermon, which was published.

We have better means of informing ourselves concerning the third pastor of Poquonock and his ministry than of either of the others. Men and women are living who, in other parishes, saw Mr. Foster and heard him preach. The church book kept by him has survived the extinction of his church.

The church numbered twenty-four on the day of Mr. Foster's ordination, all of whom had either reached or passed middle life. It was substantially the church which Tudor left, diminished only by the death of some. The following were the twenty-four members of the Poquonock Church one hundred years ago:

¹ *Centennial Sermon, commemorating the Settlement of Rev. Dan Foster, Last Pastor of the old Poquonock Church, preached in Poquonock by Rev. N. G. Bonney, June 11, 1871.*

Edw. & I Griswold, Sr.
 William Phelps, died Sept. 22, 1775.
 Dea. John Phelps, died Sept. 4, 1777.
 Isaac Phelps.
 Dea. Joseph Barnard.
 James Phelps.
 Edward Barnard.
 Galeon Case, died 1800.
 Matthew Griswold, died Jan. 19, 1776.
 Abigail Griswold.
 Ruth Griswold.
 Zerniah Griswold.

Mary Phelps.
 Anne Phelps.
 Jerusha Phelps.
 Sarah Griswold.
 Ruth Palmer.
 Jerusha Palmer.
 Mabel Barnard.
 Elizabeth Barnard.
 Ruth Griswold.
 Elizabeth Griswold.
 Hannah Barber.
 Mindwell Griswold.

To these names Mr. Foster adds eight others upon the first page of records: Samuel and Bathsheba Holcomb, William and Lucy Britain, Nathaniel and Mary Owen, Rebecca Walkley Foster (the pastor's wife), and Sarah Phelps, wife of Dea. John. The latter died Sept. 4, 1777.

Six others appear to have united with the church previously to its adoption in 1775 of the "half-way covenant." Their names were: James and Anna Rogers (slaves of Lt. Noah Griswold), Thomas Negro, Cato Rogers, Zacheus Leonard, and Hezekiah Griswold. The last was chosen deacon of the church after the death in 1777 of Dea. John Phelps. James Rogers died May 9, 1776.

At a meeting of the church, held August 20, 1775, it was

"Voted, 1st, that all baptized persons are members of the Christian Church, and subjects of the golly discipline, with and care of the same, and that it is the incumbent duty of the church to treat them as such.

"2d. That this church does approve of, and cheerfully consent to what was recommended concerning the discipline of the church and of all baptized persons in particular by the General Association of the consecrated churches, in the Colony of Connecticut, convened by delegation at the house of the Rev. Daniel Welch, in Mansfield, June 21st, 1774, and that we chuse a Com^{tee} for the purpose mentioned by y^e General Association in their 4th article or advice."

October 27th of that year, a meeting was held which unanimously elected for their committee or elders for the purposes aforesaid, the deacons, John Phelps and Joseph Barnard, Capt. Hezekiah Griswold, and Mr. Nathaniel Owen, Jr.

After the adoption of this "half-way covenant," the following persons were admitted to full communion, namely:

May 20, 1776,	Martin and Hannah Pinney.
June 16, "	Thomas Griswold.
March 1, 1778,	James and Susannah Wilson.
" " "	Isaac Phelps, 3d, and Lydia his wife.
August 30, 1778,	Abia (wife of Elihu) Mather.
April 4, 1779,	Sarah Barnard.
" " "	Mary and Medusa Holcomb, daughters of Lieut. Martin.
" " "	Elihu and Mary Griswold.
" 29, 1781,	Rosannah Griffin.
May 20, "	wid. Elizabeth Phelps.

It thus appears, from the records, that twenty-nine united with the church during Mr. Foster's ministry, twenty-five by profession, four by letter. At least twelve of the twenty-four died at an advanced age during Mr. Foster's ministry.

Of those added to the church, at least two, Mrs. Foster and widow Elizabeth Phelps, died previously to his dismissal. Thomas Griswold, who married Rhoda Tudor, daughter of the former pastor, died in 1805. While her husband joined the church she appears not to have made a profession of religion. The last member of the church, Nathaniel Owen, died, according to the date upon his tombstone, in 1821, aged 90. Two of his grandsons, one a clergyman, the other a lawyer, were a few years since men of reputation in New York. The clergyman, John J. Owen, D.D., was the editor of several standard classical works, and of a commentary upon the New Testament. Hezekiah Owen, father of the divine, left Poquonock in 1792, soon after united with the Congregational church in Colebrook, Connecticut, and afterward removed to Kingsboro, N. Y. A son of the minister, of the fourth generation from Nathaniel Owen, is also a lawyer in New York city.

Rev. Dan Foster was dismissed from Poquonock Oct. 23, 1783, the last two or three years of his pastorate having been years of friction with his people.

It is important to know whether those thirty-six parishioners of Poquonock succeeded in their attempt of 1771:—whether they found in Mr. Foster “a sound orthodox Dissenting Congregational or Presbyterian Minister.” There is no doubt that Mr. Foster, and his father, who preached the sermon at his ordination, both sustained the reputation of an orthodox minister. Mr. Foster not only came as an evangelical preacher, but he for several years zealously advocated evangelical doctrines. The following sentences, copied from his own record, form the close of Mr. Foster's address to an excommunicated person, Feb. 15, 1778:

“Nevertheless, we shall not cease to pray for you, that God would have mercy on you, and prevent you in your course of folly and great wickedness, by his Holy Spirit and grace. Take heed, we admonish you, lest being thus bound on earth, you be bound also in heaven, to your eternal shame and perdition. We leave you in the hands of God, whose bowels of mercy towards repenting, returning sinners, are infinite, but whose wrath and vengeance towards hardened and persisting sinners are dreadful, and will burn to the lowest hell.

Signed,

“DAN FOSTER, *Pastor.*”

Three years later, namely, in 1781, Rev. Isaac Foster at West Stafford, father of the Poquonock pastor, in consequence of embracing and preaching Universalist views, was deposed from the ministry. The church at Stafford was greatly divided. A large minority adhered to the deposed minister. Dan Foster, brought up there, seems to have retained

his connection with that church. At all events, his name does not appear as a member here. He still communed with that church. This fact came to the notice of his brethren in the ministry. He was called to account by the North Association of Hartford County, of which body he was a member. The last item of business, at their meeting of Oct. 5, 1784, a year after Mr. Foster's dismissal, is the following — I quote from the records, as copied by Mr. J. H. Hayden :

"Mr. Dan Foster moved to this body for a recommendation as a regular Christian and Minister. Upon which this Association proposed to him several things, by way of inquiry as to his sentiments relative to his belonging to the church in West Stafford, as to terms of communion, and also relative to his communing with them in special ordinances. His answers not giving satisfaction, or appearing well to coincide with his published sentiments,¹ this Association are of the opinion that the way is not clear at present to grant his request, and therefore propose that the whole matter be deferred to farther consideration at their meeting Jan. next, at which time they will be ready to pay a farther attention to it; provided, Mr. Foster shall then and there appear to desire a farther conference."

The Association met at Windsor, June 7, 1785.

"Rev. Dan Foster, formerly of Poquonock, a Parish in Windsor, requested again a letter of recommendation as a minister of the gospel of Jesus Christ from said Association. As the said Foster was examined in a formal manner two years ago, June, 1783, and professed his belief of the doctrines of the gospel, called Calvinistic, and now before the same body affirms himself solemnly to be of the same sentiments, in this view the Association, considering in his honesty, think they may recommend him to be employed as a regular gospel minister in the church of our Lord where Providence may call him."

Three times he was before the Association when his soundness was in question, the first time a few months previously to his dismissal here. He endeavored to remove the suspicion that had fallen upon him. He valued and took pains to secure credentials from Calvinistic ministers. Therefore he could not have preached Universalism while at Poquonock. Had he done so, the record of the Association in regard to him would have been shorter than it was, and different.

Mr. Foster was next installed pastor of the Congregational Church in Weathersfield, Vt., in 1787. This fact would indicate that he made use of the recommendation, hesitating as it was, of the Hartford North Association. He won the reputation in Weathersfield of an evangelical and a powerful preacher. For several years he gave general satisfaction. But after a long time he appeared "to swerve from the evangelical faith to Universalism." He became loose in observing the Sabbath. This change occasioned his dismissal, which occurred in 1799.

He went the same year to Charlestown, N. H., preaching there a funeral sermon at the death of General Washington, but he was not installed there. He declared himself a Universalist, but the condition of

¹ Tradition says that he published a book.

the church in that town was such that he supplied their pulpit for the most part, during the remaining years of his life. He died October, 1809, and was buried in his last field of labor.

In both of his last parishes he kept a classical school and fitted young men for college. He had himself never graduated at college, but his classical attainments and his scholarly reputation were such, early in his ministry, that Yale and Dartmouth colleges the same year (1774) conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts. Mr. Foster's dwelling in Poquonock stood where Mr. W. Scott Loomis' house has since been built. He bought the house and four or five acres of land of Abel Wright, and sold to Frederick Winthrop. The house was afterwards burned to the ground; and in the flames perished an apprentice boy employed by Winthrop. Mr. Foster also owned forty acres of land on Tinker's farm, as it was called, including land which Mr. Salisbury now owns. Isaac Griswold was the purchaser from Mr. Foster of that lot.

The third pastor of Poquonock is remembered by old people in his later parishes as small in stature, but portly, gentlemanly in manners, a good man, an able classical teacher, a powerful preacher.

The church and society here were left by their last pastor in an unhappy condition. They did not rally from the effects of their altercations with him sufficiently to procure another pastor. It is understood that the Universalists became a majority in the Society, seized the meeting-house (built about 1800) and the funds of the Society, and used both for their purposes.

They had, however, occasional preaching. Rev. Elam Potter, pastor of the Congregational church at Enfield from 1769 to 1776, preached here at intervals. Mr. Marshall states that after the building of the second meeting-house, in 1796, the association supplied its pulpit one year. Later still, about the year 1806, Rev. David Austin preached there a year. But the church continued to diminish until 1821; with the death of its last member, it vanished away. Yet a few Christians had their abode in Poquonock. Mrs. Rowland of Windsor, now over ninety years of age, resided here from 1816 to about the year 1822. At that time Christian men came from Hartford to hold religious meetings. These meetings were sometimes held with the Rowlands at the old public house, and sometimes with the family of Mr. William Soper, who, with his wife, Rebecca, had joined this church at its formation.

Among those who came from Hartford were the late Norman Smith, Governor W. W. Ellsworth, and Anson Gleason, afterwards a missionary to the Choctaw Indians. Edward Beecher once preached in those times in the old schoolhouse. "Father Gleason records that one of the most earnest and faithful laborers in Poquonock within the period referred to was Albert Judson, student at Yale and teacher at Windsor. Mr.

Gleason studied with Rev. Luke Wood, who taught a private school in this parish. He further writes, "We used to think the Rowland family a kind of lighthouse there. There is a kind of charm to me," he says, "in speaking to any interested person about that old place where, if ever I prayed in earnest, it was there." Mr. Gleason was a member of Dr. Hawes' church in Hartford, as were also several others who conducted the meetings.

"But these efforts were no equivalent for the preached word. The loss to Poquonock in the absence for fifty years of a vigorous church with its stated ministry, was beyond comprehension. Even the pecuniary loss a million dollars would scarcely supply. Time was when men in need of capital, men from Windsor and from Simsbury, came to Poquonock to borrow. Here was the wealth of old Windsor, wealth which had been accumulated when the gospel here was in high repute.

"The loss in morals, for example through intemperance, the loss in education, in public spirit, in all that elevates society, the loss in Christian character, in consequence of the past scarcity of God's word here, was incalculable. Had the church been upheld, had it been kept vigorous, society, improvements, business, every interest of this community would have been widely different for the two and three generations past from what they have been. The present church, the growth of a single generation, can never repair the damage which Poquonock has sustained. A church cannot go back and cancel the old mistakes of a community."

Congregational preaching was kept up at Rainbow from 1835-1841, and 2d of June of the latter year a church of forty members was formed at Poquonock, the sermon on the occasion being by Rev. Dr. Hawes, of Hartford, from text Psalms lxxiv. 22.

CHAPTER XVI.

ECCLESIASTICAL—WINTONBURY PARISH, OR FIFTH SOCIETY IN WINDSOR (NOW BLOOMFIELD).

1734-1891.

AS to the time when, or by whom, that portion of Old Windsor formerly known as "Greenfield," then as "Wintonbury Parish," and now as the town of Bloomfield, was first settled, we have no very definite data.¹ Barber, in his *Hist. Coll. of Conn.*, says that "at the period of the first settlements on the Connecticut River the Windsor people sent out a number of men to explore the tract since named Wintonbury. These men returned and reported that there was good land sufficient for the maintenance of *three* families." It is scarcely probable, however, that this exploration could have been at the "period of the *first* settlements."

By 1734, however, the inhabitants of this outlying territory had so increased in numbers as to be desirous and able to support, partially at least, a gospel ministry in their midst. And the Assembly, at the May session of that year, received a petition, signed by twenty-seven residents of the district known as "Messenger's Farms," in the southwest part of Windsor (now called Old Farms), praying that they might be allowed "winter privileges." This, in view of the distance (six miles) from the house of worship of the North Society in Windsor, was deemed a reasonable request, and "winter privileges" were granted them from the first of November to the last of March, and for two years.² At the end of

¹ Edward Messenger and his son-in-law, "Peter Mills the Dutchman," were among the first, if not the first, to settle at "Messenger Farms." Messenger bought his land in 1661, and, in 1666, deeded to Peter Mills "as a free gift" twenty acres, "whereon he has builded." H.

² Names of petitioners:—

Thomas Rowel,	Solomon Clark,	David Grant,
Robert Walley,	Zebulon Hoskins,	Nath'l Cook,
Robert Barrett,	Isaac Skinner,	John Soper,
Isaac Brown,	Enoch Drake, Jr.,	Alex. Hoskins,
David Brown,	2 Daniel Mills,	Joseph Hoskins,
Peter Mills,	David Buttolph,	Anthony Hoskins,
John Loomis,	— Abel Giller,	Isaac Eggleston,
Jonathan Brown,	John Hubbard,	Daniel Eggleston,
Peletiah Mills,	Moses Cadwell	John Eggleston,

this time, during which they probably hired a minister and maintained regular worship, another petition was presented to the Assembly, May, 1736, by thirty-one persons in Windsor, with twelve in Simsbury and eight in Farmington, who were similarly situated, and earnestly praying for "parish" privileges. Accordingly, in October, 1736, a parish was set off, bounded on the north by Simsbury and Windsor Third (Poquonock) Society; east by Windsor First Society; south by Windsor and Hartford, and west by Farmington and Simsbury. Of this parish, which was nearly four miles square, about seven-tenths lay in Windsor, one-tenth in Farmington, and two-tenths in Simsbury, and it was named in consequence from the towns of which it was composed — WINTON-BURY.¹

The first society meeting was held November 16, 1736, at which it was unanimously voted to build a meeting-house and hire a preacher. They informed the Assembly at its next session, May, 1737, that they had voted to erect their meeting-house on the east side of Wash Brook; but fearing that they might intrude upon the prerogatives of the legislature in the matter, they requested the appointment of a committee to locate the said meeting-house. The desired committee was appointed, and located the meeting-house near the bank of the hill, about twenty rods from the center of the parish, and the site was duly approved by the Assembly. This edifice — 45 by 35 feet — was "a plain, barn-like structure, unpainted, with no steeple or the slightest mark to distinguish it as a church. Swallows made their homes in the rafters, and squirrels so abounded that it soon became necessary for the safety of the pulpit cushions to keep them over at the tavern between Sundays. A hewn log lay along the middle aisle beside the raised pews for the little children, who generally came barefoot in the summer time; and from this they would rise deferentially and "make their manners" as the minister walked among them to the pulpit. The square pews, straight-backed and high, were annually assigned to the attendants, according to rank and age. In the gallery was a high pew, set apart for colored persons. The tithing-man, from his post in the Singers' Seat, kept watch over the demeanor of young and old, and not seldom some playful or weary urchin was rapped with his long stick, or pointed out to notice, or even treated with harsher measures. All the men sat on one side of the church, and all the women on the other. East of the church a great horseblock of hewn logs stood ready to receive from their saddles and pillions those who had come mounted."² This building was never fully finished.

¹ The act creating this society also created three others, viz.: Salmon Brook (now Granby); Turkey Hill (now East Granby), and Simsbury, and was the termination of a bitter controversy of a dozen years relating to the site for the second meeting house in Simsbury. — *See Phelps' Hist. Simsbury.*

² Mrs. E. S. Warner in *Memo. Hist. Hartford Co.*

A church consisting of 67 members (31 males and 36 females) was organized on the 14th of February, 1738, and on the next day the Rev. HEZEKIAH BISSELL was ordained as its pastor, on which occasion the Rev. Jonathan Marsh of Windsor preached from 2d Corinthians, iii. 6; the Rev. Samuel Whitman of Farmington gave the charge, and the Rev. Benjamin Colton of West Hartford the right hand of fellowship.

The names of these original members, as copied from the Rev. Mr. Bissell's Mss. record, are:

Isaac Butler and wife,	David Grant,
Daniel Foot and wife,	Nathan Burr,
Thomas Adams and wife,	Job Drake,
Robert Barnett and wife,	Hezekiah Drake,
Cornelius Gillet and wife,	Jonathan Hubbard's wife,
Peletiah Mills and wife,	Peter Mills's wife,
Joshua Case and wife,	Anthony Hoskins' wife,
Samuel Case and wife,	Hezekiah Parsons' wife,
Solomon Clark and wife,	Ephraim Brown's wife,
William Webster and wife,	Noadiah Burr's wife,
Jonathan Filley and wife,	Daniel Eggleston's wife,
John Burr, Jr., and wife,	Abel Gillet's wife,
Alexander Hoskins and wife,	Nathaniel Cook's wife,
Jacob Drake, Jr., and wife,	John Loomis' wife,
Nath. Case and wife,	Stephen's Goodwin's wife,
Enoch Drake, Jr., and wife,	Enoch Drake's wife,
Stephen Burr and wife,	John Burr's wife,
Jonah Gillet and wife,	Joseph Hoskins' wife,
Jonathan Brown,	Daniel Brown & wife,
Isaac Skinner,	Moses Cadwell and wife,
James Eggleston,	Daniel Rowel and wife,
Timothy Moses,	Jonathan Gillet and wife,

—67.

The first book of records of this church (which in 1751 was known as the Fifth Society in Windsor) is still extant and in a good state of preservation, with the exception of one or more leaves at the beginning, which contained the larger part of the names of the original members -- the balance being in Vol. 2 of the Church Record. Within a few years from the organization the following, among others, were added to the original membership, viz.: the wife of Thomas Humphrey, Isaac Barber, Mary Filley, three Cases, and the wives of Samuel Webster and Thomas Phelps. No formal creed is on record as having been used at the organization; but we have in Mr. Bissell's own handwriting -- and probably of his own composing -- the following brief and tender Covenant, which was used instead:

"We do solemnly avouch the Eternal Father, Son and Holy Ghost, to be our God, and do devote and dedicate ourselves and children to Him, promising, as He shall enable us by His Grace to believe His truths, obey His will, run the race of His commandments, walking before Him and being upright, exercising ourselves in y^e duties of Sobriety, Justice, & Charity, watching over one another in the Lord; and because Christ

with appointed spiritual administration in His house, as censures for offenders, consolations for the penitent, Teachings and Quickenings for all, such as The Word and Sacraments, we will truly counteract and faithfully submit to the regular administration of them in this place, and carefully perform our respective and enjoyed duties, that we may all be saved in the day of the Lord.

There were at this time (1738) 65 families in Wintonbury, comprising 325 souls.

About this time it was voted at Society meeting, "we will give Mr. Bissell £200 yearly for the space of three years, whereof £100 yearly is for his salary and the other £100 is for his settlement, the money at the present currency." This £100, on the then existing scale of metal coin, was equivalent to £60, which sum was finally established as his salary, with the addition of 38 cords of "3 foot" wood yearly.

In the faithful discharge of the mutual and pleasant relations which should exist between a beloved pastor and his people, time sped tranquilly on, until, in 1779, Mr. Bissell's failing health obliged him to ask for assistance in his ministrations. From that date his pulpit was supplied until his death, which occurred January 28, 1783.

The Rev. HEZEKIAH BISSSELL was the son of Sgt. David and Ruth (Warner) Bissell, of East Windsor, where he was born 30 January, 1710/11, and was prepared for college by the pastor of that town, the Rev. Timothy Edwards. He graduated from Yale College 1733, being the first of his name among the alumni of that institution. He married 20 Nov., 1740, Mary (daughter of Rev. Ephraim) Woodbridge (H. C. 1701) of Groton, Ct. His ministerial labors in Wintonbury Parish were most industriously performed. He baptized 1,077 children, besides over 100 who were baptized by other clergymen during his pastorate, making an average of 26 baptisms for each of the forty-five years of his ministry. The first child baptized by him was on 18 Feb., 1738, four days after his ordination; and on the same day occurred the first death in his pastorate, that of Timothy (son of Moses) Cadwell, aged 6 years. The first marriage he performed, 22 Sept., 1738, was that of Stephen Gillet and Anna Loomis. Four deaths occurred during each of the first two years succeeding his ordination, out of a population of 325 souls — not far from the later proportion of deaths to the population. During his fourth year there were fourteen deaths, twelve of which were infants and young children. The only year of his ministry in which he had as many as ten added to the church by profession was 1741, when twelve were so added. From 1738 to 1783, a period of forty-five years, he records 114 received as church members, including one by letter.

Mr. Bissell's funeral sermon, preached by Rev. David S. Rowland of Windsor, was printed, and describes him as "serious and judicious, unbiased by party views, . . . a fervent preacher;" also as "a man

qualified for his office by natural ability, learning, and good judgment; a man respected, no word having been transmitted to his discredit; a man, moreover, not gloomy but encouraging social intercourse and innocent gayeties." His records are written in a hand somewhat elegant and bear indications of accurate habits and good taste.

On his monument in the old cemetery at Bloomfield is the following inscription:

"Sacred to the Memory of the Reverend HEZEKIAH BISSELL. His birth was at Windsor, of pious and reputable Parents. Yale College was the place of his Liberal Accomplishments and the Scene of his usefulness was extended. He was unmoved by all the Vices and Errors of the late Times! Secure against both, his doctrines & his Life was Exemplary. Remarkable Peace and good order that reigned among the People of his Charge. During his Ministry, bear Witness To the Prudence and Greatness of his Mind. In Domestic Connections, he was truly a Consort & a Father and in Social Life a Friend indeed! After the faithful Labors of 45 years. In Sacred Offices his last, and best Day arrived which was January 28th, A.D. 1783: ætat 72."

In the early years of his ministry Mr. Bissell had adopted the "Half-Way Covenant," which admitted all persons of civil behavior to the watch of the church, and to the privileges of baptism for their children, without attending the Lord's Supper. Under the working of this rule the number of *actual* communicants in the church had become very small. After Mr. Bissell's death, and in September, 1785, the church adopted a new Covenant and Confession of Faith, and at the same time abolished the Half-Way Covenant, accompanying its abolition, however, by the following compromisory vote:

Voted, That all those of competent knowledge in the word of God, and of regular life and conversation, and that appear to be serious and conscientious in the judgment of the church, may be admitted to Covenant with this Church."

But, as this resolution still seemed to leave it an open question whether those who had *formerly* been admitted to the Half-Way Covenant were excluded from this privilege, the church, on March 10, 1786, "Voted that those who have owned the Covenant have still a right to offer their children for baptism, so long as they walk orderly."

Much opposition ensued, and the society, which was then much disturbed by Separatists, as well as by difficulties which had arisen as to settling a successor to their late pastor, was in a most uncomfortable state. Finally, they voted, although with difficulty and by a small majority only, to reconsider their former vote; and adopted the rule of the Stratford Church, which *admitted persons to full communion without necessarily requiring them to partake of the Lord's Supper*. Under this rule, which lasted only to 1791, five persons were admitted to full communion, who felt unworthy of partaking of the Lord's Supper, viz.: Heze-

kiah Latimer, Jr., and wife Rebecca (who became hopeful converts in the revival of 1799), Peletiah Parsons, and wife Roxy, and Dorthesias Hubbard.

Meanwhile, a great quarrel was going on in the society over the settlement of a pastor. The principal candidate, Rev. Solomon Walcott, was bitterly opposed :— several of those who were inimical to him going so far as to “certify” themselves as having joined the Baptists. But his friends finally triumphed, and he was installed 24th May, 1786, receiving no settlement, but a salary of £300 and thirty cords of three-foot wood. The unhappy contention, however, to which his settlement had given rise, was still unhealed. The church, indeed, made a desperate attempt to extricate themselves from their embarrassment by the following vote of 15th Nov., 1790: “This Church, conscious of their own imperfections, and of the failings of human nature, and earnestly desirous to be built up in gospel order and regularity, remembering their unhappy situation during the late contest, vote to forgive mutually their past offences towards each other, and to cultivate mutual peace and brotherly love.” But even this pacific measure failed of its desired effect; the malecontents would not return to the fold, and peace was only restored by Mr. Walcott’s dismissal in 1790.

Rev. SOLOMON WALCOTT, graduated at Dartmouth College in 1776; was ordained pastor at North Stamford, Conn., in 1780, and was dismissed from there in 1786. After leaving Wintonbury, he removed to Canajoharie, N. Y.

He was succeeded by the Rev. William F. Miller, who was ordained at Wintonbury, 30 November, 1791, receiving £100 salary, and the same allowance of wood as his predecessor. The membership of his charge then numbered fifty-eight; and by his piety, tact, and faithfulness he succeeded in fully restoring the harmony and tranquillity of the hitherto divided flock, which was visited with several interesting seasons of revival. The most noticeable of these were in the years 1799 and 1800, when fifty-two were added, and 1808 and 1809 when forty were added to the church. Previous to his settlement, the Society threw out the Stratford rule, and re-adopted the vote of 6th October, 1785. They also voted “that *the parson is only as any other church member.*”¹ And dur-

¹ “At a Church Meeting regularly assembled at Wintonbury Meeting House, by adjournment, on the 4th day of October, A. D. 1791.

“Dea^a Caleb Hitchcock, Moderator.

“The Question was put, whether this Church will suffer the practice of People^s owning the Covenant, and having their Children baptized?

“Voted in the affirmative, by Seven; four were silent.

“Also voted that in future, none shall be admitted into full Communion with this Church except such as will attend upon all the Ordinances of the Gospel.

“One only dissenting.

“Voted unanimously, that it is the Opinion of this Church, *that a settled ordained*

ing the years of Mr. Miller's pastorate, the church proceeded in an orderly manner, and after repeated attempts at conciliation, to deal with those members who, during the recent dissensions had left them and joined the Baptists.

The want of better and more sufficient accommodations for public worship had long been pressing upon the attention of the parish; and, as early as 1797, it had been voted in the Society meeting that "a subscription paper may circulate through this Society for raising money to build a new meeting-house on Whirlwind Hill, or on the old Meeting-house plain." Nothing came of this resolution, however, until a start was apparently given to the matter by a sermon preached in Wintonbury by Rev. Mr. Stebbins of Simsbury, whom the late Rev. Allan McLean alludes to in his *Half-Century Discourse*, as an "intelligent, shrewd, and sarcastic" man, who not infrequently exhibited the latter traits not only in conversation but in his pulpit utterances. In this case, Mr. Stebbins preached from the text, "Surely, the fear of God is not in this place," and is reported to have freely exercised his gift of sarcasm upon the appearance of the ancient meeting-house, saying, among other things, "When you pass through a village and see the clapboards on the meeting-house hanging dingle-dangle by one nail, you may be sure that the love of God is not in that people." This must have been about 1800, in which year the matter seems to have been taken up in earnest, the society voting that a meeting-house *should* be built, if a place could be agreed upon. Subscriptions of money and gifts of timber, etc., were procured, the old church was demolished to make way for the new one, which was to occupy the same site; and during the summer and autumn of 1801, worship was held, according to the recollection of some who were lately living, under the spreading boughs of four great oaks, standing near to gether—one of which still stands opposite the S. E. corner of the present (1890) edifice. A view of this second meeting-house is given in Barber's *Hist. Coll. of Conn.* It was fifty feet long and forty feet broad, and was first occupied on the occasion of its dedication, December 6, 1801, and a sermon was preached by the pastor, from Mark xi. 15, 16, 17. "Not a pew empty above, or below. A joyous day."

In June, 1808, the church adopted the Confession of Faith and Covenant now in use, and, in 1811, Mr. Miller was dismissed, 133 new members having been admitted during his pastorate.

Minister, has no greater Authority in the Church, than any private Brother, except his being (of Course) Moderator, and holding a casting Vote.

"Voted, to appoint a Committee, and appointed Mr Bissell, Dea^a Hitchcock and Mr Titus Burr in the name of this Church to confer with Mr Miller, and communicate to him the Doings of this meeting.

"The above is a true Copy of Record.

"Test Hez^r Bissell Chh Regt."

Rev. WILLIAM F. MILLER was a graduate of Yale in 1786, a scholarly man, of strong mental grasp and ardent piety, as well as of a noble countenance and bearing. Several of his sermons were published and can be found in the Library of the Connecticut Historical Society. He was a good church historian; prepared for the above-mentioned society a very good digest of Wintonbury history (to which this sketch is indebted); and left very full and well-written accounts of transactions in the parish which immediately preceded and happened during his ministry, especially as to the origin of the dissensions which led finally to his unsettlement. His labors in Wintonbury seem to merit the grateful remembrance of this church.

He was succeeded by the Rev. JOHN BARTLETT, who was installed 15th February, 1815, dismissed 19th May, 1831. He was a brother of Rev. Shubael Bartlett of East Windsor; was born 16th August, 1784, in Lebanon, Conn.; graduated at Yale College, 1807; settled at Warren, N. Y., 1811; after he left Wintonbury, he was (1831-25) agent for the Bible Society; then settled, 1835-49, at West Avon, N. Y., where he continued to reside until his death in 1866. His ministry at Wintonbury was fruitful of good; forty-eight were added during a powerful revival in 1821; and, by letter and profession, over one hundred members during his ministry, and a record of much religious activity. During a part of his pastorate, an unusual amount of death and disease prevailed which probably aided to deepen serious impressions. A Sunday-school was originated during his ministry, 13th April, 1827, of which Dea. Enoch Frisbie was superintendent, and the Congregational Society received in 1821 from the will of Mr. Peletiah Allyn a very considerable addition to its financial resources.

Rev. ANSEL NASH, installed 7th April, 1831, was dismissed at his own request, February 24, 1835, to enter the service of the American Education Society, leaving a record of many additions to the church during his ministry. He was born at Hartford, Vt., graduated at Williams College, 1809, and at Andover Theological Seminary; ordained pastor Tolland, Conn., 1813-31; installed pastor, Bloomfield, Conn., 1831-35; agent Am. Educ. Soc., 1835-39; preached at Rockville, Conn., 1839-41; agent Am. Educ. Soc., 1841-44; acting pastor, Colchester, Vt., 1845-48; died at Brattleboro, Vt., 11th August, 1851, aged 63. — (*Durfee's Annals Williams College*, 302.)

Rev. CORNELIUS B. EVEREST, installed at Bloomfield, Conn., 22d January, 1836, was born at Cornwall, 1789; graduated at Williams College, 1811; studied theology under Dr. Lyman Beecher of Litchfield, and Dr. Porter of Washington, Conn.; was an evangelist for two years; ordained pastor, Windham, Conn., 1815-27; ordained pastor First Church, Norwich, Conn., 1829-36; installed pastor, Bloomfield, 1836, whence he

was dismissed, 13th October, 1840; acting pastor, Poquonock, Conn., 1842-52, where he resided until his removal to Philadelphia in 1858, where he d. 29th March, 1870, aged 81. While at Bloomfield he commemorated (1838) the Church's Centennial, from 1 Corinthians, iii. 9, "Ye are God's Building." — (*Minutes of Gen. Conference*, 1869, p. 107.)

Rev. WILLIAM W. BACKUS, grad. Yale College and licensed 1832; installed 24th March, 1841; dismissed 16th April, 1844.

Rev. DANIEL GIBBS, acting pastor, 1844-5; graduated at Middlebury College, Vt.; served in the West; once supplied a church in Newtown, Conn.; while at Bloomfield attempted to alter the Covenant, but was stoutly resisted.

Rev. ALFRED C. RAYMOND, installed Dec. 3, 1845; remained until 1848; resides at New Haven, without charge.

Rev. FRANCIS R. WILLIAMS, installed 30th Dec., 1851; dismissed 1858; afterwards settled at Chaplin, Conn.

A new and beautiful church edifice, 82 by 48 feet in size, was erected and dedicated Dec. 22, 1858, and furnished with a fine 1,564 lb. bell and a clock. The steeple of this edifice was blown down in 1862, and rebuilt in 1872; and in 1875 a new bell of 1,608 lbs. weight was procured. The pulpit was supplied in 1860 and 1861 by the Rev. Samuel B. Forbes (later in business in West Winsted, Conn.).

Rev. GEORGE B. NEWCOMB was ordained pastor, 15th October, 1861, and dismissed 1866; was afterwards acting pastor of the Dwight Place Church, New Haven, Conn.; in 1886, was a professor in the College of the City of New York. To a "Century and a Quarter" sermon, preached by Mr. Newcomb in January, 1864 (from 1 Corinthians, vii. 31) and to which we have had access in manuscript, we are indebted for some of the details presented in this chapter.

Rev. JAMES B. CLEVELAND was installed 3d Dec., 1867, dismissed 1875; since an acting pastor in Kensington, Conn.

Rev. WILLIAM A. HALLOCK served the church from 1st May, 1875-87; was acting pastor at Gilead, Conn., then served in Watson, N. Y., until he returned to Connecticut.

Rev. EUGENE F. ATWOOD, 1887.

The *membership* of this church was, in 1738, 67; in 1791, 58; in 1833, 118; in 1840, 93; in 1860, 100; in 1880, 137, with a Sunday-school of 115 scholars, and comprising 102 families.

The church has passed through the following *revivals*, viz.: 1741, in which 12 members were added; 1799, 54 added (see Fowler's account of this revival in *Conn. Evangel. Mag.*, ii. 268, 272, 285, 310); 1808, 40 added; 1821, 48 added; 1825, ———; 1832, 15 added; 1854, 11 added; 1856, 11 added; 1858, 17 added; 1864, 11 added; 1868, 39 added.

Ministres raised in this Parish. — WILLIAM CASE, grad. Y. C., 1821, and at Andover Theol. Sem., 1824; ordained pastor Chester, Conn., 1824-35; acting pastor New Hartford, Conn., 1835-6; w. c. East Windsor, 1836-42; acting pastor Middle Haddam, Conn., First Church, 1842-44; teacher at Haddam, 1844-46; acting pastor North Madison, Conn., 1846-47; w. c. 1847-April 28, 1858, when he died at Hartford, Conn., aged 62. (*And. Cat.*, 1880.)

HEZEKIAH GOODWIN, preacher of the Gospel, who died in this parish, 1767, aged 27, was probably raised here. His name is on Rev. Hezekiah Bissell's death-roll. He graduated Yale College, 1761, being the first of his name among its alumni (see Epitaph, Goodwin).

Deacons chosen :

1738 Isaac Butler.	1801 Thomas Taylor.
Samuel Case.	1811 Elijah Loomis.
1759 William Manley.	1815 Enoch Frisbie.
1769 Reuben Case.	1816 Luther Fitch.
1792 Col. Hez. Bissell.	1828 Caleb Hitchcock.
Dr. Caleb Hitchcock.	1845 Amos Gillett.

The Baptist Society in Wintonbury Parish. — The long and obstinate contention concerning the settlement of Rev. Mr. Walcott naturally alienated the minds of many of the Congregational Church members, who swelled the ranks of the "Separatists." This new sect, which dated from the "Great Revival" of 1740, had already made considerable progress in Connecticut; and what tended to gain for it more proselytes in Wintonbury than anything else was a quarrel which occurred in Rev. Mr. Bissell's time between Abel Gillet,¹ a deacon in the church, and one John Hubbard. Mr. Bissell declined to side with either party, and, this being construed by Mr. Gillet as favoring his opponent, he left the church in anger and "turned Separate." Many of these Separatists became Baptists, and are first noticed in the affairs of the Old Society, in 1782. In 1786 they organized the *First Baptist Church of Windsor*, and settled as their pastor Ashbel (son of the above-named Dea. Abel)

Ashbel Gillet

Gillet. Steadily increasing in number, they built a small meeting-house in 1795, which has since been frequently repaired. Elder Gillet was most highly esteemed, even by those outside of the Baptist communion. His prayers were supposed to have special power with the Most High, so that he was much sent for to pray with the sick; and if rain was needed,

¹ Father of the late Hon. Francis Gillette.

especially during haying season, it was a common remark that there was "no use praying for rain until the parson's hay was in." Sometimes, in seasons of unusual drought, the people would turn out and help him get his hay in, and then send up their prayers for the needed relief. It is told of him that he once found a sheep straying after shearing and likely to perish, and that he took off his overcoat, wrapped it about the shivering creature, and went to find its owner. And another story tells how Parson Miller, who had often ridiculed the Baptists, strayed away from his home on Whirlwind Hill, in a period of partial insanity, a little before his death, and made his way, barefooted, over the sharp snow-crust to the window of Elder Gillet's home, a mile and a half away; and how the good man arose and brought him in, and devoted the rest of the night to warming and comforting the sufferer.¹

Elder Gillet was succeeded by the Rev. Augustus Bolles, since whose time the church has had no settled ministry. In 1859 it was cared for by Rev. Ralph H. Maine, at which time it had about fifty members, one of whom, Mr. Wealthy Thrall, then aged 95 years, was the only survivor of the original (twenty or so) members.

In the absence of the original church records, we gather, from the votes of excommunication and other official action of the *Congregational Church*, the following names of some who were original members of the Baptist order in Wintonbury, viz.:

Wid. Hepsibah Barnes	Joseph Fitch and wife, Prudence,
Mary (wife of Samuel) Eno,	Aaron Phelps and wife, Susanne,
Christian (wife of Caleb) Case,	Abel Pettibone and wife, Elisabeth,
George Latimer.	

A *Methodist Episcopal Church* was organized in Wintonbury 4 July, 1817, by the Rev. Aurora Seagar, a native of the place, who formed a class of three persons, viz.: Maria Palmer, Olive Hoskins, and Fanny Griswold. Edwin E. Griswold, afterwards Presiding Elder of the Bridgeport (Conn.) District became connected with this class, March 20, 1818. The following preachers of this denomination have originated from this town: Aurora, Micah, and Schuyler Seagar; Edwin E. Griswold, Ebenezer Latimer, Walter W. Brewer, Reuben H. Loomis.

The first church edifice was erected on Whirlwind Hill in 1833, and rebuilt on the present location, in the center of the town, 1854.

St. Andrews Protestant Episcopal Church originated in a controversy in the Simsbury Congregational Church in 1740, and its first edifice was erected in that part of Simsbury known as Scotland, and which was annexed, in 1843, to Bloomfield, forming the northwest por-

¹ Mrs. E. S. Warner in *Mem. Hist. Hartford Co.*

tion of the town, near Tariffville and the railroad. The history of this parish, one of the oldest in the State, has been given by Noah A. Phelps in his *Hist. of Simsbury, Genabq. and Canton*, 1845. After a lengthened suspension, it resumed services in 1863, and in 1868 was nearly supplanted by an offshoot established by some of its members at Tariffville.

Schools.—Feb. 12, 1795, by a society vote, the parish of Wintonbury was divided into seven school districts, and five school-houses were soon built, two of which—one on Whirlwind Hill and one at the Old Farms—were two stories high, quite large and convenient, and supplied with bells. The upper story of that on the Hill was for a long time used as a Free Masons' lodge-room, but the lodge was disbanded during the famous "Anti-Masonic" excitement of 1826. The school-house at the Old Farms was substantially built of brick, and is still standing. Its bell was presented to it, and its first use was to toll on the occasion of the donor's funeral. On Nov. 7, 1795, the society voted that it would be agreeable to have the school-house bell rung at the hour of public worship and also to give notice of any death in the Society."

Mrs. Warner, in her sketch of Bloomfield (*Mem. Hist. Hartford Co.*), thus speaks of the Wintonbury schools and their customs: "The public schools of the parish were, for a long time, under the care and control of the Ecclesiastical Society, and great deference was paid to the periodical visits of the parish pastor. When he entered the room, the scholars were all compelled to rise and make obeisance. Country-school education in those days was mostly summed up in the three R's, but the reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic, with the never-omitted spelling, and for the girls sewing on sheets, and often bedquilts, were taught with thoroughness. The teaching of little children, in the early part of the century, began with a series of questions as to their names and those of their parents, their age, what town, parish, county, State, and country they lived in, the name of each pastor of their town, the Governor of the State and the President of the United States. . . . Early in the present century the school had a remarkable teacher, a Mr. Lucas, who aroused the greatest enthusiasm in his pupils, and who closed his one winter with a brilliant exhibition in the church, of the play of Pizarro—'Priest Miller' reluctantly consenting. The schools were generally kept by male instructors in winter, and by female in summer. One of the teachers—an old gray-haired man, and college-bred, which was a rare thing in those days—had the habit of getting his queue done over during 'noon spell' by one of the girls of his 'fore class.' An interesting old lady, Mrs. Wealthy Gillet Latimer Thrall, who lived all of her nearly one hundred years in Bloomfield, used to tell her grandchildren how frightened she was the morning she was promoted to this class,

when the master rapped with his ruler on the desk, and announced before the school that henceforth she was to take her turn at that august task. Her fingers trembled so that she could scarcely tie the black ribbon, she stood behind the master, sitting by the big open fire, keeping order during 'noon-spell.' This same little girl had such a good memory for grammar—all the grammar they had in those days was in the 'four part' of the spelling-book—that her teacher delighted in taking her about the streets and into the houses, of evenings, to show off; when her listeners would exclaim, 'What a pity she isn't a boy!' In her last days, when her strong mind began to give way, in wandering back to her childhood, she would repeat sentence after sentence from those old spelling-book pages. After she was grown and married, she and her husband kept Thrall Tavern, in the Old Farms district, for forty years, and in her old age she never wearied of telling how they once entertained Lafayette at dinner, with a hundred other guests; delighting her eager grandchildren with all the particulars as to looks, and dress, and bill of fare. Her husband had the first chaise ever used in Bloomfield."

A Wintonbury Library Society was formed in January, 1793.

Revolutionary War.—Wintonbury's share in this war is embraced within the history of the town of Windsor. Capt. Lemuel Roberts, who resided within that portion of the parish originally comprised in Samsbury, has left "A Note of those who marched at the Lexington alarm, April, 1775, viz.:

Capt. Lemuel Roberts,
Left. Abram Pinney,
Sgt. Aaron Pinney,
Corpl Levi Pinney,
Corpl William Adams.

Rubin Fuller,
James Eno,
Amaziah Barber,
Alexander Marshall.

Tradition says that when the war began nearly every man in the town was drafted; and that, during the hard times following the war, there was no coffee used and but little tea; only, occasionally a pound of sugar, and but few potatoes were raised. The common diet at this period was boiled beef and pork; children eating the broth, which was thickened up with bread and beans—given to them in a single dish, around which they gathered, and into which they dipped with their spoons.

Traces of *Negro Slavery* are found in Rev. Mr. Bissell's private church record—as thus, in 1754, "died, Fortune, a negro serv't, who belonged to John Hubbard, Jr., and but a little time before his death was Jona. Smith's"; and, in 1772, is recorded the baptism of "Caesar, a negro servant of mine." There were but few slaves, however, and the bondage was of the mildest form.

Indians. -- "Traces of an Indian reservation still exist in the Old Farms district. A native of Bloomfield remembers how a family of Mohicans used to come and settle down to their basket-making by Old Farms Brook under the hill, on his father's farm. They would say to the little boys that all the land belonged to them, and they could get their basket-stuff wherever they liked. This was as late as 1820." --

Mrs. Warner. (In this connection, see our note on page 139.)

Wintonbury parish, in 1802, contained 176 dwelling-houses and about 1,050 souls. There were then four taverns in the parish, one saw-mill, one fulling-mill, one grist-mill, with two sets of stone, and one gin distillery, erected that year. (For agricultural products, see chapter on Bloomfield.) At one period, many years ago, the Brothers Brown made drums, including toy-drums, and Capt. Filley manufactured tin-ware, which was sold by peddlers in Vermont. Among the things of Wintonbury's past, at one time or another, were two sash and blind factories and an oil well: but, for some time past, carriage and wagon-making has been Bloomfield's only manufacture.

The Old Burying Place of Wintonbury (now Bloomfield), originally a small clearing in the north end of the forest which stretched back a long distance from the first meeting-house, contains many exceedingly quaint inscriptions, of which we present the following specimens:

Upon a low brown stone, in the extreme north corner, is this:

"Here lies y^e
Body of Luce the
Daugh^r of Serg^{ts}
Isaac Skinner who
Died Feb^r y^e 22^d
1739-40 aged 18 year
this was y^e first Persoⁿ
that was Buried Here"

"Mrs. ANNA MEECHAR | Daughter of Widow | Samantha Cook, Died July 3, 1808.

"Sixteen years I lived a maid,
Two years I was a Wife,
Five hours I was a mother,
And so I lost my life.
My babe lies by me, as you see,
To show no age from Death is free."

"MIRE, daughter of Widow Semantha Cook, Died Feb'y 15, 1808, Aged 12 years.

"One day in health I did appear
Next day a corpse, fit for the bier."

"In Memory of HEZEKIAH GOODWIN, A.M., & Preacher of the Gospel; Son to Mr. Stephen Goodwin & Mrs. Sarah Goodwin, who departed this life Jan'y 19th A. D. 1767, in y^e 27 Year of his Age. His Epitaph composed by himself, upon his deathbed is as follows:

"How short, how precarious, how uncertain—is Life! How quick y^e Transition from time to Eternity. A Breath, a Gaspe, a Groan & lo we are seen no more. And yet on this point, Oh alarming thought, on this slender point turns a vast Eternity."

"In Memory of Mr. JONAH GILLETT, who Died May y^r 21, 1782, in y^r 75 Year of his Age.

"My kindred Dear as you draw near
Don't think that Death's a feast,
Remember you are mortal too
Must pass the Solemn Test."

"This monument to the memory of PELLETHIAH ALLYN, who d. Feb. 5, 1821, in the 24th year of his age, was erected by the Congregational Society of Wintonbury, of which he was a member. Mr. Allyn early arrived at maturity, in the powers of his mind, and was possessed of more than ordinary energy and decision of character. In the testamentary disposal of his estate, good judgment and benevolence were happily united. After several legacies to individuals, he gave £200 for foreign missions, 100 annually forever for the relief of the industrious poor of Wintonbury, 30 annually for the support of religious psalmody in the Congregational Society, and 200 to 270 annually forever for the support of the gospel in the same society."

Daidamia, Mahala, Lodesca, Lovicy, and Climena, are among the curious female names, and Reuel, Abi, Amaziah, Zeruiah, and Defer, among the masculine names found in this cemetery.

The *new cemetery* was opened in 1856.

Diseases common to the parish: these, according to Rev. Mr. Miller's *Ms. Hist. Account of Wintonbury*, before alluded to, were pleurisy, consumption, dropsy, slow or long fevers, bilious and nervous fevers, dysentery, and hoarse canker. According to this authority, in the western part of the society, on a large brook (which has a dead current, being at the bottom of the mountain, and its banks being boggy and of black earth and coarse grass) the inhabitants dwelling on the road parallel with it have in some seasons been peculiarly subject to slow fever, or to dysentery, neither of which, however, appeared at the same time. In 1775, dysentery raged fearfully on this street, attacking almost every person. That year fifty-two persons died in the society, of whom fifteen died before July 19th, when the dysentery first appeared. Of the other thirty-seven, who died between this date and the next spring, thirty died on this street, which then contained only thirty-three houses. Other parts of the Society suffered but little.

In the fall of 1792, the dysentery again raged on the same street, and many died, while but few were ill in other portions of the society and continued to rage until the following January, despite early frosts and snows.

From January 1, 1792–1801, inclusive, there were 163 deaths in the parish. Of this number

48	persons	died	under 2	years of age.
22	"	"	between 2 and 20	years of age.
27	"	"	" 20 and 40	" "
31	"	"	" 40 and 70	" "
15	"	"	" 70 and 80	" "
11	"	"	" 80 and 85	" "
6	"	"	" 85 and 90	" "
1	"	"	at age of 93.	
1	"	"	" 94	
1	"	"	" 97.	

Among the *old citizens* of the parish, honorable mention must be made of Capt. DAVID W. GRANT, "who, for many years in the early part of this century kept the State and town poorhouse, and left a handsome fortune to his son Wadsworth, who erected the rough-stone house in the western part of the present Bloomfield, and was known as a most liberal-minded man. HIRAM ROBERTS, of one of the oldest families in Wintonbury, was *the* merchant of the parish, in his day — a leading man, and twice a representative to the State Legislature — a man of unusual judgment and integrity. Among other leading men — several of them captains in the War of 1812, some representatives in the Legislature, and nearly all established farmers, and who died at a good old age — were ELIHU MILLS, who is remembered never to have failed of being in his seat at church twenty minutes too early, and who was always the last to give up the custom of standing during prayer: ELIJAH GRISWOLD, a noted singing-master, and one of the two publishers of an early singing-book, the *Connecticut Harmony*, printed about 1800, the engraved copper-plates and letter-press for which are still in existence: the three BIDWELL brothers: the HITCHCOCKS and BROWNS: Captains LORD, GOODWIN, FILLEY, LOOMIS, and ROWLEY (which last outlived his military compatriots) who, in turn, had drilled the old militia company which mustered from 120 to 150 men: and was disbanded just long enough before the Civil War for it to find only raw recruits." — *Mrs. Warner*.

CHAPTER XVII.

WINDSOR'S SHARE IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

1775-1783.

IT might have been presumed that the colonies, in retiring from a war in which they had borne so conspicuous and loyal a part, and from which they had themselves derived but little benefit, would have received from their sovereign some mark of approbation, or at least of indulgence. But that sovereign was weak, and his ministerial advisers were unprincipled and short-sighted. They found the treasury empty and the national debt increased by recent wars to almost seven millions of dollars. Their subjects at home were already alarmed and grumbling at the increased burden of taxation which seemed to await them. It was then that Grenville's facile brain conceived the idea, ungenerous as it was unwise, of taxing the colonies by levying new duties upon their imports. This was the "one straw too much which broke the camel's back." The colonists, who had sacrificed thousands of their best lives and treasures, and whose frontiers had for so many years been constantly drenched in blood, could not bear this new burden. From one and all arose a unanimous protest against "taxation without representation." A few wise men foresaw and plainly represented the danger, but their advice was wasted on the grasping ministers of England. The Stamp Act was passed on the 22d of March, 1765, and this "entering wedge for the dismemberment of the British empire" was accompanied with the explicit declaration "that it was intended *to establish the power of Great Britain to tax the colonies.*" It was received in America with overwhelming feeling of resentment. Alarmed and abashed at the outbreak of determined opposition which it provoked, the government of Great Britain repealed the act. Hardly had the rejoicings of the grateful colonies over this event ceased before the unwise and unjust acts of the ministry again plunged the country into alarm and discontent. An act enforcing the quartering of a royal army in their midst, and at their expense, was followed by another, levying duties upon paper, glass, paints, lead, and tea imported by them. In both these acts the principle involved was the same as in the Stamp Act, and was as firmly resisted by the colonies. These manifestations of revolt, however, as well as the plain words of

many wise and noble minds, even in parliament itself, were unheeded by the blindly infatuated ministers of the British government. America was in constant and open revolt, but one after another these hated measures were forced down her throat. It is true that a bill was passed in 1770 repealing the duty on all articles but *tea*. It was too late. For on that very day was enacting in the streets of Boston the tragedy of the Boston Massacre. Then came two years of outward quiet, but really of seething unrest. Again, in December, 1773, the smoldering fire burst out anew, and Boston harbor witnessed the destruction of several cargoes of tea by a disguised but orderly band of patriots. Roused and enraged, the English ministry now passed the famous *Boston Port Bill*. This bill, providing for the removal of customs, courts of justice, and all government officers from Boston to Salem, and for the "complete discontinuance of all landing, discharging and shipping of wares and merchandise at Boston, or within the harbor thereof," came into effect on the first of June, 1774. Its effect was instantaneous. "The utter prostration of all business soon produced great distress in the city. The rich, deprived of their rents, became straitened, and the poor, denied the privilege of labor, were reduced to beggary. All classes felt the scourge of the oppressor, yet the fortitude and forbearance of the inhabitants were most remarkable." The sympathy of the whole country was aroused, for, although the blow was aimed at Boston as "the ringleader in every riot," it was keenly felt in every colony. And this sympathy evinced itself not only in words and encouraging resolves, but in substantial tokens of attachment to the sufferers. From Georgia came sixty-three barrels of rice and seven hundred and twenty dollars in specie. The town of Windham, in Connecticut, sent a large flock of sheep; and from every quarter contributions of wheat and grain, pork and money, came pouring in. Even the great city of London, in its corporate capacity, sent one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the relief of the poor in Boston. "The people of Marblehead and Salem offered the Boston merchants the free use of wharves and stores, for they scorned to enrich themselves at the expense of their oppressed neighbors! A committee was appointed in Boston to receive and distribute donations, and, in the midst of martial law, the suffering patriots were bold and unyielding."

Liberty had her friends among the people of our town of Windsor, who were not unmindful of their suffering brethren, and the town government of Windsor at this period was in the hands of men of influence—who were straightforward, brief, earnest, and business-like in all their actions. These characteristics are very plainly impressed on all the records and correspondence of the town during the revolutionary struggle, and are in marked contrast to the eloquent and somewhat wordy

style of expression which is displayed in the East Windsor records. Yet in feeling, patriotism, and attachment to the cause of freedom, both towns were emphatically "shoulder to shoulder." In the correspondence of the committee for the relief of the Boston sufferers by the Port Bill we find the following letter.¹ It tells its own story with a straightforward brevity which characterizes the official actions of the town during this period.

WINDSOR, March 20, 1775.

M^R. JONATHAN MASON,

S^{IR}: We being appointed by this town to receive donations for the poor of Boston, and as we understand you are one to receive them, have directed Capt. Smith to deliver you what grain we have collected for that purpose, viz., 391 bushels rye, 89½ bushels corn, and half barrel of pork.

We are your humble servants,

JAMES HOOKER
OLIVER MATHER

Meanwhile the troops in Boston were daily augmenting, until it was one vast garrison. Insulted by the presence of the soldiery, their rights invaded and trampled upon, the people of Massachusetts, and with her the united colonies, were preparing to strike a blow at the coil of despotism which was gradually surrounding them. Every fresh act of oppression was met by scornful and dignified yet determined resistance. Every hour seemed pregnant with impending collision. It came on the 19th of April, 1775. In the grey dawn of morning, on the village green of Lexington, a handful of rustic patriots undauntedly awaited the approach of an advancing column of British troops. One hour later, on that village green, lay eight patriot corpses, and from their blood, still welling out upon the dewy sod, there had gone forth a cry for vengeance which all America heard. Through the length and breadth of the land bell responded to bell, and watchfire to watchfire, and everywhere the people were in arms. "Throughout New England the news was rapidly carried by horse 'express' from town to town. It was despatched to Connecticut by the Massachusetts Committee of Safety at Watertown during the progress of the fighting, or near 10 o'clock of Wednesday morning, April 19th. 'The bearer, Israel Bessel, is charged to alarm the country quite to Connecticut, and all persons are desired to furnish him with fresh horses as they may be needed.' During Thursday, the 20th, the news was circulating through the eastern part of the colony. The people of Windham County received it generally by noon. It reached Governor Trumbull, at Lebanon, by eleven. It was doubtless at Hartford by night, at New Haven on the following evening."—*Rec. of Conn. Men in the War of the Revolution.*

¹ *Mass. Hist. Soc'y Coll., 4th Series, iv. 266.*

The people of Windsor had just paid the last sad tribute of respect to their beloved pastor—perhaps they even yet stood by the side of the open grave—as a mounted messenger came “spurring in hot haste” from Hartford, bearing the news of the battle which had been fought the day before.

It was as the first lightning flash in the approaching storm, not wholly unexpected, but none the less startling; and as the intelligence spread quickly from mouth to mouth, and from family to family, it everywhere awoke an instantaneous activity. The signs of grief gave place to the sound and bustle of warlike preparation.

Brave THOMAS HAYDEN was quickly in the saddle, bearing the news to Suffield as fast as his steed could carry him. On every side there was “hurrying to and fro”; in every home the agitation of sudden departure and the tremulous tones of farewell words. Ere many hours had elapsed an “alarm party” of twenty-three men, under command

of Capt. NATHANIEL HAYDEN, had left Windsor on their march to Lexington. The following are the names of those gallant sons of

Windsor who *first* responded to the call of Liberty, copied from the original pay list, signed by each member of the party. The figure after each name denotes the number of days in service, as given by the *Rec. of Conn. Men in Rev. War* (official); as are also those *names and ranks*, which are stated.

Capt. NATHAN'L HAYDEN, 5.
 Corp'l CORNELIUS RUSSELL, 5,
 EZRA HAYDEN, 5,
 OLIVER HAYDEN, 5,
 Sgt.* THOMAS HAYDEN, 5,
 Sgt.* REUBEN DENSLOW, 5,
 MARTIN DENSLOW, 5,
 JOHN ALLYN, 5,
 JOHN ALLYN, JR., 5,
 ELLIAH STUGHTON, 5,
 Sgt. SAMUEL WING, 5,
 ELEAZUR GAYLORD, 5.

Sgt. SAMUEL GIBBS, 24,
 WILLIAM DAVIS, 24,
 LEMUEL WELCH, 24,
 EBENEZER WOOLWORTH, 24,
 GERSHOM WEST, 13 (George*),
 OLIVER LEE, 5,
 WILLIAM THRALL, JR., 13,
 WILLIAM PARSONS, 24,
 JOHN ROBERTS, 14,
 EBENEZER FITCH BISSELL, 3,
 DAVID THRALL, 5,
 NATHANIEL STANLEY, 13,*

— BUGBEE, 13.*

They left Windsor about 21st of April, and the receipt is signed July 18, 1775, which was probably about the time of their return. The expenses of the expedition were about £69 15s. 6d.

The struggle for independence was now fairly commenced. The capture of Fort Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen, “in the name of Jehovah

and the Continental Congress," on the 10th of May, and the hotly contested battle of Bunker Hill in June following, inspired confidence in the patriot arms, and committed them to a war from which there was no retreat.

In connection with the Ticonderoga affair we find (*Off. Rec. Conn. Men in Rev. War*, p. 32) the following receipt given by one James Easton, of Pittsfield, who was engaged at the capture of "Ti." and who returned to Connecticut for powder :

WINDSOR, May 27th day, A D 1775

Then I the subscriber did receive of Henry Allyn, Esq., five hundred weight of Gun Powder, on account of the Connect^t Colony, to be transported to Ticonderoga with all possible speed "

JAMES EASTON.

The first item which appears upon the records of Windsor relative to the Revolutionary war is the appointment, in December, 1775, of a Committee of Inspection, composed of the following persons, all of them eminent citizens and true patriots :

DOCTOR ALEXANDER WOLCOTT.

Capt. JAMES HOOKER.

Capt. JOSIAH PHELPS.

Ensign JONATHAN FILLEY.

Mr. JOAB GRISWOLD.

JOSIAH BISSELL.

ROGER NEWBERRY.

HENRY ALLYN, Esq.

Lieut. PELATIAH MILLS

The chief duty of this committee was of a peculiarly delicate nature, warranted only by the circumstances of the times. It was nothing more or less than a patriotic and searching espionage into the principles, actions, and private affairs of every member of the community, without regard to station, profession, or character. It was necessary to know how each man stood affected towards the war—whether his feelings were enlisted in his country's behalf, or whether secretly or publicly he was aiding and abetting the enemy. Lukewarmness in action, an unguarded word, or an equivocal deed, was sufficient in those days of trial to excite distrust: and woe to the unlucky man, whatever his rank in life, who fell under the suspicion of "the people". Undoubtedly many innocent persons were unjustly suspected, yet, on the whole, the influence of this Vigilance Committee was as salutary as it was certainly necessary.

After the battle of Bunker Hill the American army commenced the construction of various fortifications and defenses upon the heights adjacent to Boston, which was held by the British troops. Upon these lines, which were situated on Winter and Prospect Hills, at Roxbury, and from thence to the Charles River, the troops were mostly engaged during the fall and winter of 1775-6. Quite a number of Windsor men are known to have been here, under Gen. Putnam, but their names can not be fully ascertained.

The voluntary mustering in the Alarm of April 19th was speedily followed (April-May) by the first authorized call for troops. The Assembly was convened, and met May 6th, and enacted that one-fourth of the colony militia should be forthwith enlisted. - This apportionment represented about 6,000 men, who were distributed in six regiments of ten companies each, with a full complement of field, staff, and line officers, and to be commanded by a major-general and two brigadier-generals, each of whom was also to take command of a regiment, as colonel. At the July session of Assembly two more regiments, somewhat smaller, were ordered, making eight in all - total of about 7,400 - term of service seven months - officers all appointed by the Assembly.

In the 2d of these regiments (Gen. Spencer's) ROGER ENOS, of Windsor, appears as Lieut.-Colonel.

In the 8th regiment (Col. Huntington's) THOMAS HAYDEN, of Windsor, served as Sergeant-Major; SAMUEL STOUGHTON, of Windsor, was Ensign in 4th company, of which EBENEZER FITCH BISSELL was First Lieutenant. This company was mostly of Sinsbury, and commanded by Capt. Elisha Humphrey.

EBENEZER FITCH BISSELL was "a gentleman, though not of the most easy and familiar turn: yet for his steady, correct attention to the duties of his station he was well respected." He was advanced, while in camp, to the captaincy of the 7th company, 17th regiment.

Of Ensign (Samuel in official roll) STOUGHTON it is said: "Sickness detained him long out of camp. He was a tall, well-made man, and possessed a good military appearance."

From THOMAS HAYDEN'S letters to his family we have mostly gleaned the following names of Windsor men, although they do not seem to have been in his company:

DAVID GIBBS, sick, Oct., 1775.

HEZEKIAH HAYDEN.

MARTIN DENSLOW, sick, Oct., 1775.

Sgt. [JESSE] THRALL.

DANIEL BROWN, sick.

JESSE WALL, sick.

ALPHEUS MUNSSELL, served at Roxbury as an army blacksmith.

Mr. ROE, sick with pleurisy.

ELIJAH HOSKINS (Wby.) died in March, in camp at Roxbury, aged about 42.

ELIPHALET LOOMIS (Wby.) died in April, on return from the camp, aged about 20 years.

Dec., 1775, or Jan., 1776, JOHN GILMAN (Wby.), died in camp, aged about 18. (*Wby. Ch. Rec.*)

The following document also preserves the names of a number of Windsor men who did military service during the year 1775 :

" To JOHN LAWRENCE, Esq., Treasurer for the State of Connecticut

" These may Certify that we the Subscribers of the Civil Authority and selectmen of the Town of Windsor, Do hereby abate to Mr. Job Griswold Collector of the Poll Tax made upon the list made and computed for 1775, and a Tax of 4^d on the Polls of the following persons Heads who were noncommissioned Officers or Soldiers in the army in the year 1775, are as follows

2 Job, Allyn	W ^m Davise
Jonathan Loomis	Alpheus Munsell
Increase Mather	Leinuel Welch
Roger Rowel	William Parson
Jacob Judd	Elias Brown
George Wolcott	Cornelius Russell
John Robert	Daniel Eley
Elnathan Filley	Samuel Munrow
Elijah Marshall Jr	Aaron Lyon
Phineas Drake 3	Nath ^l Stanley
Isaac Pioney Jun	Shubel Barber
William Phelps 3	Jesse Thrall
Lanscott Phelps	Roger Mills
Elijah Griswold	Reuben Loomis
Martin Holcomb, Jun	Thomas Allyn Jun
Solomon Clark, Jun.	William Manby
James Wilson	Moses Cook
Israel Warner	David Filley
Edward Barnard Jun	Jonathan Bidwell
Zachens Phelps	Moses Drake
John May	Simen Grayham (Two Heads)
Luke Thrall	Stephen Fosbury
Oliver Winchell	John Fosbury
Theophilus Hild	Joseph Fitch
Asibel Stiles	Jonah Gillet, Jun
Thomas Hayden	Jonathan Gillet
Martin Denslow	Ezekiel Case
Sam ^l Wing	John Rowel, Jun
Ezekiel Thrall	Isaac Skinner
Oliver Clark	Thomas Gillet ~
Samuel Gibb	Abiel Wilson
David Gibb	Aaron Webster
Elezar Gaylord	

" Being sixty six in number, amounting to the sum of £1158, upon the Public List of the Poles and Ratable Estate of the Inhabitants of the Town of Windsor, made and Computed for August, 1775 Which said sum we hereby abate to the said Collector

" HENRY ALLYN, Just, peace

" DANIEL BISSELL } Selectmen
 ISAAC PINNEY } of
 PEL^l MILLS } Windsor.

A lifelike picture of the winter encampment is given by the Rev. William Emerson, chaplain in the army. "The generals, Washington

and Lee, are upon the lines every day. New orders from his excellency are read to the respective regiments every morning after prayers. The strictest government is taking place, and great distinction is made between officers and soldiers. Every one is made to know his place and keep in it, or to be tied up and receive thirty or forty lashes, according to his crime. Thousands are at work every day from four till eleven o'clock in the morning. It is surprising how much work has been done. . . . It is very diverting to walk among the camps. They are as different in their form as the owners are in their dress, and every tent is a portraiture of the temper and taste of the persons who encamp in it. Some are made of boards, and some of sail cloth; some partly of one and partly of the other. Again, others are made of stone or turf, brick or brush. Some are thrown up in a hurry; others are curiously wrought with doors and windows, done with wreaths and withes in the manner of a basket. Some are your proper tents and marquees, looking like the regular camp of the enemy." To complete the picture we will quote the words of a Simsbury soldier:

"For every six soldiers there was a tent provided. The ground it covered was about six or seven feet square. This served for kitchen, parlor, and hall. The green turf, covered with a blanket, was our bed and bedstead. When we turned in for the night we had to lie perfectly straight, like candles in a box; this was not pleasant to our hip bones and knee joints, which often in the night would wake us, and beg to turn over. Our household utensils, altogether, were an iron pot, a canteen or wooden bottle holding two quarts, a pail and wooden bowl. Each had to do his own washing, and take his turn at the cooking."

It has been our privilege to read many of the letters written home by the soldiers in this motley camp to their friends and families in Windsor. Though not of sufficient importance to publish, yet they contain many homelike passages of touching interest; queries of, and kind messages for friends; little bits of camp gossip and daily incident, with not unfrequently a request to be furnished with a new vest, or blanket, or a *cheese*. And these were not minor wants or luxuries, but necessities. For at this time the army was suffering for want of means and food. Recruits came in tardily, the army itself was weakened, its spirit was lowered, and, as the cold weather approached, it sorely felt the necessity of fuel and comfortable clothing. Some regiments ate their rations raw for want of fuel to cook them. Sickness was raging in the camp, and, the terms of enlistment beginning to expire, many of the soldiers preferred to go home.

Added to these trials was the dispiriting effect of the failure of the expedition against Quebec. In the month of August previous a plan had been devised to invade Canada by an expedition which, entering that country by way of the Kennebec River, should co-operate with

another, under Gen. Schuyler, approaching by the northern lakes. Eleven hundred hardy men, accustomed to frontier life, many of them veterans of the old French war, were selected from the army for this service. The chief command was given to Col. Benedict Arnold, whose eminent bravery and acquaintance with the country to be invaded peculiarly fitted him for the perilous undertaking. His subordinate officers were Lieut.-Cols. ROGER ENSO, of Windsor, and Christopher Greene; and Majors Meigs and Bigelow; while the rifle corps were commanded by Captain Daniel Morgan, famous as a partizan leader in the subsequent history of the war.

Arnold's detachment marched from Cambridge on the 13th of September, 1775, and embarking at Newburyport on eleven transports, set sail for the mouth of the Kennebec River. At Gardiner they found 200 batteaux awaiting them, and in these they pushed on to Norridgewock Falls. Here began the perils and toils of a march which has no parallel in the history of our Revolutionary struggle. The hardy voyagers were obliged to carry all their batteaux, provisions, and stores around the falls, into navigable water, a mile and a quarter above. This severe labor consumed seven days, and had to be repeated at Carrentuc Falls. At length, however, in spite of a current so rapid that the men waded through the stream, pushing their boats before them, the little band reached the great carrying-place, twelve miles below the junction of the Dead River with the Kennebec. By this time their number had been reduced by sickness and desertion to about 950, yet their spirits were cheerful and their courage unshaken. Twenty-five days' provisions still remained, and Arnold determined to push on to the French settlements on the Chaudière, estimated at ten days' distance. "The great carrying place was a portage of fifteen miles, broken by three ponds. Oxen dragged the batteaux part of the way on sleds, and the baggage and stores were carried on the shoulders of the men. Over craggy knolls and tangled ravines, through deep morasses, creeks, and ponds, they pursued their journey, sometimes carrying their vessels, and the vessels sometimes bearing them, until they reached the Dead River. The ponds afforded an abundance of delicious salmon-trout, and want of food had not yet been among their privations. The surface of the Dead River was smooth, and the waters flowed on in a gentle current in the midst of the magnificent forest, now rendered gorgeous by the brilliant hues imparted to foliage by early frost. Occasional falls interrupted their progress, but the labors of the men were far less severe than hitherto. Suddenly the monotony of the vast forest was broken by the appearance of a lofty mountain covered with snow, at the foot of which Arnold encamped three days, raising the Continental flag over his tent.

When the expedition moved forward a heavy rain set in, which sent

down such heavy torrents from the hills that the river arose eight feet in one night, overflowing its banks and filling its channels with rafts of drift-wood. So suddenly did this freshet occur that the water came roaring down the valley where the soldiers were encamped so unexpectedly and powerfully that they had barely time to retreat to their batteaux before the whole plain was overflowed. Seven boats were overturned and their provisions lost, and others were in imminent peril in the midst of the flood. They were yet thirty miles from the head of the Chaudiere, and but about twelve days' provisions remained. The storm and exposure made many sick, and despondency supplanted cheerfulness, for the future seemed pregnant with misery. A council of war was held, and it was decided to send the sick and feeble back, and to press forward with the healthy. Arnold wrote to Greene and Enos, who were in the rear, to select as many of their best men as they could supply with fifteen days' provisions, and come on with them, leaving the others to return to Norridgewock. Enos, either through a false construction of the order or willful disobedience, returned to Cambridge with his whole division. His appearance excited the greatest indignation in the Continental camp, and Enos was looked upon as a traitor for thus deserting his companions and endangering the whole expedition. He was tried by a court martial, and, it being proved that he was short of provisions, and that none could be procured in the wilderness, he was acquitted. He never was restored in public estimation, however, and soon afterwards left the army.¹

In the meanwhile Arnold, with the rest of the troops, pressed onward. The rain changed to snow, and ice formed upon the water in which the men waded to push the batteaux as they passed the numerous ponds and marshes near the sources of the Dead River. Seventeen falls were passed, and on a bleak day, marching through snow two inches deep, they reached the Highlands which separated the waters of New England from Canada."

Soon they came to Lake Megantic, on whose eastern shore the little army encamped to recruit from their fatiguing march, while Arnold, with thirteen men in batteaux and canoes, and Capt. Hanchet, with a party of fifty-five men on shore, proceeded down the Chaudiere to the French settlements, to procure provisions. The voyage was frightful in the extreme. The rapid current boiled and foamed over a rocky bottom, and they were without guides, but they lashed themselves to the batteaux and embarked upon the stream. Soon they were among the rapids. Three boats were broken to pieces, their contents upset, and the hapless

¹ The circumstances of this case are most forcibly stated in the admirable defense of Enos' conduct, made by Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden of Wilkesbarre, Pa., in an article entitled *Gen. Roger Enos: A Lost Chapter of Arnold's Expedition to Canada, 1775*, published in the *Magazine of American History*.

voyageurs left struggling with the waters, but no lives were lost. For seventy miles there was a constant succession of falls and rapids, with their accompanying dangers. At last they reached Sartigan, where the hospitable French furnished them with provisions, which were immediately sent back to the approaching army. They reached the troops at an opportune moment, for they had slaughtered their last ox some days before, and had even been reduced to the extremity of using dog's flesh, sand-roots, and the leather of their shoes and moccasins, for food.

Pushing on with renewed strength, the army reunited at Sartigan, and on the 1th of November, after this terrible march of thirty-two days through gloomy forests, emerged at Point Levi, opposite Quebec.

Their sudden appearance, mysterious and unheralded, gave rise to the most exaggerated rumors of their numbers, and the Canadians were in a tumult of alarm. Arnold's intention was to have taken advantage of this, and strike a bold and decisive blow: but a heavy storm of wind and sleet prevented him from crossing the River St. Lawrence until the evening of the 13th. Then, under the very guns of a frigate which had been placed in the stream to intercept him, Arnold safely landed his forces at Wolf's Cove, and scaling the heights where Wolf had ascended sixteen years before, stood at dawn upon the Plains of Abraham. And as the little band of patriots mustered there before the grim battlements looming fearfully through the gray light of morn, it is not strange that their hearts sank within them, and that for the first time they realized the full extent of their own hardihood. They numbered but 750 men, without artillery, and half of their muskets were spoiled and useless. They learned also that new reinforcements had added to the enemy's strength. Arnold, however, made a feint of attack, hoping to draw out the English, and relying on the French.

The French, however, were deterred by fear of the English garrison, who in turn were too wary to place the city at the power of enemies within by issuing forth against the inconsiderable force which menaced them without. Consequently, after indulging in some ineffectual bravado, Arnold, finding himself deficient in stores and ammunition, and learning that further reinforcements to the enemies were approaching, hastily retired to Point aux Trembles, twenty miles above Quebec, there to await the arrival of Montgomery's army. On the 1st of December Montgomery appeared with a most welcome supply of clothing for Arnold's half-naked troops, and, taking the chief command, the combined forces, *of less than 1,000 men*, again set out, in the face of a severe snow storm, for Quebec. Reaching that place on the 5th, they invested the city as well as they could with so insignificant a force; and three weeks were spent in fruitless endeavors to intimidate the British commander to surrender, or to batter down an entrance with the light guns which

they possessed. Now mutiny and dissatisfaction began to develop themselves, and the small-pox broke out in the camp. In the face of all these fearful dangers a council of war determined upon a regular assault. At 2 o'clock on the morning of the 31st of December, in the midst of a driving storm of snow, which the winds were whirling into almost impassable drifts, the attack was commenced by three columns, commanded respectively by Montgomery, Arnold, Livingston, and Brown, which, approaching the town by different routes, were to meet at a certain point. Slowly and cautiously Montgomery's command crept up to the lower town by the road, under Cape Diamond. Stealing upon the little, and as they hoped unprepared, battery, they were suddenly met by a terrific storm of iron hail, which for ten minutes belched forth death, and then ceased, for there was none to slay. The gallant Montgomery and his aids lay dead, and the few who lived fled in dismay from the terrible havoc. Meantime Arnold, at the head of his division, was straggling through the heavy snow-drifts in the Sault au Matelot, when he received a wound which obliged him to retire, and the command devolved on Morgan, under whom the brave troops stood battling in the narrow pass for three long hours. And just as they had succeeded in storming the battery they were surprised by an overwhelming force of the enemy, to whom they were obliged to surrender. Thus ended this rashest of all rash attempts to take Quebec: 160 of the American forces were killed and wounded, and 426 surrendered, while less than 800 escaped and retired to a short distance from the town, where, under Arnold's command, they remained till the following spring. Gen. Wooster then came from Montreal with a large force, and took the chief command. An attempt was made to beleaguer and occupy the city, which, however, proved futile, and the patriot arms were obliged to leave Canada without anything to boast of except their intrepidity in a good cause.

Those who surrendered themselves were kindly treated, and finally sent home to their anxious friends and families.

It may be thought by some that we have devoted more space to this expedition than is proper in a local history. We have, however, chosen to dwell upon it because, as one of the most remarkable exploits of modern history, it must always be interesting to those who love to recall the brave deeds of our revolutionary struggle, and because WINDSOR men shared the toils of that wonderful wilderness march, faced the fury of the elements, and the wilder storm of British artillery, and languished in the gloomy depths of a British prison.

In the escalade which was made by Arnold's division Capt. SETH HANCHETT, of Sutherland, and ELLIAH MARSHALL, of Windsor, were the first to mount the barrier. And clear above the rattle of musketry was heard the encouraging voice of the former: "Walk up, Marshall, our mothers

are at home praying for us, and the enemy can't hurt us." Aye, that was the secret of America's success in the Revolution: her cause was just, her Washington a paying general, and her brave sons, amid the temptations of camp life and the danger of battle, never forgot that mothers, wives, and daughters at home were praying for them.

THIOPHILUS HIDE lost his gun and was killed in the assault.

Among the prisoners we find the names of ELLAH MARSHALL, before mentioned, DANIEL ROYCE¹ (5th Co.), and STEPHEN FOSBURY (6th Wby.), who died in Canada, January 1, 1776, with small-pox, during his imprisonment, aged 20.²

Although these and other reverses tended to depress the hearts of America's patriotic defenders, yet the energy of Washington triumphed over every obstacle. He vigorously pushed forward his preparations for the siege of Boston, and, having secretly fortified Dorchester Heights, commenced the bombardment of the city on the 3d and 4th of March. In the darkness of the night, the American army had done its work well, and the sun, as it rose on the morn of the 5th, revealed to the astonished foe the adjacent heights bristling with cannon and men. Howe was astounded and chagrined. "I know not what I shall do," he exclaimed. "The rebels have done more in one night than my whole army would have done in a month." The tables were indeed turned. The British army in the city and the fleet in the bay were in an extremely critical situation. Esteeming "prudence the better part of valor," Howe abandoned the town, and on the 18th the American army entered it in triumph.

Quite a number of Windsor men were present at this scene, but we have been able to get but few of their names. SGT. THOMAS HAYDEN, before mentioned, was at Roxbury when the fortifications were thrown up, and is said to have constructed some of them, a duty for which his business of carpenter and architect peculiarly fitted him. HEZEKIAH HAYDEN, LEMUEL WELCH, NATHANIEL LAMBERTON, and INCREASE MATHER were also there. EZRA HAYDEN was at Dorchester.

¹ A Journal of the Expedition, published in *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Register*, vi. 129.

² This, with other *Windsorbury* names, from the manuscripts of the Rev. H. Bissell.

³ We make the following extract from one of his letters, addressed to his father, Dea. Nathaniel Hayden, dated "Camp at Roxbury, Jan'y 30, 1776."

"Honored Sir It is a sick time in the camp, several been carried to the hospital to-day, and a day or two past. Six I hear, are broke out with the small-pox to-day & carried to Cambridge hospital (supposed) to be catched of the Deserters which come in daily. We are in some fear from the enemy, our regiments are but about half full. Number is so small and duty is so hard & weather is so cold that we are in great danger of being sick. One John Gilman died last night in Capt. Bissell's company — one Indian man died this morning in the hospital — 12 unfit for duty in our company — Windsor men are tolerably well. But I blest be God am remarkably hearty. Provisions is plenty and good."

In 1776, the number of Connecticut regiments in the field was increased from eight to twenty-seven, largely composed of re-enlistments from the men of 1775—all enlisted men in the Continental army being specially exempted from the poll tax in the year 1776, and from arrest for debts during their term of service.

During the re-organization of the Continental army before Boston, December, 1775, to February, 1776, when soldiers were coming and going, Washington called for New England regiments to guard the lines at various points, until the new army had been well established. One of the three Connecticut regiments sent for this duty was that of Col. ERASTUS WOLCOTT of East Windsor. They reached Boston about the end of January, 1776, and remained about six weeks. The only rolls preserved are those of Wolcott's regiment, which formed a part of the American army of occupation of Boston after the British had evacuated that city.

After the evacuation of Boston by the British, they concentrated their forces near New York city. This caused Gen. Washington to call upon Gov. Trumbull to order the whole of the standing militia of this State west of the Connecticut River. His urgent request was promptly responded to by the governor, and there were not less than 10,000 Connecticut militia in the service near New York, among whom were very many "Windsor boys."

The little neighborhood of Pine Meadow, now Windsor Locks, consisted of nine families. The heads of all but one of these families were in the army.

In the disastrous battle of Long Island, August 27, 1776, the affair at White Plains, and the retreats through Westchester County, the Connecticut troops suffered terribly. In the motley crowd which accompanied this retreat, it is related,¹ was "the wife of Major, afterwards Gen. Roger Newberry, in a carriage in which she had driven from Windsor to care for her sick husband. At one point her carriage was disabled, and they likely to fall into the hands of their enemies. She pleaded unsuccessfully with the sick man to suffer the badges of his rank to be removed, but he escaped with them on. JABEZ HASKELL, then act-

Jabez Haskell

ing as nurse to the sick, and who had succeeded in bringing off a number of sick Windsor men as far as King's

Bridge, was challenged by the guard at that point, and his pass demanded. Charging bayonet, he shouted, "Here's my pass. Stand out of the way," and his invalid corps was soon beyond pursuit. One Windsor man who

¹ *Hist. Add. at Windsor Centennial*, July 4, 1876, by J. H. Hayden.

was struck by a spent ball, so increased his speed as to leave all his comrades behind. Many fell at their posts, and many, less fortunate, were imprisoned within the gloomy walls of the Old Sugar House, or suffered the terrors of those floating charnels, the prison ships.¹

Hezekiah Hayden HEZEKIAH HAYDEN² enlisted into the army about the 1st of January, 1776, and served as a private soldier. July 2d, Washington had issued an order to the army, portraying the perilous condition of the country, and the momentous interests at stake in the impending battle. Finding in this order what best expressed his own sentiments regarding the situation, the soldier copied from it until the drum-beat called him to lay aside his pen and resume his musket :

" CAMP NEW YORK, July 4, 1776.

" *Honored Father and Mother :*

" The time is now near at hand which must probably determine whether Americans are to be free men or slaves—whether they are to have any property they can call their own; whether their houses and farms are to be pillaged and destroyed, and they consigned to a state of wretchedness from which no human efforts will properly deliver them. The fate of unborn millions will now depend, under God, on the courage and conduct of this army. Our cruel and merciless enemy leaves us no choice but a brave resistance, or the most abject submission. This is all we can expect. We have, therefore, to resolve to conquer or die. Our country's honor calls upon us for a vigorous and manly exertion, and if we now shamefully fail, we shall become infamous to the whole world. Let us rely upon the goodness of our cause, and the aid of the Supreme Being, in whose hands victory is, to animate and encourage us to great and noble actions. The eyes of all our countrymen are now upon us, and we shall have their blessings and praises if, happily, we are the instruments of saving them from the tyranny meditated against them.

" Let us animate and encourage each other, and show to the whole world that a freeman contending for liberty on his own ground, is superior to any slavish mercenary on earth.

" The General recommends to his officers great coolness in time of action, and to the soldiers strict attention and obedience, with a becoming firmness of spirit.

" The drum beats, and I must turn out with fatigue men and main guard. 'Tis, thanks be to God, pretty healthy in the army.

" Your affectionate son,

" HEZEKIAH HAYDEN."³

He was taken prisoner on the 27th August, 1776, at the battle of Long Island, and died on board the prison-ship, of starvation, after having disposed of everything in his possession, even to his sleeve-buttons, to purchase of his keeper food enough to sustain life. He was a native of Windsor, and much respected and esteemed by his neighbors.

NATHANIEL LAMBERTON³ died on board the prison ship, November 9th.

WILLIAM PARSONS⁴ died November 9th, in captivity at New York.

¹ *Ibid.*

² See note, p. 323.

³ *Ibid.*

ELIHU DENSLOW (son of Samuel, on West street, Pine Meadow) died September 9th, in camp, at New York, of camp distemper (dysentery).

Capt. EBENEZER FITCH BISSELL, Sr.,¹ was one of those who endured the horrible cruelties of the imprisonment in the Jersey prison ship. He was accustomed to relate with much feeling the sufferings which he witnessed and experienced at that time. He sent home to his family for money. Silver was extremely scarce, and by dint of hard scraping, borrowing, and pledging, they succeeded in sending him some. But it never reached him, having probably found its way to the pocket of some greedy British official. "His wife (whose maiden name was Esther Hayden) was vigilant in her endeavors to send articles for his comfort and relief, and once succeeded in visiting him in his captivity."²

Sam^l Wing SAMUEL WING and his son MOSES were present at the retreat from New York.

JONATHAN BIDWELL (Why.), DANIEL GILLET, JERLIAH BARBER, ORADIAH FULLER, ELISHA MOORE, WATSON LOOMIS, were drafted and served in New York and Westchester in August and September.

FREDERICK (son of Ezekiel) CASE (Why.), died July 26th, in camp, at New York, in his 15th year.

OLIVER CASE (Why.), died October 5th, near New York, aged about 30.

SAMUEL ANDRUS (Why.), died October 5th, on return from camp, near New York.

¹ Tradition does not make it clear whether these men died in the "Old Jersey Prison Ship" or in the old Sugar House or in a Church in New York. Mrs. Ezra Hayden told me that she was present at a meeting of the father of Hezekiah Hayden (Deacon Nathaniel) and the mother of Nathaniel Lamberton when the news first reached them—that their fears were realized, and that their sons were dead from starvation. She also told me that Captain Bissell, who survived his imprisonment, used to go around among the pews every day to see his starving men. Anson Hayden (a nephew of Hezekiah Hayden who lived in New York 70 years ago, told a Windsor friend while passing the old "Sugar House" that his Uncle Hezekiah died there. And yet it was a common saying, when I was a boy, that Uncle Hezekiah was starved to death in the old Jersey Prison Ship. Perhaps some or all of them were at first put in the prison ship, and transferred to New York later on. A niece of Capt. Bissell said in my hearing that after the war her uncle would sometimes look wistfully at the debris his wife had cast aside for the pigs and say, "What wouldn't I have given, Esther, while I was in prison, for the privilege of going to that barrel." These men all belonged at Hayden's. Cornet Russell, who lived nearer the center of the town, also survived, but so broken by his sufferings that he could never speak, after he reached home, above a whisper. This treatment of the prisoners by the British army greatly exasperated the friends of the victims here and elsewhere throughout the colonies. —J. H. HAYDEN, 1891.

² *Mss.* of Mrs. Fanny L. Bissell, in whose possession was preserved the sword of this gallant officer.

JOSEPH MARSH died August 15th, at Meriden, coming from camp at New York.

The great number, as well as the length of the drafts, had seriously interfered with the agricultural interests of the town, and the crops were scanty and insufficient for the winter's supply. Nearly all the able-bodied men of Windsor were absent in the army, and labor was so scarce that the harvests of 1776 were literally gathered by the women and children. There came, also, a time, when the stern law of necessity required from every barn in Windsor all the grain there found above a given amount for each member of the household depending upon it. And again the constituted authorities went forth in search of lead for bullets. The tradition which preserves this fact also mentions that not a clock in the whole town marked the flight of time, *their weights having been melted down and run into bullets*. This was owing to a requisition. This tradition is well authenticated, both in the case of this and of the surrounding towns. Mr. Roswell Miller once related this fact to Dea. Jabez H. Hayden. Corroborative of this fact, we have found, in looking over some Revolutionary papers of the town, several memoranda, of which this will serve as a specimen, of "lead delivered to the Towns-Men, 1776, clock weight lead."

Captain Stoughton	18 pounds.	David Ellsworth, Jr.,	24 pounds
Captain Ellsworth,	31 "	Daniel Hayden,	24 "
Rev. Mr. Hinsdale,	13 "	John Allyn,	14 "
Josiah Allyn,	28 "		

There were those, however, who failed to see the corresponding good. Mr. Eliakim Mather, who lived on the street nearly a mile north of the old church, declared the taking of his clock weights to be an illegal and arbitrary act, and took an oath (a familiar practice with him), that his clock should stand without weights until the authority which took them away returned them. Through all the long forty years of the old man's after life, the old clock was to him an unmoved witness to his persevering observance of his oath; and when, at the age of eighty-four, he looked for the last time upon the face of his clock, it still gave no sound.

Capt. ERASTUS WOLCOTT was taken prisoner, but exchanged.

SETH PHELPS of Windsor was 2d lieutenant in Col. Durkee's regiment, 20th Continental.

ABNER WARD of Windsor, captain in Col. Ward's regiment.

1777.

Early this year, enlistments for three years, or during the war, were called for, and the quota established for each town. This new levy was

¹ J. H. Hayden's *Add. at Centennial at Windsor*, July 4, 1876.

a severe test of their patriotism, but, burdened and overstrained as they were, it was cheerfully and promptly met by Windsor and the other towns of the State. Large bounties were offered to those who would enlist, and those who, from any cause, were not liable to be engaged in military duty were heavily taxed to pay the expenses thus incurred.

As recruiting for the Continental line progressed but slowly in the spring of 1777, and the Connecticut regiments were not ready to take the field, Washington urged the Governor to send a body of militia to serve for six weeks at Peekskill, where Gen. McDougall was then posted with a slight force. Three regiments — composed of detachments from the militia regiments — were sent, under command of Brig.-Gen. Erastus Wolcott, and were distributed at White Plains, Crompond, Fishkill, Fort Montgomery, etc.

The following appears on the town books:

"At a town meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Windsor, lawfully warned and held in Windsor, the 23d of April, 1777, for the purpose of doing the following business, viz: 1st, To see what method the town will take to encourage the proportion of soldiers assigned to the town of Windsor to enlist into the Continental Army, to supply the quota assigned to this town.

"2d, To choose a committee to provide necessaries for the families of all those persons belonging to the town of Windsor that shall enlist into the Continental Army at the price as stated by Law, and at said meeting Doct. Alex. Wolcott chosen Moderator for said meeting.

"To raise a Rate or tax upon the list of the poles and rateable estate of the inhabitants of the town of Windsor, made and computed for August 29, 1776, of so much money upon the Pound as will raise Thirty pound Lawful money for each able bodied effective man that belongs to the town of Windsor that has already enlisted into the Eight Battalions, including what they have already received as private encouragement for enlisting, and are now actually in service in the Continental Army, or that shall enlist into either of the Eight Battalions ordered to be raised in the State of Connecticut for Continental Service on or before the 30th day of April instant, at 12 of the clock on the same day. Provided that not a larger number than 79 soldiers that shall enlist including the number already enlisted, the first 79 soldiers that shall enlist shall receive said sum, which said sum shall be paid to each soldier that has already enlisted or that shall enlist before said 30th day of April, inst. at 12 of the clock on said day, until said number be made up."

At the next meeting, held May 2, 1777, this encouragement was renewed to all who should enlist before the 9th of May, inst.; also

"Voted, That the families of all such soldiers, being lawful inhabitants of the town of Windsor, who have or shall engage and go into any of the Continental Battalions to be raised in this State, shall be supplied with necessaries in their absence by a committee appointed for that purpose, at the price affixed by Law on his or their lodging or remitting money to said Committee appointed for that purpose, the additional cost to be paid by said town agreeable to his honor's recommendation in the aforesaid Proclamation."

Resolved, that Henry Allyn, Noah Griswold, Solomon Allyn, Samuel Denslow, George Griswold, and Josiah Gillet be a Committee agreeable to the above vote, and to execute the same.

"At a town meeting held by adjournment on the 9th of May, 1777, and opened at the clock afternoon according to adjournment, the Moderator of the former meeting, not being present, Capt. Nathl Loomis was chosen Moderator," "at said meeting Voted, that each able bodied effective man that is an inhabitant of the town of Windsor, that shall enlist into either of the Eight Battalions of Continental Troops belonging to the State of Connecticut, or that has enlisted since the 25th day of April last, shall receive of the Selectmen of the town of Windsor an order upon the Treasurer of the town of Windsor for the sum of Thirty pounds Lawful money agreeable to the vote of this town at their meeting holden on the 22d day of April last. Provided that every soldier so enlisted shall be able to secure the Selectmen, that in case such soldier shall not possess a surety that he will repay the said sum into the town treasury with lawful interest for the same from the time of receiving said money out of said treasury, until the same be repaid into said treasury, and the said order to be drawn upon the said Treasurer to pay the same within two days after sight thereof, and if not then paid to pay the lawful interest for the same after the said two days till such time as the Treasurer shall receive the money for the purpose of paying said order and lay the same by for that purpose."

The encouragement of £30 was again renewed at town meeting of May 27th, and it was also

"Voted; that Capt. Caleb Phelps, Col. Roger Eno, Mr. Alex. Allin, Capt. Nathl. Hayden, Capt. Isaac Pinney, Capt. Edward Barnard, Peletiah Mills, and Capt. Josiah Gillet be a Committee to prepare a Subscription and present the same to the inhabitants of this town in order to raise money by voluntary subscription for the purpose of paying the encouragement voted by this town to give to those inhabitants of this town that shall enlist into the Continental Army."

In addition to this subscription, a rate or tax of eighteen pence upon the pound was self-imposed for the same purpose, by a vote of the town, June 10, 1777.

And at a town meeting in September, Capt. Caleb Phelps being Moderator, it was

Resolved; that the Selectmen of this town purchase or procure, as soon as may be upon the best terms they can, the sundry articles of clothing as requested by the Governor and Council of Safety at their meeting at Lebanon upon the 12th day of Sept. inst., for the Non-commissioned officers and soldiers raised for the Quota of soldiers assigned for the town of Windsor, and that actually enlisted into the Continental Army for the term of the War or for three years, and forward the same to the Commissaries as requested, and bring in their accounts which shall be allowed and paid by this town, including such sum or sums as shall or may be received from the Colony Treasury or other way by order of the General Assembly in October next.

In *Conn. State Archives*, Revol. War, xii, 304, we find an account rendered by Hez. Wyllys, against the State of Connecticut, under date of Sept. 29, 1777, for "procuring Man and Horse to ride express to Windsor on occasion of the alarm from the Enemies of the United States of America, in said month of September, expences for himself and Horse in the Night Season to Raise the Militia to join Gen. Putnam at Fishkill. £1 0s. 9d. Bill pd. Dec. 3, '78."

Dec., 1777.—Capt. Caleb Phelps, Solomon Allyn, Sam'l Denslow,

and Noah Griswold were appointed a Committee to provide necessities for soldiers' families.

Capt. ABNER PRIOR, belonging to the Fourth Connecticut Regiment, and Lieut. SETH PHELPS of Col. Durkee's regiment, spent some time in Windsor during May, 1777, as recruiting officers; and the work of enrollment went bravely on. Capt. Prior seems to have enlisted the largest number. The original certificates of enlistments, bearing on their backs the owners' endorsements of £30 bounty received from the selectmen, we found preserved (?) in an old barrel (!) at the clerk's office. From these we have been enabled to rescue the names and fame of many of Windsor's revolutionary heroes, which otherwise would have been lost to posterity.

The attack of the British on Danbury, April the 26th, spread a general alarm throughout the State, and Windsor sent many volunteers, most of whom, however, arrived too late to participate in the action of the next day. Among those who started in hot haste for the fray, was DANIEL PHELPS, *aged eighty-four*, who was accompanied by DANIEL GILLET, a young neighbor. Mounted on horseback, they were far on their way toward Danbury, when they were met with the news that the crisis had passed, and volunteers were not needed. Old Mr. Phelps was bitterly disappointed, exclaiming, as he turned his face towards home, "I am so sorry, I wanted just to have a few shots at those red-coat British." On the homeward road they came to a ferry where a number of impatient riders were waiting their turn to be ferried over, but who with one consent allowed the old man the preference, and on his urgent plea suffered "his boy" (Gillett) to go with him. On arriving at Litchfield late that evening, on their homeward route, the old gentleman was so stiff from age and unwonted fatigue, that he was obliged to be helped from his saddle. The exertion which he had made undoubtedly hastened his death, which occurred a few days after. Such was the "spirit of '76."

Capt. EDWARD GRISWOLD of Windsor (as we learn from an affidavit from his son Solomon, May, 1787), (*Conn. State Archives, Revol.*, viii. 85-89), commanded a company at Horseneck this year.

LUTHER CENTER, returning from captivity in New York, died at Wintonbury, Jan., 1777. (*Why. Ch. Rec.*)

REUBEN KING (Why.), returning home from captivity in New York, died January, 1777, aged about 18.

JOHN WILSON (Why.), died at or near New York, aged about 18.

Lieut. SAMUEL WING, died at Danbury, in the service, July, 1777. (*Rev. Mr. Hinsdale's North Ch. Rec.*)

In October of this year, a detachment of Ensign David Barber's company of Windsor, belonging to Lieut.-Col. Willey's regiment of

State militia, was ordered to Peekskill. They started on the 6th, and were absent about thirty-eight days. Their names were as follows:

Ensn DAVID BARBER,	TIMO. COOK,
Sgt. MARTIN PINNEY,	GIDEON CASE,
Sgt. ALEX. GRISWOLD,	ABEL GRISWOLD,
Corp. ZEPHANIAH WEBSTER,	ELISHA MARSHALL,
Drum. JOSEPH HOLCOMB,	OLIVER PHELPS,
BENJ. MOORE.	

Col. ROGER ENOS, of this town, commanded one of the regiments raised in May of this year. He was stationed on the southwestern border of the State, near Long Island Sound.

1778.

was a gloomy year. Enlistments went on slowly; the previous winter (1777-8) had been disastrous and severe; the small-pox was raging in several parts of the country, and men's hearts "failed them for fear." The States, however, came together on a common basis of federation, and, with the aid of the French troops, the war was prosecuted with commendable vigor. Some of the Windsor troops were this year wintered in garrison at West Point.

ELIJAH HILL, JUDAH PINNEY, and JOSEPH HOLCOMB, belonging to Capt. Barber's company, were among the number.

The terrible massacre at Wyoming, in Pennsylvania—a town settled by and belonging to Connecticut—produced great agitation and distress throughout the State. In every county and town there were those who had dear friends and relatives there, and when they heard of the terrible fate which had befallen them, there was deep sorrow and indignation in every heart.

Mrs. AZUBA (Griswold) PERKINS, a daughter of Windsor, barely escaped with her two children, from the infuriated savages, who had murdered her husband. She afterwards lived and died in Poquonock.

Dr. ELISHA N. SILL was also a survivor of the Wyoming massacre.

SAMUEL COY and JOEL DENSLOW both died in camp, June, 1778.

Lieut. REUBEN ELLSWORTH was sent, by order of the Assembly, Sept., 1778, to Headquarters at Frederickburgh, with pay-roll of Troop of Light Horse, in service at New York, 1776. His bill of nine days' time, from Windsor to F., expenses and horse hire for ninety miles amounts to £26—14 was paid. *Conn. State Arch., Revol. War*, xvi. 290.

1779.

The war being principally carried on in the South, the Connecticut troops were not in very active service. Two alarms for the defense of Horse Neck, in February and May, and the great scarcity of clothing and

provisions in the army were the most noticeable events in the northern division.

At a town meeting held in July, it was voted, that Mr. Elisha Strong should be an agent to procure the quota of clothing assigned for the town of Windsor to clothe the Connecticut line in the Continental Army.

Again at a town meeting in the same month, it was voted,

"That Mr. Elisha Strong, agent for this town for the clothing of the Connecticut line in the Continental Army assigned for this town to purchase by Resolve of the General Assembly in May last, be and he is hereby authorized and empowered to borrow on the credit of this town and give his obligation therefor, a sum not exceeding Three thousand pounds Lawful Money, pay able in a reasonable time on interest, for the purpose aforesaid, and that he be accountable to this town therefor and that he use all possible care and prudence that the Loaners be repaid by monies received from this or the United States."

This year, Joab Griswold, "being a ready penman," was appointed Collector of Military Taxes for Windsor." — *Conn. Arch., Recd.*, xxi. 205.

1780

was a peculiarly trying year to the American cause. Destitution, famine, and want of clothing had assailed and tortured the northern army in their winter-quarters. Defeat and toryism were the fearful odds against which the southern army was contending. Added to this, the heavy drain of men and means, for the past four years, had impoverished the country, and the sudden depreciation of *Continental* currency, with which the soldiers had been paid off, served to increase the general distress and wretchedness. Just at this juncture, also, as if to complete the gloominess of public affairs, the treachery of Arnold came to light, filling every heart with the direst apprehension of trouble and disaster. Men's hearts stood still with doubt and fear, and it was with the utmost difficulty that Washington and the leaders of the Revolution succeeded by the most untiring exertions and the most earnest and impassioned appeals, in reviving the drooping faith and energies of the people.

The records of Windsor show that the most extraordinary means were put forth, by the authorities, to secure the necessary number of troops which were required. Large bounties were offered for enlistment, and heavy taxes imposed to meet them. And there is sufficient evidence that the calls, both for enlistment and contributions, were responded to with a cheerfulness almost remarkable, when we consider the number of excessive drafts which had been made on the town, and its consequent weakness.

"At a town meeting 10th July, 1780. Voted, that each able bodied effective man that shall enlist muster and be accounted one of the Quota assigned to this town by virtue of an act of the Governor and Council of Safety at a meeting held at Hartford on

the 20th day of June 1780 for raising one thousand men in this State to serve in the Continental army till the last day of December next, shall receive in addition to the bounty given by this State the sum of 40 shillings lawful money; and that each person so enlisting that shall lodge with the treasurer of this town the whole or part of said bounty, and his wages now given, he shall receive for the same during the term aforesaid, the interest at 6 per ct. within a reasonable time. All of which shall be paid in Wheat at four shillings per bushel, or an equivalent thereto in Indian corn, Rye, or Beef as those articles were usually sold in the year 1774, or in money equivalent in a reasonable time, provided that all monies lodged with the Treasurer of this town be lodged within Ten days next after they shall receive the same."

The *militia* of the town, who should be detached for *three months* service, were offered a bounty of twenty shillings, to be paid out of the town treasury in the same manner and on the same conditions as above stated.

NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS, belonging to Eighth Co., or Train-band, in the 1st Reg. of Militia, Windsor, 29 May, 1779 — (*Conn. State Arch., Revol. War*, xxi. 187, 188):

Daniel Clark	James Willson	Samuel Rowse
Philander Moore	Calvin Willson	Simeon Moor
Sam ^l Barnard	John Giles (drum & fife)	John Phelps 3
Joseph Barnard, Jr.	Abel Wright	Job Phelps
Eli Phelps	Oliver Phelps	John Palmer
Joel Wilson, Jun.	Timothy Cook	Will ^m Phelps, 2th
Abel Griswold	Alexander Phelps	Daniel Phelps
Moses Clark	Juda Pinney	Lot Phelps
Abijah Eno	Noah Griswold, Jr.	Edward Phelps

Another list of "Subscribers belonging to" same company, dated 24 May, 1779, gives the following additional names and *officers*:

(Sgt.) Isaac Phelps	Moses Niles
(Sgt.) Nathaniel Griswold	Elijah Griswold
(Sgt.) John Pinney	Isaac Griswold
(Sgt.) Martin Pinney	Nath ^l Pinney?
(Sgt.) Moses Griswold	Isaac Phelps 2th
(Corp ^l) John Phelps	James Eno
(Corp ^l) James Enos	Michael Brown
(Corp ^l) Elisha Phelps	Thomas Niles
Drum & fife,) Elihu Phelps	John Day
) Timothy Cook	Benj. Moore
George Griswold, 3rd	Justus Brown
Isaac Phelps, 3rd	Joseph Alford
Elisha Marshall	Phin ^s Griswold
Elihu Mather	Elihu Marshall
William Phelps	Solomon Griswold, Clerk
Gideon Case	Timo. Phelps, Jr.
Benoni Case	Edward Phelps
Simeon Phelps	
Elijah Hill	

Also, "Voted, that those persons of the troop of horse of the town of Windsor, to the number of five persons that shall be detached to serve in the foot for *six* months shall have the same encouragement as to bounty and wages made good to them, including the bounty and wages they shall receive of this State, as those of the foot of this town detached for six months by vote of this town." This was accompanied with the same privilege of interest, if they shall lodge their money with the town treasurer as above.

Ample provision was made at a subsequent meeting to guard against any inconvenience or loss by the depreciation of the continental currency.

"At a meeting, Nov. 6, 1780, voted, that the Selectmen of this town with the assistance of Capt. Benj. Allyn, Capt. Sam'l Stoughton, Jr., Mr. Seth Dexter, and Mr. Isaac Pinney, Jr., be a committee to class the inhabitants of the town of Windsor into so many equal classes by the list of the poles and rateable estate of the inhabitants of the town of Windsor, and others having estates in this town, given in August 1779, as the town of Windsor is deficient in their quota of men to fill up the Continental Army, and make report to their meeting on Wednesday next."

At their next town meeting, however, the people resolved *not* to class the town for raising their quota of men: but voted, that "Edward Griswold, Jr., Nath'l Griswold, Elisha Strong, Alex'r Allyn, Daniel Talcott, Jonah Gillet, Jr., Josiah Phelps, and Henry Allyn be a committee to *hire* their quota of men to fill up the deficiency in the army." They were "empowered to act their best judgment in procuring said men as to the price given and what pay to make, and if need be to borrow such sum of money as they shall judge it necessary for the purpose of procuring said men, which sums that said committee shall pay out for said purpose shall be repaid to them with lawful interest," etc.

The following Windsor men were appointed officers of the "Guard to the Convention Troops," May 31, 1780: Eben' F. Bissell, *Capt.*, Isaac Pomeroy, *Capt.*, Oliver Granger, *Ens.*, Seth Smith, *Lieut.*, John Seymour, *Ens.* — *Conn. State Arch., Revol. War*, xxi. 191. The Convention Troops were those belonging to Burgoyne's army, in transit to quarters which had been assigned them.

"A Memorial, dated Windsor, 17 April, 1780, sheweth . . . that one Troop of Light Horsemen and their Horses have been for about two Months last passed Quartered in this town and the Inhabitants have in General cheerfully parted with their Hay, till they can spare no more & in a very few days the Horses will have no Hay to eat unless the Cattle now fatig are turned out of the stalls & become poor, . . .

"Signed by HENRY ALLYN, } *Justices of*
 ROGER NEWBERRY, } *Peace.*
 EBZ' FITCH BISSELL, }
 GEORGE GRISWOLD, } *Selectmen.*
 JONAH GILLET, }

— *Conn. State Arch., Revol. War*, xviii. 118.

From a letter written by Col. Roger Newberry to Gov. Trumbull, 11 Dec., 1789, it appears that, since March, 1778, and by the Governor's direction, a guard had been established over the General Hospital Stores, located at Windsor—said guard being increased or diminished, according to the amount of stores in hand—and, at time of writing, consisting of eight soldiers: that Capt. James Hooker, who had the charge of these stores, while settling his accounts with Dr. Foster, Medical Director General at Boston, received from him verbal orders to dismiss the guard: but, as Col. N. has received no written orders, and as "under the same Roof with the Hospital Stores," are "the medicines for the Eastern Department under the care of Dr. Johnnot, with which Dr. Foster & Capt. Hooker have no concern, he does not feel justified in dismissing the guard, without the Governor's orders." — *Conn. State Arch., Revol. War.* xix. 275.

"To the Honourable the General Assembly of Governor and Company of the State of Connecticut

"The Memorials of us the Subscribers in the State of Connecticut, in behalf of ourselves & others humbly Sheweth that the last Winter and the fall before we Sold the Publick a number of Fatted Cattle in expectation of Immediate Payment but were Disappointed, many of our Cattle we Obtained on Credit, our Creditors call for their pay & we are in Danger of being Ruined For want of our pay we have since been unable to Procure Cattle for fattening & our Country suffers for want of our help Large (& necessary) Taxes are Called for and we are unable to pay because we have parted with our Substance for the use of our Country and can get Nothing therefor while those who have done nothing construe our zeal to serve our Country to be the want of Common prudence We are Chagrined to see (by some Political Mistakes) the Virtuous punished for their Publick spirit and the Base rewarded for their Baseness Permit us to ask ask your Honors. *Is Virtue a Crime? Does a zeal to Sustain the best Interest of our Country deserve to be Punished with heavy Mulets? Can we hope for future supplies & future serving while Justice is refused for the past?* It appears to us that to Refuse us pay is to Criminate and severely Punish our Virtue and our Zeal the Consequence is Obvious. But we have Confidence in your Honors Justice and Regard for the Publick Good and to your Honors we look for that Justice that is our Due & pray your Honors to take our Case into your Wise consideration & Grant us such relief in the Premises as shall appear Just and Reasonable and we as in duty Bound shall ever pray Dated at Windsor, the 11th Day of December Anno Domini, 1789

Henry Allyn
Roger Newberry
James Hooker
Alex^r Allin
Eliakim Mather
W^m Thrall
John Gaylord
Josiah Bissell
Ezra Hayden
Sam^l W. Allin
Alex^r Ellsworth
Ozias Loomis
Uriah Loomis, Jr.

Noah Griswold
Pel^d Mills
Solomon Allyn
Joseph Fitch
Edward Griswold, Jr.
James Parsons
Jonathan filley
James Cadwell
Amos Gillet
John Hubbard
Roger Mills
Robert Sanford
Hezekiah Lattimer

William Phelps
- Roger Phelps
Benjⁿ Allin
Daniel Talcott
John Filley

Elisha Moore
Daniel Eno
Phil^l Wilson Jr.
Isaac pinney
Isaac pinney Jr.
Martin Pinney
George Griswold, Jr

— *Conn. State Arch., R. col. War*, xix. 332, 333

Oliver Ellsworth of the Upper House and Messrs. Wales and Mitchell of the Lower House of the Assembly were appointed a Committee (Dec. 1780) to examine into and report upon this petition.

1781

brought with it new drafts and responsibilities. Gen. Washington, having informed the assembly that there was an imperative necessity of raising 1500 "three months' men," and a force equal to one-sixth part of the State's quota in the regular army, to supply deficiencies, they, at their May session, took measures to secure a voluntary enlistment of 2,100 men by the 1st of July following. All deficiencies existing after that date were to be filled by peremptory detachment. The largest part of actual service performed by these new troops was at Horseneck and vicinity, and guarding the seacoast from that place to New Haven, under charge of Brig.-Gen. Waterbury, Jr. These drafts afterwards (July) joined Washington at Phillipsburgh, N. Y., and for a while served under Gen. Heath, on the Westchester line.

Six men was the quota assigned to Windsor, who were raised by dividing the town into six classes, each of which hired a man for the service.

At town meeting, March 27, 1781,

"Voted, to apply to His Excellency the Governor, and Council of Safety for a permit to transport one thousand bushels of Indian corn to Rhode Island, for the sole purpose of enabling this town procuring Hard money to enable this town to comply with the act of the General Assembly relative to procuring the quantity of clothing assigned to this town for the Connecticut line of the Continental army

"Voted, that Capt. Josiah Phelps, Eliakim Marshall and Henry Allyn, be agents in behalf of this town to apply for said permit."

At town meeting, held April 3, 1781,

"Voted, That Nathl Griswold and Sylvanus Griswold shall take all benefit that may be had by a permit granted by His Excellency the Governor, and Council of Safety, granting to the town of Windsor liberty to transport one thousand bushels of Indian corn, or Rye flour equivalent thereto, to Rhode Island for the purpose of procuring Linen Cloth for frocks, shirts and overalls for this town's quota of clothing for the army, agreeable to the acts of the General Assembly, upon these conditions, that they lay out Sixty pounds Hard money in Linen cloth, proper, good and suitable for frocks, shirts and overalls: provided they procure the same by the 10th day May next—and deliver the same to Mr. Elijah Hubbard for and on account of the town of Windsor,

and to have no other pay for the same than what said Hubbard shall appraise the same at, and be allowed by Pay-table for the same.

"Voted, That Nath'l Griswold have Twelve pounds State money paid to him out of the treasury of this town upon his procuring One Hundred and eight [pairs] good, large well made men's shoes and one hundred and eight pairs of good, well made men's stockings, and deliver the same to Mr. Elijah Hubbard, Subclothier at Middletown, by the 10th day of May next, for and on account of the quota of shoes and stockings ordered by the General Assembly to be provided by the town of Windsor for each man, commissioned officer and soldier required for this town's quota of the Conn. Line of the Continental Army, to serve for three years or during the war. He having no other demand for the same than said twelve pounds State money and also that what shall be allowed by Pay-table for the same.

"Voted, To raise a rate or tax of four pence one farthing on the pound on the list of polls and rateable estate of the Inhabitants of the town of Windsor made and computed for August 20th, 1780, to be paid in Silver or Gold for the purpose of purchasing the Beef ordered by the General Assembly to be raised in this town in the months of July, August, September and October, 1781, as by said act may appear, &c.

"Voted, That James Roberts be Receiver of all such Beef-cattle as shall be brought in to him by any person or persons as shall choose to pay their four-pence half penny tax above.

"Voted, To raise the Beef assigned to this town, for this month and the three following months, said beef called to be appraised as in said act mentioned and the person or persons procuring the same to have the advantage of the same according to appraisement and price stated, only allowing one half of one per cent for trouble to said Roberts and said Roberts to have full power to purchase the whole of the beef ordered by the General Assembly to be raised in the month of July, August, September and October by this town, except the beef that shall be delivered to said Roberts by the inhabitants of this town, &c. . . . The town to have liberty to bring in their cattle by the 5th day of each of said months respectively."

The records of the town during the year

1782

present nothing of very special interest.

"At a town meeting held July 15, 1782, voted, That Gen. Roger Newberry and Mr. Oliver Ellsworth be a committee to attend the proposed Convention to be held at Hartford on the 16th day of July next, agreeable to the proposal made by the town of Farmington, there to represent this town to consult and advise what is proper and necessary to be done to carry into execution the Laws of the State for preventing illicit trade and commerce with the enemy, and to counsel and determine upon other matters and things for the public good, proper for such a convention."

The requisitions made upon the different towns of the State were very heavy, and it is doubtful if they could have much longer sustained the continued drain to which they had for so many years been subjected. The town of Windsor, in common with others, began to evince a flagging, not in her patriotism or cheerfulness, but in her *ability*. Yet every nerve was strained to its utmost. At this juncture the God of America's battles interposed his strong arm to save her. The surrender of Cornwallis on the 19th of October virtually ended the long eight years' struggle for independence. The whole country was filled with joy and

thanksgiving. Preliminary articles were signed at Paris in November following, and on the 19th of April, 1783, a formal proclamation of peace was published to the world.

SOCIETY OF THE CININNATI.

At the close of the Revolution the officers of the American army felt a natural desire in some way to perpetuate the long-cherished friendship and social intercourse which had bound them together during the many trying scenes of the contest which had ended. Agreeably, therefore, to the suggestion of Gen. Knox, and with the acquiescence of their beloved commander, Washington, they formed themselves, in May, 1783, into a society which they called, in honor of the Roman hero, Cincinnatus, the "Society of the Cininnati."

This association was founded on the following "immutable" principles:

"An incessant attention to preserve inviolate those exalted rights and liberties of human nature for which they have fought and bled, and without which the high rank of a national being is a curse instead of a blessing.

"An unalterable determination to promote and cherish between the respective States, that union and national honor so essentially necessary to their happiness and the future dignity of the American empire.

"To render permanent the cordial affection subsisting among the officers, this spirit will dictate brotherly kindness in all things, and particularly extend to the most substantial acts of beneficence, according to the ability of the society, towards those officers and their families who unfortunately may be under the necessity of receiving it."

On this basis, then, these officers solemnly associated themselves into "one society of friends, to endure as long as they shall endure, or any of their eldest male posterity, and in failure thereof, the collateral branches, who may be judged worthy of becoming its supporters and members."

This society was divided into State societies. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and South Carolina were thus represented. Gen. Washington was its first President-General from 1783 till his death in 1799. He was succeeded in 1800 by Gen. Alexander Hamilton until his death in 1804. His successor was Gen. Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, who died in 1825. Since then the office has been filled by Major-Gen. Thomas Pinckney, Col. Aaron Ogden, of New Jersey, Gen. Morgan Lewis of New York, Major Popham, of the same State, and lastly Gen. Dearborn.

The following commissioned officers of the Continental Army, belonging to Windsor, were members of the Connecticut Society of the Cininnati:¹

¹ From MSS., etc., relating to the Conn. Cininnati, in possession of the Conn. Hist. Soc.

	Time of service
Major ADNER PRIOR	Jan., '76.
Lieut. MARTIN DENSELOW,	April, '79-Aug., '82
Sgt. TIMOTHY MYLBER (Surgeon),	Oct. 15, '76.
Lieut. CORNELIUS RUSSELL,	1 Jan., '77
Lieut. SAMUEL GIBBS,	21 Jan., '77.
Capt. ERASTUS WOLCOTT	

The Town Treasurer's report of the year

1775, exhibits a balance in favor of the town, of -	- - - - -	£276 12 2
1776, " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	- - - - -	322 17
1777, " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	- - - - -	586 17 6
And money raised to hire soldiers in addition, -	- - - - -	859 17 1
1778. Balance on hand - - - - -	- - - - -	562 09 4
1780. Now in the hands of the Treasurer Phinehas Wilson, and collectors, £5,151:39,19 Con'l money, old currency.		
Also, 440:18:04 State money.		

1781. The Treasurer has on hand as follows :

£1,202:12:02 Continental.
2,109:04:11 State money.
439:17:11 Lawful money to purchase
142:02:01 Bounty money.

1782. On hand as follows

£590.09.08 Continental
539.07.00 State.
642.04.09 Silver.

1783. On hand :

£533:16:03 Continental money
476 12:00 State money
356:02:00 Silver.

1784. On hand :

£228:12:10 Continental.
71:11:01 State.
356.07.04 Legal.

THE HISTORY OF DANIEL BISSELL, THE SPY.

Among the names of Windsor soldiers in the Revolution occurs that of DANIEL BISSELL, accompanied on the official return by the ominous suffix, "deserter." The record was as undoubtedly authentic as it was unpalatable ; but enquiries among the old people suggested a probability that there were some extenuating circumstances, or possibly a satisfactory explanation. Investigations were at once instituted, and finally we had the extreme pleasure of vindicating the deserter's character, and of bringing to light the record of a life of devotion to his country's interests, and of suffering in her service, such as has been seldom paralleled, even in the roll of brave deeds which ennoble the page of American history.

Accompanying this was a letter from Major Humphreys, in which he says: "We hasten to furnish you with a certificate in conformity to *our just and distinct recollection of facts*, in the hope it may prove of some avail in procuring you a compensation for the perilous undertaking, in which we believe you engaged from motives of patriotism."

This testimony was further corroborated by two of his fellow sergeants, who were in the same regiment with him, and who were afterwards his neighbors in Richmond County, N. Y.

Sgt. Bissell was afterward Paymaster in Col. Bradley's Regiment in 1780, *Conn. State Archives, Revol. War*, xlii. 168. He also served in the campaign against the Indians in 1799, known as the *Adams War*. He then held the rank of 1st lieutenant in the 16th regiment of U. S. Infantry.

Still later he removed to Vermont, where he married a second wife. In 1810 he removed to Richmond, N. Y., where he died in August, 1824, aged 70 years.

His character was that of an upright, fearless, public-spirited citizen. His naturally fine constitution never recovered from the privations and sufferings to which he was exposed during his service as a spy within the British lines at New York; and the maladies to which his after life was subject undoubtedly tended much to cripple his energies, and to thwart the success which those energies would otherwise have accomplished. Yet he brought up a large family of children, all of whom have taken responsible and useful positions in life. And, to his latest hour, the remembrance of his patriotic service was a source of honorable pride, which fully compensated him for all the sufferings which it had entailed upon him.

AN INCIDENT.

At an early period in the Revolutionary struggle, and before the war had as yet fairly commenced, some of the *tories* (of whom there were a few in Windsor) happened one day to come across ELIHU DRAKE, then a young lad about eight years old, and, partly in earnest and partly in a joke, endeavored to compel him to say "God save the King." Failing of success, they tried to intimidate him by threatening him with a ducking in the Little River. But the boy still stoutly refused. Becoming somewhat enraged at the *young rebel*, they carried their threat into execution, and thrust him under water; but as they pulled him out spluttering and choking, the only exclamation which he uttered was a fervent "God d—n the King." Again and again was the little martyr thrust under, but each time the same "God d—n the King" was all which they could extort from him, and they were obliged to release him, with many hearty curses for his stubbornness.

This little hero was the son of Adjt. Augustine Drake, of Windsor, and afterwards, at the age of twelve, accompanied his father into the war, in the capacity of waiter.

A LIST OF SOLDIERS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY ARMY WHO WERE NATIVES OF, OR EXILED FROM, THE TOWN OF WINDSOR, CONN.

In presenting this list in the *first edition* of this work we stated that (despite the claim made by almost every family that it had an "ancestor in the Revolution") we had rigidly discarded *tradition* and had relied exclusively, in its compilation, upon *official documentary evidence*—such as papers in the State Archives at Hartford, the original certificates of enlistment in the Windsor town clerk's office, official returns, private letters, etc., etc.

Fortunately, the recent publication (1889) of the *Record of Service of Connecticut Men in the Military and Naval Service during the War of the Revolution, 1775-1783, edited by Henry P. Johnston, A.M., under authority of the Adjutant-General of Connecticut, and published by the State* (1889) enables us not only to prove the correctness of our former list, but to add materially to its *details*, as to regimental connections, terms of service, transfers, promotions, etc. Facts obtained from this official record are distinguished by being bracketted, thus [].

NOTE.—The term "Continental Army" first appears upon the printed records of the Continental Congress in the summary of proceedings for June 14, 1775, where the form of enlistment to be subscribed by companies of riflemen is given. It was to be an enlistment into "the American Continental Army." On the same day a committee of five was appointed, to prepare rules and regulations for the government of this prospective army, which were reported and adopted on the 30th. On June 15th, it was "Resolved, That a General be appointed to command all the Continental forces, raised or to be raised, for the defense of American Liberty," and Washington was unanimously elected.

At the opening of the War, or for the year 1775, no Continental force was in the first instance organized as such by Congress. As the New England colonies were mustering their own troops around Boston and Concord after the Lexington alarm, Congress adopted them as Continentals. Troops joining them from New York and elsewhere were generally recruited on the Continental basis. For the succeeding years of the war, Congress took the initiative and raised troops for the common army under its own regulations respecting pay, subsistence, and term of service. This was organized and reorganized several times and for various terms.

These Continentals were the "regulars" of the Revolution. They formed the main army in the field and were the chief dependence of the Colonial cause. In arranging rosters of that war, accordingly, the Continental army occupies the central and most prominent place. All other troops raised during the war, whether State or militia, were to act as reinforcements of this army, or to relieve it by serving in alarms at different points. (*Off. Rec. of Conn. Men in Revol. War*, p. 34.)

Abbreviations used in following List :

<i>app.</i> , appointed	<i>enl.</i> , enlisted.
<i>comm.</i> , commission or commissioned	<i>memb.</i> , member.
<i>Cont.</i> , Continental.	<i>prom.</i> , promoted
<i>d.</i> , died.	<i>red.</i> , reduced in rank.
<i>disc.</i> , discharged	<i>res.</i> , residence
<i>des.</i> , deserted	

ADAMS, WILLIAM (Corporal), of the Wintonbury Parish, "Lexington Alarm" party. — *Ms. List of Capt. Lemuel Roberts.*

ALFORD, JOSEPH, [of Capt. Griswold's Co., Brig. Gen. Erastus Wolcott's Brig., Col. Belden's Reg't (militia), joined reg't 6 Apl., disc. 23 May, 1777.] For service, see p. 320. Served at N. Y., Peekskill, Fishkill, and N. Haven.

ALLEN, BENJAMIN, 1st Lieut. Major Roger Newberry's Co., in Aug., 1776. See *Lemuel Drake* in this list.

ALLYN, ELISHA, [enl. 21 April, 1777, in Lieut. Chas. Seymour's Co., Col. Belden's Reg't, Brig. Gen. Erastus Wolcott's Brig.; disc. 6 June]. [was one of Capt. Robinson's Co., Col. Enos' Reg't, 3 mos' troops, which arrived at Saw Pitts, in the Hudson, 29 June, 1778.] In orig. edit. "enl. Mar., 1778, to Jan., 1779."

GEORGE, served at Horseneck, Conn., [from May, 1781, to Mar., 1782, res. Windsor; application for pension on file, Co. Clerk's off., Hartford.]

JOE, [enl. Capt. Roger Enos (3d) Co., 2d Reg't, Col. Spencer, 9 May, disc. 18 Dec., 1775; Capt. Abner Prior's Co., Col. E. Wolcott's Reg't, Boston, Jan.-Mch., 1776.]

JOHN, in "Lexington Alarm" party, Apl., 1775. See p. 311.

JOHN, Jr., in "Lexington Alarm" party, Apl., 1775. See p. 311.

JOSEPH, [enl. 1 Apl., 1777, for 8 mos. in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., 5th Reg't Conn. Line, of the formation of 1777-81; disc. 9 Jan., 1778.]

MOSES, served six mos. in 1780. [A Moses Allyn was in Capt. Roswell Grant's Co. of Col. Enos' (militia) Reg't in service on the Hudson, 1778]; an *E. W. Co.*

SOLOMON (Ens.) in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., Col. E. Wolcott's Reg't, Boston, Jan.-Mch. 1776, at Horseneck, Conn., May, 1781, to Mar., 1782. Sgt. of Capt. Samuel Granger's Co., Gen. Watbury's State Brig., 1781; joined 23 Apl.; prom. Ens. 19 Aug.

THOMAS, enl. 7 July, disc. Dec. 18, 1775; in 4th Co., 8th Cont. (Col. Huntington's) Reg.

ANDRUS, SAMUEL (Why.), died Oct. 5, on return from camp, near New York, 1776.

[ASHFORD, JOSEPH, memb. 8th Co. 1st Reg. Mil., Windsor.]

ATWOOD, PHILANDER, teamster of Supply Transportation teams, '79-'81.

BARBER, AMAZIAH, of the Wintonbury parish, "Lexington Alarm" party. — *Capt. Lemuel Roberts' Ms. List.*

BARBER, DAVID, Jr., enlisted May, 1777, in Capt. John Harmon's Co., Col. Durkee's Reg't, for 3 yrs. [this, the 29th Continental of '76, was Gen. Putnam's old army of '75 re-org.]

DAVID, Capt. of 8th Co., Poquitanock Parish, 1st Reg't Militia, Windsor, 20 May 1779, was detached with a company of men from the 1st Reg't on a tour of duty under Maj. Keat at N. Haven in Aug. and Sept. See pp. 327, 328.

JERLIAH, was drafted and served in New York and Westchester, in Aug. and Sept., 1780. See p. 323.

REUBEN, served six months in 1780. Prob. the Reuben, who was [of the levies in Col. Bradley's 5th Conn. Line Reg't, of the formation of 1777-81, of which Abner Prior of W. was a captain, Barber enl. July 1, and was disc. 13 Dec., 1780.]

SHUBAEL [served in Capt. Roger Enos' (3d) Co., 2d Reg. (Continental), Col. Spencer's 1775; raised on the first call for troops; enl. 7 May, disc. 19 Dec., '75, was of Capt. Abner Prior's Co., Col. Erastus Wolcott's State Reg't at Boston, Jan. to Mch., 1776; enl. 29 May, '77, for the war, in Capt. Harmon's Co. in 4th Reg. Conn. Line (Col. Durkee's), app. Corp'l 18 pt., '77; reduced 20 Oct., '77, d. Mch., '78?]. He also bought and sent a negro into the army. See p. 314.

THOMAS, said to have served in the same co. and reg. as Lory Drake, in this list, which see for particulars.

BARKER, OLIVER [res. Windsor; application for pension on file in Co. Clerk's off. at Hartford.] See p. 330.

BARNARD, EDWARD, JR., in Capt. Roger Enos' Co. (3d), 2d Reg. (Col. Spencer), May-Oct., 1775.

[JOSEPH, memb. 8th Co. 1st Reg't Militia, at Windsor], said to have enl. for the war; was at White Plains, N. Y. See p. 329.

JOSEPH, Jr., said to have served in Col. Durkee's reg't, Capt. John Harmon's Co., 1777; not found on old rolls of that co. and reg't in *Official Record*.

SAMUEL, [memb. 8th Co. 1st Reg't Militia, at Windsor] served at N. Y., Boston, and New Haven. [enl. in Capt. Lemuel Roberts' Co. 18th Mil. Reg't in service at N. Y., 24 Aug.; disc. Sept. 7, 1776—the co. disc. 23th] From *Conn. State Archives, Revol. War*, xxi. 197, we learn that he also served as a wagoner 8 days at New Haven.

[MOSES, was memb. 8th Co. 1st Reg. Militia, at Windsor].

BARNES, ABEL, [was a Rev. pensioner, res. W. 1840, aged 86.]

STEPHEN, served 6 months in 1780.

[BARRETT, JEREMIAH, res. Windsor; application for pension on file in Co. Clerk's off. at Hartford.]

BARZILLA, HENRY (colored), enl. in Capt. John Harmon's Co., Col. Durkee's (4th Conn. Line) Reg't, 15 May, 1777, for the war. Name appears in *Official Record* as Barzilla^d Henry.

BECKET, EZRA. (Possibly same as *Beckwith* below.)

BECKWITH, EZRA (date of Simsbury); enl. in Capt. [Daniel] Allin's Co., Col. Wyllys' Reg't [3d Conn. Line, formation of 1777-81] for the war [Apl. 1, 1777; disc. 25 Mch., 1780; was a Sgt.] See *Official Record*, 8, 45, 482.

[BENTON, ADONIRAM, enl. 3 Mch., 1781, for 3 yrs. as recruit in Sheldon's Dragoons; described as 5 ft. 6 in. high, dark complexion, light eyes, brown hair; farmer.] *Off. Rec.*, 165, 281, 358, 628.

ELIHU, served six mths. in 1780; was one of the [levies; enl. 1 July, in Third Reg't, Conn. Line, Col. Wyllys (formation of 1777-81), for short terms; disc. 4 Dec., 1780.]

BIDWELL, JONATHAN (Wly.), was drafted and served in N. Y. and Westchester, Aug. and Sept., 1776. See pp. 314, 323. *

BISSELL, (Ens.) CORNELIUS.

DAVID, Jr. (Lieut.)

DANIEL (Sgt.) [in 4th Co., 8th Cont. (Col. Huntington's) Reg., 1775, enl. 7 July, disc. Dec. 18, enl. 1 Apl., 1777, in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., 5th (Conn. Line), for war; prom. Sgt. 1 Sept., 77; Paymaster in Col. Bradley's Reg't in 1780—*Conn. State Archives, Revol. War*, xvii, 168, [was Sgt. also in Capt. Humphrey's Co., 2d (Conn. Line) Reg't, 1 Feb., 1783.] His services as a *squ* are more fully given on pages 336-343.

ELIAS (Corp'l), served in summer of 1780.

EBENEZER FITCH (Capt.), [enl. 6 July, 1775, in 4th Co., Huntington's (Eighth Continental Reg.; disc. 25 Nov., 1775; comm. 1st Lieut. 4th Co., same Reg't, 9 July; disc. 10 Dec., 1775; reenl. summer of '76; was Capt. of a Co. from Windsor in Col. Huntington's 17th Continental Reg't.] engaged in battle of and taken prisoner at Long Island; prisoner in Old Prison Ch.; was one of the capt. appointed to guard the Burgoyne prisoners on their way thro' Conn. to the Southward. See pp. 311, 323.

BISHOP, JOHN, joined Capt. Sam. Granger's Co., Gen. Waterbury's State Reg't, 1 Sept., 1781.

BLANCHARD, JEDIDIAH, prob. the same as the "[]yer Blanchard," of the *Official Record*, [who joined Capt. Sam. Granger's Co., Gen. Waterbury's State Reg't, 1 Sept., 1781]; prob. also, he was the Jedidiah Bianchar, who was memb. of 8th Co., or Train-band, 1st Reg. Militia in Windsor.] — *Off. Reg.*

BOGUE, DANIEL [was one of the levies who joined the 5th Conn. Line Reg't, Col. Bradley's, July 1; disc. 9 Dec., 1780].

BRISTER, JOHN (colored), enl. 1 Apl., 1777, in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., 5th Conn. Line Reg't, for the war [d. 10 May, 1777]. See p. 365, *Official Record*.

BROWN, DANIEL, was in camp at Roxbury, 1775; [prob. the same who enl. 15 Feb., 1777, and was Sgt. in 5th Conn. Line Reg. of the formation of 1777-81.] See p. 330.

ELIAS (difer), enl. Capt. Roger Enos' (3d) Co., Col. Spencer's 2d Reg't, 9 May, 1777; 18 Dec., 1775; 1 Apr., 1777, in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., 5th Conn. Line Reg. for the war [transf. to the General's Guard, 28 Mch., 1779], prom. from 1st to 2d Lt., 7 Sept., '81; served into '82.

EZRA, served at Horseneck, Conn., March, 1782, to 1 Apr., 1783.

JUDE C. [Capt.] [enl. in Capt. Wright's Co., 5th Conn. Line, 9 Feb., 1777, for the war; reduced 1 Oct., 1777]; is found also [on rolls of 2d Reg't Conn. L.] (formation of 1781-83), as private, Capt. Wright's Co.; enl. 1 Jan., paid to 31 Dec., 1781; Feb. 1, 1783, is a private in Capt. Robertson's Co., same reg., residence given as *Windsor*].

JUSTUS, served in Rhode Island and N. Y. [memb. of 8th Co. 1st Reg. Militia Windsor]. See p. 330.

MICHAEL, served at Old Milford and N. Y. [memb. of 8th Co. 1st Reg't Militia Windsor]. See p. 330.

SAMUEL, Jr., *Official Record*, 527.

BROWNSON, SAMUEL. [This name was found on roll of a Farmington Co., Capt. Heart's (3d), Col. Erastus Wolcott's State Reg., Jan. to Mch., 1776.]

RUGBEE, ———, was one of the "Lexington Alarm" party, Apr., '75; 13 days' service.

BURR, ASA, was [of Col. Canfield's Militia Reg't at West Point, N. Y., Sept., 1781].

SAMUEL, was [of Col. Canfield's Militia Reg't at West Point, N. Y., Sept., 1781].

THOMAS. Probably [Roger, who enl. 1 Apr., 1777, in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., 5th Conn. Line Reg't, for 8 mos., disc. 9 Jan., 1778.]

[**BURROUGHS, ZEBULON**, enl. Capt. Blackman's Co., Shelbourne's Reg't, 1 July, 1777, trans. to Col. S. B. Webb's Reg., 1 May; disc. 1 July, 1780.

BURNS, THOMAS [enl. 13 Aug., 1777, in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., 5th Conn. Line Reg't; enlisted out; as is supposed to join Georgia Battalion, Sept., 1777]

CAHALE, CORNELIUS. Prob. the one who [enl. 24 May, 1777, in 5th Conn. Line Reg't], and prob. in Capt. Abner Prior's Co. [for the war]; and who was 1st member of Capt. St. John's Co. in the Conn. Light Infantry, Maj. John Palgrave Wylls, serving under Lafayette Feb.-Nov., 1781, in the South, and present at siege of Yorktown, Va.]

CAMMARUM, DANIEL, aged 20, enl. Aug., 1777, in Capt. Eells Co., Col. Wylls' Reg't, at Peekskill, N. Y.

CANNY, PATRICK, served at Horseneck, Conn., Mch., 1782, to 1 Apr., 1783.

CASE, BENJAMIN, Jr.

CASE, BENONI, was at N. Y., New London, and Old Milford [memb. of 8th Co., 1st Reg. Militia of Windsor]. See p. 330.

EZEKIEL, Jr., enl. 7 July, disc. Dec. 18, 1775, in 4th Co., 8th Cont. (Col. Huntington's) Reg.

GIDEON, was at N. Y. and Fishkill [memb. 8th Co., 1st Reg. Militia of Windsor]. See also pp. 328, 330.

FREDERICK, son of Ezekiel (Why.), d. in camp at New York, 26 July, 1776, in 15th yr.

OLIVER (Why.), [was of Capt. Prior's Co., Col. Erastus Wolcott's State Reg't at Boston, Jan.-Mch., 1776]; died near camp at N. Y., Oct., 1776, aged abt. 30.

CENTER, LUTHER (Why.) [enl. 7 July, disc. 18 Dec., 1775, 4th (Capt. Humphrey's) Co. 8th Continental (Col. Humphrey's) Reg't; was in 2d (Capt. Gillet's) Co., Col. Gay's Reg., at Battle Long Island, and reported missing]; returning from captivity in N. Y., died at Why., Jan., 1777. (*Why. Ch. Rec.*)

CHANDLER, ISAAC, was [of Capt. Abner Prior's Co., Col. Erastus Wolcott's State Reg't, at Boston, Jan.-Mch., 1776]; enl. 1777, Capt. Thos. Abbey's Co., Col. Wyllys Reg't, at Entfield.

LEVI, enl. May, 1777, in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., 5th Conn. Reg't, for the war.

CHAPMAN (afterwards Rev.), FREDERICK, served six mos. in Col. Wyllys' Reg't, 1780, was a pensioner 1840, aged 79, d. about 1855.

CHARTER, LEVI [prob. the one who was a Sgt. in Capt. Parsons' Entfield Co., 2d Reg. Conn. Line (formation of 1777-81); enl. 15 Mch., '77, for 3 yrs.]. There was also a [Levi C. (Corp't) among the levies of the reg. in '79, for short term; enl. 1 Mch.; disc. 1 May, '79].

CLARK, BENJAMIN, enl. (prob. in Capt. Abner Prior's Co.) in 5th Conn. Line Reg. [27 May, 1777, for 8 mos.; disc. 9 Jan., 1778.]

DANIEL, was one of the levies in 5th Conn. Line Reg't; prob. Capt. Abner Prior's Co. [enl. 1 July; disc. 9 Dec., 1780]; also [memb. 8th Co., 1st Reg. Mil. of Windsor.] See p. 330.

DAVID [enl. 12 July; disc. 8 Dec., 1775, in Col. Huntington's 8th Continental Reg., 4th Co.]

ELIAS, served 6 mos. in 1780 [prob. the Elias who was of the levies; enl. in Third Conn. Line (Col. Wyllys') Reg't]; for the short term of 1780, 1 July; disc. 10 Dec.; was also a [pensioner, res. Hfd Co., 1832]. See *Official Record*, B, 475.

CLARK, EZEKIEL, served in the Continental Army, was at N. Y. and Peekskill; prob. the one who [enl. in Capt. Sam. Granger's Co., Gen. Waterbury's State Reg't, 1 Sept., 1781].

EZEKIEL, Jr. [enl. in Capt. Harmon's Co., 4th Conn. Line; Col. Durkee's Reg., for 3 yrs. 15 May, 1777; disc. 15 Mch., 1780]. It seems prob., also, that he was

the Ez. Clerk who had previously [enl. 10 May, 1775, in Capt. Hancher's (10th) Co. in 2d Continental Reg't., Col. Spencer's, and was disc. 17 Dec., 1777, and who was of [Capt. Harmon's Co., Gen. Wolcott's State Brig. at Bost. Jan.-Mch., 1776].

CLARK, GEORGE, enl. 5th Conn. Line, Col. Bradley's, and prob. in Capt. Abner Prior's Co. [29 May, 1777, for 8 mos.; disc. 9 Jan., 1778].

[IRA, res. Windsor; application for pension on file in Co. Clerk's office at Hartford.]

MOSES, was at Boston and New Haven. [Membr. 8th Co., 1st Reg't Mil. at W. ; See p. 330.]

OLIVER, served in 1775. See p. 314.

SOLOMON [enl. 9 May, 1775, in Capt. Roger Enos' Co., 2d Continental Reg't. (Col. Spencer's); disc. 19 Dec.]. See p. 314.

[CLUFF, ISAAC, res. Windsor; [application for pension on file in Co. Clerk's office at Hartford.]

COLTON, LOUIS (Wby.) [pensioner in 1840; æ. 79, res. Bloomfield].

SAMUEL, res. Windsor; [application for pension on file in Co. Clerk's office, at Hartford.]

COLVIN, DAVID.

COLT, JABEZ [enl. 30 Dec., 1780, for 3 yrs. in Capt. Munson's Co., 2d Conn. Line, Col. Swift's Reg't; Dec. 30, '80, to 31 Dec., 1781, was of Capt. Morris' Co., same Reg't, was one of the balance of that reg't who were transferred to his new reg't (after the disbandment — June 1783 — of the Regular Army, under Washington) in the final formation of the Conn. Line, and which served at West Point or vicinity until discharged, 31 Dec. following.]

COOK, ABNER, enl. in Capt. Harmon's Co., 4th Reg't, Continental Line, Col. Durkee's Reg't [15 May, 1777, for 3 yrs.; d. 23 Dec., 1777].

[BENJAMIN, was of Col. Canfield's Militia Reg't at West Point, Sept., 1781].

ELI, [was of Capt. Abner Prior's Co., Col. Wolcott's State Reg't at Boston, Jan.-Mch., 1776]; detached Aug., 1778, for one month tour of duty in Rhode Island [enl. Capt. Pomeroy's Co., Col. Chapman's Reg't, 3 Aug.; disc. 18 Sept., 1778]; "provided himself with a good gun and marched"; soon after arriving at R. I. was taken sick, and "his gun was lost, without his fault"; his petition to be reimbursed the value of his gun, was granted by the Gen. Assembly *Conn. State Archives, Recol. War*, xxvi. 186, 189.

JOEL, [enl. among the levies of Fifth Conn. Line, Col. Bradley; prob. in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., 1 Aug.; disc. 9 Dec., 1780]. This may have been the same who [enl. 27 April, '77, and was disc. 27 April, '80, in Eighth Conn. Line, Col. Chandler's Reg't], and who was also a [Corp'l in 4th Conn. Line (formation of 1781-83), Col. Zebulon Butler's Reg't, enl. Jan. 1 to 31 Dec., 1781].

COOK, MOSES, enl. 7 July, disc. Dec. 18, 1775; in 4th Co., 8th Cont. (Col. Huntington's) Reg't.

RICHARD, prob. the one who enl. in Capt. Ellis's Co., 3d Conn. Line, Col. Wylllys' Reg't, 19 May, 1778, for 3 yrs., disc. 1 Jan., 1778 ?] and was [of Capt. Ellis' Co., 1st Reg. Conn. Line, Col. Durkee (formation of 1781-83), paid from 1 Jan. to 31 Dec., 1781]; was a Conn. pensioner, Act of 1818; res. N. Y. State].

SHUBAEL, [enl. 10 July, disc. 10 Dec., 1775, in Col. Huntington's (8th) Continental Reg't, Co. 4, was Corp'l Capt. Eldridge's Co., 1st Conn. Line (formation of 1777-81), Col. Huntington, enl. 1 Jan., 1777, for 3 yrs., disc. 1 Jan., '80].

TIMOTHY, [enl. Capt. Parsons' Co., 2d Conn. Line, Col. Chas. Webb's Reg't, 26 May, '77, for 8 mos.; disc. 9 Jan., '78], prob. the same as of Capt. Olcott's Co., Col. Chapman's Militia Reg't; enl. 4 Aug.; disc. 21 Sept., '78]. See also *First Windsor Revol.* Chapter; was also [memb. of 8th Co. Militia, 1st Reg't of Windsor]; served at Fishkill and New Jersey. See pp. 328, 330.

WILLIAM. There were several of this name upon the Conn. Revol. rolls, but it appears prob. that this one, described in our first edition as having "served in the Continental Army for 3 yrs.," was the W. who enl. in 2d Co., Capt. Wylllys, of 2d Conn. Continent. Reg't, Col. Spencer's, 8th May; disc. 18 Dec., 1775, and who enl. in Capt. Warner's Co., 3d Reg't Conn. Line, formation of 1777-81, 13 July, 1778, for the war].

WILLIAM, enl. May, 1777, in Capt. John Harmon's Co., Col. Durkee's Conn. Line, for three yrs.

[COON (CONE), TIMOTHY, enl. and was a Corp'l in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., 5 Conn. Line, Col. Bradley's Reg't, 1 May, 1777, for 3 yrs.; prom. Sgt. May, '79; disc. 1 Jan., 1780]. He is perhaps the same who was a Corp'l in Capt. Dickinson's Co., in garrison at Fort Dayton, German Flats, in 1776; enl. 15 Apl., 1776.

COY, SAMUEL [enl. 1 Sept., 1777; prob. in Capt. Abner Prior's Co. [5 Conn. Line, Col. Bradley's Reg't, for the war; d. 6 Apl., 1778] in camp. He was from Pine Meadow.

CROW, ELIAS, was prob. [of Capt. Sedgwick's Co., in the 4th Continental, Col. Hinman's, Reg't, 1775; enl. Capt. Barnard's Co., 3d Reg't Conn. Line (formation of 1777-81), Col. Wylllys, 26 Feb., 1777, for the war; was made Corp'l 1 July, 1780; reduced 27 Feb., 1781; deserted 5 July, 1781].

CUFF, SAMPSON (colored), enl. 1 Jan. 1781, in 4th Conn. Line, of formation of 1781-83, Col. Zebulon Butler's Reg't; disc. 31 Dec., 1781; Feb. 1, 1783, was of Capt. Munson's Co., 2d Reg't (Col. Swift's) Conn. Line, formation of Jan.-June, '83, for 3 yrs.

DANIELS, DAVID, [was of Capt. Abner Prior's Co., Col. Wolcott's State Reg't at Boston, Jan.-Mch., 1776; enl. 1 Apl., 1777, in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., 5th Conn. Line Reg't, for the war; Corp'l 17 Apl., 1781; perhaps the Corp'l Daniels of Capt. Richards' Co., 2d Reg. Conn. Line, 1 Feb., 1783.]

DAVIES, BURDON.

DAVIS, WILLIAM, one of Windsor party in "Lexington alarm" of 1775 [24 days service]. See p. 311, 314.

DAY, ISAAC, Corp'l. [Pens. 1818.]

[JOB, memb. 8th Co., 1st Reg. Mil. — Windsor].

JOHN, was at New Haven.

DENSLow, ELIHU, died in camp Sept. 9, at N. Y., 1776, of camp dysentery, name not given in *Official Rec.* He was from Pine Meadow. See p. 323.

ELIJAH [Pensioner in W. 1840, n. 76].

JOEL [enl. 1 Apl., 1777, in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., in 6th Conn. Line Reg't for the war]; died in camp 1 July, 1778.

MARTIN, was in Windsor "Lexington Alarm" party, 1775 [five days' service, enl. 7 July; disc. 18 Dec. 1775, in 4th (Capt. Elisha Humphrey's) Co., 8th Continental (Col. Huntington's) Reg't as Corp'l; app. 1 Apl., 1777, Sgt. in the 5th Reg't Conn. Line, Col. Bradley's; Sgt.-Maj. 15 May, '79, Ens. Aug. 16, '79 contin. in '81; Ens. of Capt. Morris' Co., 2 Conn. Line, Col. Swift's Reg't, contin. from '77-'81; retired in '82 before June] — half-pay Lieut.; and member of the Soc. of the Cincinnati. See pp. 311, 313, 314.

REUBEN, was a Sgt. in the Windsor party in the "Lexington Alarm," 1775, afterwards belonged to Col. Hart's Light Horse Reg't at Mamaroneck Camp, N. Y. 1777; at Horseneck, Conn., 1781. See p. 311.

SAMUEL, Jr., served six mos. in 1780.

DEWOLF, ELIAS, at Fishkill and White Plains, N. Y.

DIGGINS, LUKE [memb. 8th Co., 1st Reg. Militia, at Windsor].

[DORMANT, STEPHEN (Sgt.), in Capt. Wyllys' Co., Col. S. B. Webb's Reg't of '77-'81; enl. 25 Jan., '78, for 3 yrs.; disc. 1 Jan., '81.]

DRAKE, ABIEL [enl. 7 May, 1775, in 3d, Capt. Roger Enos' Co., 2d Continental Reg't, Gen. Spencer's; disc. 19 Dec., 1775]; was in the 17th Conn. Reg't, Capt. Hubbard's Co., Apl., 1776, was a [pensioner and named as an artificer — res. Conn., 1818].

AUGUSTINE, (Adjutant in the regular line); died at home during the war.

EBENEZER [was in Capt. Judd's Co., 3d Reg't, Conn. Line, formation of 1777-'81 Col. Wyllys' Reg't, enl. 1 July '78, for the war; was a fifer in Apl., '80 reduced Aug., '80; fifer Sept., '80]; poss. the same who [enl. 1 Jan. '81, disc. 31 Dec., '81, in Capt. Clift's Co., 1st Conn. Line, Col. Durkee's Reg't] and who was a [pensioner residing in Vermont, 1818].

[ELIHU, fifer, of Col. Canfield's Reg't, at West Point, Sept., 1781; his application for pension on file in Co. Clerk's off., Hartford.]

LEMUEL. His services, stated in his affidavit, with claim for pension, before pension agent Samuel H. Parsons, of Middletown, Conn., were as follows: About 15th of Aug., 1775, he enl. at Windsor, under Maj. Roger Newberry, in a com-

pany of which Benjamin Allen was first lieutenant, and Austin Phelps second do.; remained in service until the latter part of Oct., '76, when he was dismissed, being then at or near Valentine's Hill, N. Y. After his enl. he was marched to Wethersfield, and from thence sailed to New York city, where his co. was stationed in Little Dock street, near East River, and at the time of the battle of Long Island his regiment was paraded near the wharf, but were not called into action. He had a second tour of duty, from August to the latter part of October, 1777. This time he was *drafted* at Windsor in a company commanded by Jonathan Wadsworth, of Hartford, captain, Phelps of Windsor, lieutenant, and Owen, ensign. The regiment to which this company belonged was commanded by Col. Cook, of Wallingford, Lieut.-Col. Woodbridge, and Maj. Kent. They marched from Hartford to Stillwater, N. Y., where he was in the bottles under Gen. Gates, was present at Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga, N. Y., marched to Albany, was there detailed as one of a guard under Capt. Blake, Austin Phelps, lieutenant, and Reuben Wadsworth, orderly, to escort 100 prisoners to Hartford. Again, in Sept., 1778, he was drafted at Windsor, to go to New London, where he served two or three months in the militia, commanded by Capt. Allen, of New London, and [Hezekiah?] Bissell, of East Windsor; Sergeant, mostly on guard duty, [was a pens. res. Hartford Co., 1832].

DRAKE, LORY, was one of the [levies in the 5th Conn. Line, Col. Bradley, in 1780; enl. 1 July; disc. 9 Dec.]

PHINEAS, [enl. May 8, disc. Dec. 19, 1775, in Capt. Roger Enos' (3d) Co., Col. Spencer's Reg't; 2d Lieut. 2d Co., Col. Gay's Reg't, 2d Batt., Wadsworth's Brigade, 1776].

DUSET, JOHN.

PHILEMON.

EDWARD ("Negro Ned"), slave of the Rev. D. S. Rowland, enl. 2 Jan., 1777, in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., 5th Conn. Reg't, for war, [died 15 July, 1778.]

EGGLESTON, DAVID, prob. the D. [who enl. 25 Dec., '80, in Capt. Harmon's Co. 2d Conn. Line (formation 1781-83), Col. Swift]; res. given as of Simsbury.

ISAAC.

JAMES, served six mths. in 1780; [poss. the James who enl. in Capt. Allyn's Co., 3d Reg't Conn. Line, formation of 1781-83, 1 Jan.; paid to 31 Dec., 1781, and who was a pens.; res. Conn., 1818.]

JOSEPH, aged 17; enl. 1775 in Capt. E. Eells' Co., Col. Wyllys' Reg't, for the war, prob. the Joseph (or Josiah) who [enl. Apl., '77, for the war, in Capt. Eells' Co., 2d Conn. Line, Col. Wyllys' Reg't, and died 18 June, '81.]

JONATHAN (Wby.).

NATHANIEL.

SAMUEL, served in the Light Horse during the war; [enl. 23 Oct., 1776, in Capt. John Skinner's Co., Maj. Sheldon's Reg't of Light Horse; disc. 4 Dec., 1776.]

EGGLESTON, THOMAS, was in the battle of Long Island. His grandson (Elipha) of Hartford remembered often hearing his narrative of his experiences and recollections. He was one of those detailed to manage the boats and barges which conveyed the Americans across the East River, and worked hard all the day of that memorable retreat. He was prob. the Thomas who [enl. in Capt. Couch's Co., Col. Bradley's Battalion, Gen. Wadsworth's Brigade, 24 Jan. disc. 29 Dec., 1776.]

TIMOTHY, [enl. in Capt. Throop's Co., 1st Reg. Conn. Line (formation of 1777-1781) Col. Huntington, 1 Jan., 1777, for the war;] enl. Apl., 1776, in Capt. Hubbard's Co.; ret. as a deserter.

[ELLSWORTH, ELIPHALET, enl. in Capt. Blackman's Co., Sherburne's Reg., 1 May, 1777; disc. spring of '80.]

HEZEKIAH, enl. 6 May, '77, same Co., Capt., and date of disc.; cr. to W.; claimed by Elington.

REUBEN (Lieut.). See p. 328.

ELMER, PHINEHAS, was one of the [levies of 1780, of the 5th Conn. Line, formation of 1777-81, Col. Bradley, and prob. of Capt. Abner Prior's Co.; enl. 1 July disc. 13 Dec., 1780.]

ELY, DANIEL, served in 1775: see p. 314.

EXOS, ABIJAH, [memb. 8th Co. or Train-band, 1st Reg't, Windsor,] 29 May, 1779.

DANIEL (according to a certificate of Col. Roger Newberry, dated 19 Jan., 1777 *Conn. State Archives, Rec. War*, x. 67) was in the army and was ill: left the Regt. to go to East Chester, N. Y.

ERASMUS, at Horseneck, Conn., Apl., 1782.

JAMES, was Corp'l 8th Co., 1st Reg. Mil. Windsor; same record identically as that of Phinehas Elmer. One of this name, possibly the same, was on *Capt. Lemuel Roberts' Ms. List of the Wintonbury "Lexington Alarm" party*.

MOSES (according to a certificate of Col. Roger Newberry, 19 Jan. 1777, *Conn. State Archives, Rec. War*, x. 67) was in the army, and "a sick man and should have recommended him for a discharge, but he was so sick as to decline it"—went to East Chester, N. Y.

ROGER (Gen.), [commis. 1st Major 1 May, 1775; also Capt. 2d Co. in Col. Spencer's (2d) Reg.; prom. Lieut.-Col. 1 July, 2d Reg.—was in Arnold's Quebec expedition of that year; tried by Court Martial on the return of that army, and was "honorably acquitted." Disc. 10 Dec., '75. 389 *Official Record*, 91. Jan. 18, 1776, he resigned as Lieut.-Col. (then of the 16th Conn. Reg.), and, May, 1777, was one of a Windsor enlistment committee engaged in obtaining recruits for the service. Afterwards he commanded one of the Conn. regiments raised in the S. W. part of the State; but in 1779, resigned from the Conn. service and removed to Vermont, where, in 1781, he was comm. Brig.-Gen. in command of all the Vt. troops then in service. After the war he became a Maj. Gen. of the Vermont Militia. See *Biog.* in *E. Genealogy*.

FILER, HORACE, enl. 1777 in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., [5th Conn. Line, Col. Bradley's Reg't], was also at Horseneck Conn., Meh., 1782, to Apl., 1783.

JOHN, enl. 27 May, 1777, in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., [5th Conn. Line, Col. Bradley's Reg't, for 8 mos.; disc. 9 Jan., 1778.]

NORMAN, [enl. 21 Apl., 1777, in Capt. Prior's Co., 5th Conn. Line, Col. Bradley's Reg't for 8 mos., deserted.]

FILLEY, HEZEKIAH, served in summer of 1780, [enl. 26 Aug., 1777, in Capt. Jona. Wadsworth's Co., Col. Isaac Cook's Militia Reg't, prob. the same II.]

JONAH, [joined Capt. Sam. Granger's Co. of Gen. Waterbury's State Brigade, 21 May, 1781]; served at Horseneck, Conn., May, 1781, to Meh., 1782.

DAVID, was in service in 1775. See p. 314.

ELNATHAN, was in service in 1775. See p. 314.

MARK (stands in our first edition with a query).

MOSES (Why.), was of Capt. Abner Prior's Co., Col. Wolcott's Reg. State Troops at Boston, Jan.-Meh., 1776.

FITCH, JOSEPH, was in the service in 1775. See p. 314.

FOSBURY, STEPHEN (Why.), [enl. 7 May, 1775, in 3d Co. (Capt. Roger Enos) 2d Continental, Col. Spencer's Reg't; disc. 31 July, 1775]; Sgt. in Arnold's Quebec Expedition; was captured at the assault 31 Dec., '75, and died there. See p. 314, 329.

JOHN, was in service in 1775. See p. 314.

[FOSTER, CHAUNCEY, enl. Blackman's Co., Sherburne's Reg., 6 May, '77; disc. spring of '80] cr. to W.; claimed by Ellington.

ZACHARIAH.

[WARHAM, Lex. Alarm party from Ellington; Capt. Simon's Co., Col. Wolcott's State Reg., Boston, Jan.-Meh., 1776; Sgt.-Maj. Col. Sherburne's Reg't; app. Sgt. 5 May, '77; prom. Sgt.-Maj. 1 Jan., '78; contin. into '80, cr. to W.]

[FRANCIS, WILLIAM, res. Windsor; application for pension on file, Co. Clerk's off., Hartford.] Poss. the "Frank (colored)," of our first edition.

FULLER, OBADIAH, was drafted and served at New York and Westchester, Aug. and Sept. of 1776. See p. 323.

REUBEN, named in *Capt. Lemuel Roberts' Ms. List of the Wintonbury Parish "Lexington Alarm" volunteers.*

GAYLORD, ELIAKIM, served six mos. in 1780, [was of the levies enl. for 5th Conn. Line, Col. Bradley's Reg't, 1 July; disc. 2 Dec., 1780;] prob. of Capt. Abner Prior's Co.

GAYLORD, ELEAZUR was of the Windsor-Lexington Alarm party, 1775; and [enl. Capt. Roger Enos' 33d Co., 2d (Col. Spencer's) Reg't, 7 July, disc. 18 Dec., 1775; of Capt. Abner Prior's Co., Col. Waterbury's State Brigade at Boston, Jan.-Mch., 1776.]

GIBBS, DAVID, was at Roxbury Camp, 1775; [enl. 2d Co., Capt. Pitkin's, 4th Continental Reg't, Col. Hinman's, 19 May; disc. Dec. 26, 1775. This co. served at the siege of Boston, enl. Sgt. in Capt. Allen's Co., 3d Conn. Line, Col. Wyllis' Reg't, 1 Apl., 1777, for 3 yrs.; disc. 1 Apl., '80; pens. res. Hrfd. Co., 1818.]

RUFUS, served 6 mos., 1780; [enl. in levies raised for short terms in 1780, for 3d Conn. Line, Col. Wyllis' Reg't, enl. Oct., '79, disc. 11 Jan., 1780, was hired by the town of Windsor, 21 May, 1781, joined Capt. Samuel Grauger's Co. in Gen. Waterbury's State Brigade, raised for defense of Conn. seacoast, 21 May, 1781; was prom. Sgt. July 18, pens. res. W. 1840.]

SAMUEL, Sgt. of Windsor-Lexington Alarm party, Apl., 1775; [24 days' service; prob. the Samuel [enl. Capt. Beardsley's 9th Co., 5th Continental Reg., 25 May, disc. 9 Dec., 1775]; com. Lieut. 1 Jan., 1777, in 3d Conn. Line, Col. Wyllis' Reg't; trans. to Invalid Corps 1 Nov., '80, disc. 23 Apl., 1783; he was disabled or wounded, his name is on a list printed by the 23d Congress, 1833-34; memb. of Soc. of the Cincinnati, he was prob. the Samuel Gibbs of Capt. Keeler's Co. Bradley's Battalion, Wadsworth's Brigade; enl. 24 June, 1776; disc. Jan., 1777, was a pens. res. Capt. 1818.

JOHN. (prob. the John *Giles* below.)

GILES, JOHN (drummer) 8th Co., 1st Reg. Mil., at Windsor, 29 May, 1779.

GILLET, ABEL, [enl. Capt. Skinner's Co., Maj. Sheldon's Reg't Light Horse; enl. 23 Oct.; dis. 1 Dec., 1776. This command, in whole or in part, accompanied Gen. Washington in the retreat through N. J., Dec., '76.]

AARON, [enl. with Capt. Prior, in Col. Wolcott's State Reg., on service at Boston, Dec., '75-Feb., '76], went to White Plains, N. Y., 2 July, 1778; [enl. 21 Apl., 1777, in Lieut. Seymour's Co., Brig.-Gen. Erastus Wolcott's Brigade, at Peekskill and other places near N. Y., Mch.-June, '77]; was [of Capt. Roswell Grant's Co., Col. Roger Enos' Reg't on the Hudson, 1778.]

DANIEL was in the service in 1775; see p. 314; was drafted and served in New York and Westchester, Aug. and Sept., 1776; volunteer to Danbury. See p. 327.

JONAH, Jr. (drum-major), enl. as drummer Capt. Humphrey's (4th) Co. of Eighth Continental (Col. Huntington's) Reg't, 6 July; disc. 18 Dec., 1775, was Capt. 2d Co., Col. Gay's Reg't, in 2d Battalion, Wadsworth's Brigade, Conn. State Troops, 1776. See p. 314.

JONATHAN, was in service in 1775. See p. 314.

THOMAS, was in service in 1775. See p. 314.

GILMAN, JOHN (Wby.), [enl. 7 July; dis. 18 Dec., 1775; Capt. Humphrey's (4th) Co., 8th Continental (Huntington's) Reg.,] d. in camp, aged about 18, Dec., '75, or Jan., '76 (*Wby. Ch. Rec.*)

GRAHAM, ———, his wife JEMIMA, pers., res. 1840 in Windsor, aged 85; poss. the Simeon *Graham* mentioned on p. 314.

GREEN, AMASA, [res. Windsor; application for pension on file in Co. Clerk's off., Hartford.]

GRISWOLD, ABIEL, [memb. 8th Co. or Train-band, 1st Reg. Mil., Windsor], was at New York and Fishkill, enl. for 3 yrs.

ABEL, member of 8th Co. or Train-band, poss. same as *Abiel* above.

ALEXANDER (Corp.) at New York and Fishkill, Sgt. of Ens. David Barber's Co. on detached duty, 1777. See p. 328.

EDWARD, Jr., was app. Captain of 3d Co. or Train-band in 1st Reg. in W., May, 1776—*Col. Rec.*, xv, 346. From a memorial made by his son Solomon to the Gen. Assembly, May, 1787, we learn that Capt. Edward G. commanded a Co. in Col. Ely's Reg't at Horseneck in 1777—*Conn. State Archives*, viii, 85-89. Served at New York, West Point, and New Rochelle.

ELIJAH, memb. 8th Co., 1st Reg. Mil., res. Windsor, [enl. 7 July, disc. 18 Dec.; Capt. Humphrey's (4th) Co., 8th Cont. (Col. Huntington's) Reg't; application for pension on file, Co. Clerk's off., Hartford.]

ELISHA, was [of Col. Canfield's Militia Reg't at West Point, Sept., '81.]; memb. 8th Co., 1st Reg. Mil. at W., 29 May, 1779.

FRIEND, was at New Haven.

GEORGE, Jr., [1st Lieut. 4th Co., Capt. Pettibone, Col. Mott's Battalion, State Reg'ts in Northern Dept., 1776], rec'd. Continental service in '77; appears in '76 as 1st Lieut. of Col. Ward's Reg't, serving at Ft. Lee, at White Plains, and at Morristown, N. J., until exp. of term, May, '77—was app. Lieut. in 5th Comp. Line, Col. Bradley's Reg't, formation of 1771-81, but did not serve; was prob. the same Lieut. Geo. G. who was of Capt. Herman's Co., Col. Webster's State Reg't, at Boston, Jan.-Mch., '76, poss. the George Griswold of Bolton who was an Ensign in the Provisional Regiment, ord. by Gen. Assembly of Conn. to "be raised and put in readiness to march on the shortest notice, in case His Excellency Gen. Washington shall call for them," in 1781; memb. of 8th Co., or Train-band, 1st Reg. Mil., town of Windsor.

ISAAC, was at New York.

JOAB, was Ens. 8th Co., 1st Mil. Reg't, at Windsor. See also p. 329.

JONAH, was at Fishkill and New York.

MOSES (Sgt.), served in summer of 1780; was at New York, Fishkill, and in New Jersey. [enl. Capt. Alden's Co., Col. Sam. B. Webb's Reg. (additional inf. reg't of the Contin. Line), 1777-81. 23 Jan., '77, for the war; Corp'l Sept., '80; Sgt. 1 May, 1781; was Corp'l 1 Jan., 1781, to May 1, in Capt. Bulkley's Co., 3d Conn. Line, Col. S. B. Webb's Reg.] He was prob. the same M. G. who was [Trumpeter to Capt. Skinner's Co., Maj. Sheldon's Reg't Light Horse; enl. 23 Oct.; disc. 4 Dec., 1776.] and [memb. 8th Co. or Train-band, 1st Reg't Militia, Windsor.]

GRISWOLD, NATHANIEL (Sgt.), enl. for 3 yrs.; was at New York, [memb. 8th Co. or Train-band, of W., 1st Reg. Militia.]

NOAH, Jr. [memb. 8th Co. or Train-band, in Windsor, 1st Reg. Militia]; was at New York, and on duty guarding the Burgoyne prisoners.

THOMAS (Cornet), in Maj. William Hart's Reg. of Light Horse, org. May, 1776.

PHINEHAS, [memb. 8th Co., 1st Reg. Militia, res. at Windsor, 29 May, 1779] enl. May, 1777, in Capt. Harmon's Co., Col. Durkee's Reg't 20th Continental, 1776-77, for 3 yrs.; was at New York, and guarding the Burgoyne prisoners.

SILVANUS, (Pop.) Lieut. 8th Co., 1st Reg. Mil. at Windsor, May 29, 1779.—*Conn. State Archives, Rec. War, 186, et alios.*

SOLOMON, (Pop.) Clerk of 8th Co., 1st Reg. Mil. at Windsor; was Sergt. and Quartermaster of Co. in detached service. See *Daniel Barber*.

HALL, WILLIAM, enl. aged 20, Aug., 1777, in Capt. Eell's Co., Col. Wyllys' Reg't, Peekskill. [The *Official Record* gives a Wm. Hall, who was of Capt. Church's Co., Col. Sage's Reg't, 1776; enl. 17 Mch., '77, for 3 yrs., and *des.* 7 Apl., '77, from Capt. Watson's Co., Col. Webb's Reg't add. inf.; enl. 27 May, '77, for the war in Capt. Allen's Co., Col. Wyllys' Reg't, and *des.*; enl. from Middletown, Conn., in Capt. Sizer's Co., Reg't of Artificers, 5 Feb., 1776, for the war.] If these rec. belong to our Wm. he must have been what was known in the Army of the Civil Rebellion as a "repeater" or "bounty jumper."

HALSEY, PHILIP (fifer); pens., res. in Windsor, 1840, aged 80.

HAMOND (colored).

HAYDEN, EZRA, one of the Windsor "Lexington Alarm" Party, Apl., 1775 [5 days' service]; of Capt. Abner Prior's Co., Col. Wolcott's State Reg't at Boston, Jan. - Mch., 1776]. See pp. 311, 320.

HEZEKIAH, one of Windsor "Lexington Alarm" Party, April, 1775, [was Sgt. in Capt. Eben Fitch Bissell's Co., Col. Huntington's 17th Continental Reg't, in camp at Roxbury, Mass., 1776, and with the regiment engaged in battle of Long Island, 1776, and reported as "missing"]. He was captured and died of starvation in the "old Jersey Prison Ship," the "old Sugar House," or the old "Church in New York." See pp. 313, 322.

LEVI, [enl. 23 Oct.; disc. 4 Dec., 1776, in Capt. Skinner's Co., Maj. Sheldon's Reg't Light Horse].

NATHANIEL, Jr. (Capt.), commanded the Windsor "Lexington Alarm" Party, Apl., 1775 [5 days' service]; went to West Point in command of 42 enl. Windsor men, June 27, 1780. See p. 311.

OLIVER, one of Windsor "Lexington Alarm" Party, Apl., 1775 [2 days' service].

THOMAS, Sgt. in Windsor "Lexington Alarm" Party, April, 1775 — 5 days' service, app. Sgt.-Major in 8th (Col. Jereediah Huntington's) Reg't (Cont.) foot 15 Aug., 1775; was Adj't. in same (then the 17th Cont.) Reg't, 20 Oct., 1776, 1st

Lieut. in 3d Conn. Line, Col. Wyllys (commission signed by John Hancock) comm. 1 Jan., 1777 [resigned 15 Apl., 1778], 2d Lieut. in Capt. Hubbard's Co., 15th Reg't, app. Adjt. to Col. Zebulon Butler at Danbury, Conn., 8 Apl., 1777, was at Windsor Aug., 1777, enlisting men for Capt. Ellis' Co., Col. Wyllys' Reg't, then at Peekskill, N. Y.; took the oath of allegiance 14 Apl., and was disc. 25th, 1778, at West Point, was one of the lieutenants named by Gen. Assembly to officer the 12th Wind. Regiment, to be raised and held in readiness to march on requisition of Gen. Washington, 1781. See pp. 311, 314.

HASKELL, JABEZ, at New York, 1776. See p. 321.

HAYZ (HAYS?), THOMAS, at 21; enl. Aug., 1777, in Capt. E. Eds's Co., Col. Wyllys' Reg't, then at Peekskill, N. Y.

HIDE (HYDE), THADDEUS.

THEOPHILUS [was in Arnold's Quebec Expedition, and lost his gun in the assault]; see p. 329, enl. June, 1777, in Capt. John Harmon's Co., Col. Durkee's Reg't; had res. in W. for two yrs. previous to his enlistment.

HILL, ELIJAH, was at West Point, [enl. 1 July, '80, among the levies for short terms, of the 2d Reg't, Conn. Line, of formation of 1777-81, Col. Chas. Webb's, disc. 9 Dec., '80]; may have been the same, also, who [enl. in Capt. Case's Co., 18th Reg't Conn. Militia, on duty at New York betw. 19 Aug. and 25 Sept., 1776; and also who was of Capt. Warner's Co., 3d Reg't, Conn. Line, Col. Wyllys, enl. 29 May, 1777, for 8 mos., disc. 1 Jan., '78], was also [memb. of 8th Co., 1st Reg. Militia—Windsor]. See pp. 328, 330.

JOHN, [enl. 5 July, '80; disc. 9 Dec., '80, in Short Term levies for 2d Conn. Line, Col. Chas. Webb's Reg't, formation of 1777-81]; may also have been the one who [enl. in Capt. Durkee's Co., 1st Reg't, Conn. Line, Col. Durkee's, formation of 1781-83, 1 Jan., 1780—paid to 1 Aug., '81].

REUBEN, [enl. 1 July, disc. 6 Dec., '80, in Short Term levies, of 2d Conn. Line, Col. Chas. Webb's Reg't, org. of 1777-81; enl. 1 Feb., '81, for 3 yrs. in Maj. Sheldon's Light Dragoons; described as a farmer, 5 ft. 8 in. high, light complex., and eyes; brown hair]; 1st edit. says he was in Maj. Wallbridge's Reg., served at West Point.

HOLCOMB, AMOS, [enl. 1 Aug. for 8 mos. in Capt. Prior's Co., 5th Conn. Line, Col. Bradley, formation 1777-81, disc. 9 Jan., '78; enl. 2 May, 1778, for 8 mos.; Capt. Jud's Co., 3d Conn. Line, Col. Wyllys' Reg't, disc. 31 Dec., '78]; prob. the same as was also of Col. Canfield's Mil. Reg't at West Point, Sept., 1781.

ELIJAH, enl. 7 May; disc. 19 Dec., 1775, in 3d (Capt. Roger Enos) Co. 2d Continental (Col. Spencer's) Reg't; or was he the E. who [enl. 14 July, and disc. 18 Dec., 1775, in Capt. Humphrey's Co. (4th) 8th Continental (Col. Huntington's) Reg.]?

JOSEPH, [served from 22 Aug. to 20 Sept., 1776, as Sgt. in Lieut. Joel Hays' Co., 18th Conn. Reg't Militia, at New York, was of Capt. Roswell Grant's Co., Col. Roger Enos' Reg. of Militia, on the Hudson, 1778]. A Joseph [enl. 27 Nov. '78, in 4th Troop, Maj. Sheldon's Light Dragoons, described as farmer, 5 ft. 7 in. high, dark complex., eyes and hair. This one undoubtedly from Windsor; prob. same as above. See also Joseph (drummer), p. 328.

HOLCOMB, MARTIN, Jr., served in 1775. See p. 314.

MATTHEW, [enl. Capt. Harmon's Co., 4th Reg., Conn. Line, formation of 1771; 1781 Col. Durkee, 17th Mich., '77, for the war; died 21 Mich., 1778].

HOLLIDAY, DANIEL, Sen., at Horseneck Conn., Mich., 1782, to 1 Apl., 1783.

DANIEL, Jr., ditto.

HOLLIS, EPHRAIM, of Capt. James Stoddard's Co., Gen. Waterbury's State Brigade, 1781, joined 2 Sept.

HOOKE, DANIEL, [was of Capt. Ozias Bissell's Co., Col. Roger Enos' Militia Reg't, which arrived in camp on Hudson 23 June, 1778, pensioner, at 79, res. Bloomsfield, 1840].

HOOLOBOD, ALVIN.

HOSKINS, ASA.

ELIJAH (Why.), [was of Capt. Abner Prior's Co., Col. Wolcott's State Reg't at Boston, Jan.-Mich., 1776]; died in camp at Roxbury, at. abt. 42.

PERE.

TIMOTHY, [enl. 16 May, 1777, in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., 5th Conn. Line, Col. Bradley, for the war; enl. 21 Dec., '80; paid to 31 Dec., 1781, in 4th Conn. Line, Col. Zebulon Butler's Reg't, formation of 1781-83].

ZEBULON, [enl. 16 May, 1777, for the war, in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., 5th Conn. Line; was of Capt. Chapman's Co., of the 2d Reg., Conn. Line, formed from 5th and 7th Reg'ts, in formation of 1781-'83; paid from 1 Jan. to 31 Dec., 1781, and with that co. had a tour of service at the Southward Feb.-Nov., 1781, under the Marquis Lafayette].

HOTCHKISS, SIMEON, [was of Col. Canfield's Militia Reg't, at West Point, N. Y., 1781].

HURLBURT, ALEXANDER, private in Capt. Edw^d Griswold's Co., Maj. Newberry's Militia Reg't, Col. Chester's Brigade; on duty at New York one month and six days in Aug. and Sept., 1776, where he became ill; was examined by surgeon and recommended for a discharge; by some mistake his name was not put on list of discharged, and supposing that he was disch. he returned home, consequently was returned as a deserter. By vote of Assembly his petition for wages, etc., and reinstatement as a loyal soldier was granted by the Assembly Oct., 1777.—*Conn. State Arch., Reel. War*, viii, 85.

ALVIN, enl. May, 1777, in Capt. John Harmon's Co., Col. Durkee's Reg't, for the war; was of [Capt. Heartt's Co., 1st Reg. Conn. Line, Col. Durkee, of the formation of 1781-83]; paid from Jan. 1 Dec. 31, 1781.

JACOBS, WILLIAM, [was of Col. Canfield's Militia Reg't, at West Point, N. Y., 1781].

KING, REUBEN (Why.) was [of Capt. J. Wells' Co., Col. Wolcott's State Reg't, at Boston, Jan.-Mich., 1776], died returning home from captivity at New York, Jan., 1777, aged abt. 18.

KEATON, JOHN, [enl. as a forrier, 1 Jan., '81, for the war, as a recruit to Maj. Sheldon's Light Dragoons, is described as a blacksmith, 5 ft. 7 in. high, light complexion, gray eyes, dark hair.]

LAFLEUR, JOHN, [applicant for pension, res. Windsor — Co., *Clerk's office, Hartford*.]

LAMBERTON, OBED, Jr., [was of Capt. Abner Prior's Co., Col. Wolcott's State Reg., at Boston, Jan.-Mch., 1776; enl. 1 Apl., 1777, in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., 5 Conn. Line for the war; was "missing" Oct. 4, '77, mustered in May, '78; transferred to Invalid Corps 6 Nov., '80; made up to 6 Feb., '80, joined Invalid Corps Nov., '80, was in service in '82, pensioner res. in New Hampshire, 1818].

NATHANIEL, was prob. the Nath. who was one of the *Engle's* "Lexington Alarm" Party, Apl., 1775; was at camp in Roxbury, 1775; in Arnold's attack on Quebec, see p. 314; captured at the battle of Long Island, and died of starvation in prison.

WILLIAM, was at New York at battle of Long Island; died in prison.

LATTIMER, ABALIAH (Wby.), served in summer of 1780.

GEORGE (Wby.), drafted for 3 mos. in summer of 1776; was at New York at time of retreat from Long Island. In or about March, 1777, was again drafted for 3 mos., and went to White Plains, N. Y., and was there at the time Danbury was burned; enl. as wagoner in Capt. Daniel Jones' Co., 15 July, 1777, for 3 yrs.; term expired 1780, enl. again at Hartford, went to Pomfret, where he was one of 10 men in charge of ammunition wagons; ret'd to Hartford; was in N. Y. State at Red Hook and Fishkill *(affiliated before Sen. H. Parsons, Penn. Agent, Middlebury, Conn.)*

LAWRENCE, AMOS (Sgt.), enl. 19 May, 1777, in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., 5th Conn. Line, Col. Bradley's Reg't, of formation of 1777-'81, for the war; deserted 1 Jan., 1781; disch. produced dated 11 July, '81, signed by Gen. Parsons.

AMOS, Jr.

LEE, OLIVER, was of the Windsor "Lexington Alarm" Party, Apl., 1775 [5 days' service.]

[LEAVITT, MILLARD, enl. Stanton's Co., Shelburne's Reg't, 19 Sept., '77; transf. to Col. S. B. Wells' Reg't; *dis.* 19 Sept., 1780.]

LOOMIS, ELIPHALET (Wby.), New York; died Apl., 1779, on return from camp. æ. abt. 20.

GEORGE, enl., May, 1777, in 4th Conn. Reg't, Capt. Abner Prior's Co., for 3 yrs.

GIDEON.

JONATHAN [enl. 8 May, disc. 19 Dec., 1775, in Capt. Roger Enos (3d) Co., 2d Reg't, Continental, Gen. Spencer's]; served in summer of '80.

STEPHEN, Jr.

LOOMIS, WATSON, [2d Lieut. Capt. Roswell Grant's Co., Col. Roger Enos' Mch. Reg't on the Hudson, 1778, where they arrived 29 June], was drafted and served at New York and Westchester in Aug. and Sept., 1776.

[BENJAMIN, res. Windsor, application for pension on file Co. Clerk's office, Hartford.]

LOTER, EPHRAIM.

LOVELAND, LEVI, [was among the "missing" of Capt. Eben F. Bissell's Co., 1st Huntington's 17th Continental Reg't, after the battle of Egg Island, 1776, and he may have been the Levi L. of Glastonbury, who was among the Am. prisoners paroled or exc. at Quebec in Aug., 1776; he enl. 21 Feb., '78, in Capt. Barnard's Co., 3d Conn. Line (Col. Wyllys) Reg't, for the war; was transf. 1 Aug., '78, to Capt. E. Tells Co.; prob. was the same who was of Capt. H. Welles' Co., Col. Wolcott's State Reg't at Boston, Jan.-Mch., 1776; and was of Capt. Chester Wells' Co., Col. Belden's Reg't, Col. Erastus Wolcott's Brig., at Peekskill, N. Y., 1777, from 10 Apl., to May 22]; ret. as deserter.

LOVEWELL, EPHRAIM.

LYON, AARON, was in service in 1775. See p. 314.

MACK, ANDREW (a Hessian) [Pensioner; res. Hartford Co., 1832.]

MANLEY, WILLIAM, served in 1775. See p. 314.

MARSH, JOSEPH, d. 15 Aug., 1776, at Meriden, coming from camp at New York.

MARSHALL, ALEXANDER, named on *Capt. Leonard Roberts' Mch. List* as one of the Wintonbury Parish "Lexington alarm" volunteers.

ELIJAH, [enl. 7 May; dis. 31 July, 1775, Capt. Roger Enos' Co., 2 Continent (Col. Spencer's) Reg't]; was one of those belonging to Capt. Oliver Hanchett's Co. Arnold's detachment, who were taken prisoners at Quebec 31 Dec., 1775, and he was held 9 mos. [Pens. 1818, and res. of Colebrook, Conn.]; said also to have served in summer of '80. See pp. 314, 320, also for Elijah, Jr., prob. the same, p. 314.

[ELIHU, was memb. of 8th Co. or Trainband in Windsor, 1st Reg't].

ELISHA, memb. of 8th Co., 1st Reg. Mil. at Windsor; was at Fishkill and New London; [enl. Capt. Abner Prior's Co., 5th Conn. Line Reg't for war; died 1 May, 1778, at Valley Forge, N. J.] See, also, p. 328.

JOSIAH, (according to a certificate of Col. Roger Newberry, 19 Jan. 1777, *Conn. State Archives, Rec. War*, x, 67; was in army ill, and was recommended for a discharge.)

SAMUEL, Jr., enl. in 4th Conn. Reg't, Capt. Abner Prior's Co., for 3 years.

MATHER, ELIHU (Sgt.), enl. 1 Jan. '81; p'd to 31 Dec. '81; in 4th Conn. Line (Col. Zebulon Butler's) Reg't, of which Abner Prior of W. was Maj., in Oct., 1781, being destitute and in great want, by the deficiency of public clothing, was

granted 8 days' leave of absence to go home and procure clothes, was taken ill and lay at home for a long time, and was attended by Drs. Chaffee and Wolcott, whose bills are still on file in the Windsor Town Clerk's office. Elihu M., prob. the same, was of Capt. Griswold's, Col. Belden's Reg., Gen. Wolcott's Brigade, at Peekskill, N. Y., Feb.-June, 1777.

MATHER, INCREASE, was of Suffield "Lexington Alarm" Party, April, 1775, 8 days' service; enl. 3d (Capt. Roger Enos') Co., 2d Continental (Col. Spencer's) Reg't, 7 May; disc. 19 Dec., 1775, then enl. while at Roxbury Camp, 1775, for 12 or 14 mos.; was there when the Battle of Bunker Hill was fought, abt. the middle of Nov. enl., with consent of his captain, in another co., commanded by Eben F. Bissell, capt.; Lieut. Humphrey and Ens. Richard Goodman in Col. Jedediah Huntington's Reg't, from which he was disc. Jan., 1777. During this service he was on duty on Long Island, in 1776; was in several skirmishes there, and in the retreat from L. I. through Westchester. From July, '76, to January, '77, he served as Sergeant. *Affidavit before Pension Agent Samuel H. Parsons, of Middletown, Conn.*

JOHN, [Quarter-master of Col. Sam. B. Webb's Reg't, 1777-81; comm. 1 Jan., '77; died Nov., '78] in camp at Kingston, N. Y.

SAMUEL; [pens.; res. Hartford Co., 1832.]

TIMOTHY (Dr.), [comm. 1 Aug., 1778, Surgeon's Mate; prom. to Surgeon (*vice* Graham) 1 Jan. '80; retired Jan., '81, in 7th Conn. Line (formation of 1777-81) Col. Heman Swift's Reg.]; served through the war.

MAY, JOHN, served in 1775. See p. 314.

McLEAN, NEIL, Jr., enl. May, 1777, in Col. S. B. Webb's Reg't for the war.

MILLARD, JOSEPH (Why.), [pens. res. Bloomfield, 1840, æ. 77.]

MILLER, JOHN, [enl. 9 July; disc. 10 Dec., 1775, in 4th Co., Capt. Elihu Humphrey, 8th Continental (Col. Huntington's) Reg't]; served through the war.

ROSWELL, [Pens.; res. Hartford Co., 1832; res. Windsor, 1840, æ. 80]; served as guard at Windsor.

MILLS, ELIJAH Jr., [enl. 1 Sept., '80; disc. 13 Dec., '80, among the levies for 5th Conn. Line (Col. Bradley)], and prob. in Capt. Abner Prior's Co.

ROGER, served in 1775. See p. 314.

MITCHELL, OLIVER (colored), [res. Hartford Co.; pens. 1832].

MOORE, ASA, served 6 mos. in 1780, [enl. among the levies in 5th Conn. Line, Col. Bradley's Reg't], and prob. in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., [1 July; disc. 16 Dec., 1780.]

BENJAMIN, was at New York and Fishkill; [memb. 8th Co. or Trainband at Windsor, 1st Reg. Militia]. See also p. 328.

[ELDAD B., memb. 8th Co., 1st Reg't Mil. of Windsor.]

MOORE, ELISHA, was drafted, and served in New York and Westchester Aug. and Sept., 1776; Quartermaster in '77, of Col. Enos' Reg't.

PHILANDER, [memb. 8th Co. Mil. at Windsor, 1st Reg.]; was at Boston and in New Jersey; Pens. 1818.

SIMEON, [memb. 8th Co., 1st Reg. Mil. at Windsor]; prob. the *Simeon* of our first edition, who enl., May, 1777, in Col. Durkee's Reg't, Capt. John Harmon's Co., for 3 years.

MORRIS, JAMES (Sgt.), at Horseneck, Conn., May, 1781, to Mich., 1782; [enl. 5 May, 1781; hired by Town of Windsor; Sgt. Capt. Sam. Granger's Co., Gen. Waterbury's State Brigade, 1781; joined 5 May.]

MUNROE, WILLIAM (tifer), [enl. 13 July; disc. 14 Dec., 1781, among the levies raised for 4th Conn. Line (Col. Durkee's Reg't), and prob. was of Capt. Seth Phelps' Co., and is very likely the Wm. M. who was [of Capt. Ed. Griswold's Co., Brig.-Gen. E. Wolcott's Brig., at Peekskill, N. Y., where they arrived 6 Apl., and were disc. 23 May, 1777.]

SAMUEL, served in 1775. See p. 314.

MUNSELL, ALPHEUS (corp'l), [enl. 7 May; disc. 19 Dec., 1775, Col. Roger Enos' Co., (3d) Col. Spencer's Continental Reg't]; was at Roxbury as an army blacksmith, served in summer of 1780.

NEGUS, ISRAEL, was at New London.

NEWBERRY (Gen.), was com. Major of 1st Reg't of Horse and Foot of Colony of Conn., Nov. 4, 1775; prom. May 29, '77, to Col. 1st Mil. Reg't of State of Conn.; app. Brig.-Gen. of 1st Brigade to succeed Gen. Wolcott, 14 March, '81; served during the war. See *Biog.* in *N. Genealogy*.

NILES, MOSES [memb. 8th Co. or Train-band of Militia in Windsor, 1st Reg't]; was at New York and in New Jersey.

THOMAS, [memb. 8th Co., 1st Reg. Mil. at Windsor.]

NOBLES, ROSWELL, b. 24 Oct., 1758; enl. for one yr. as drummer at Simsbury, May, '76, in Capt. Noah Phelps' Co., Col. And. Ward's Reg't; dism. from service near Morristown, N. J., May, 1777. [Pens. 1832; res. Hartford Co.]

OWEN, ALVAN, [enl. 1 Jan., disc. 31 Dec., 1781, in Capt. James Morris' Co., 2d Conn. Line (formation of 1781-83), Col. Swift; was in Capt. Chapman's Co. of same reg't (formation of Jan.-June, 1783); is put down as having enl. Feb., '79, for the war, was a Conn. pens.; res. N. Y. State, 1815].

PALMER, JOHN, memb. 8th Co. (1st Reg. Mil. at Windsor), May 29, 1779. *Conn. State Arch., Rec. War*, xxi. 186, *et alios*.

PARSONS, PELETIAH, served in summer of 1780.

WILLIAM, was of Windsor "Lexington Alarm" Party, Apl., 1775, [24 days' service, was a Sgt. in Capt. Hubbard's Co., Col. Huntington's (17th Continental) Reg't and rep. "missing" after the Battle of Long Island, 1776]; died in New York, a prisoner, Nov. 9.

PAPSONS, THOMAS, [enl. 1 Apl., '77, in Capt. Allen's Co., 3d Conn. Line, formation of '77-81, Col. Wyllys' Reg't; prom. 1 May, '78; Sgt. July, '80; reduced Jan., '82; deserted Oct., '82.]

PERKINS, AARON, [enl. '76 in Capt. Durkee's Co., Wyoming Valley; was in skirmish near Millstone, N. J., subsequently served agt. the Indians], application for pension on file Col. Clerk's off., Hartford.

PHELPS, ALEXANDER, [enl. May, '77, for 8 mos., disc. 9 Jan. '78, in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., 5th Conn. Line (Col. Bradley's) Reg't, formation of 1777-81; re-en. in levies for same reg't, 1 July, 1780, disc. 2 Dec., 1780]. He may have been the same A. P. who was [of Capt. Sedgwick's Co., Col. Chester, 6th Battalion, Wadsworth's Brigade, engaged in Battle of Long Island, Aug., 1776] He was [memb. 8th Co. Militia, Windsor, 1st Reg. Mil.].

AUSTIN, prob. the [Lieut. of Capt. Wadsworth's Co., Col. Cook's Reg't; engaged at Battle of Stillwater, Aug.-Nov., 1777].

[ASAHEL, enl. 1 Apl., 1782, for 3 yrs., Col. Sheldon's Light Dragoons; described as a shoemaker, 5 ft. 8 in. high, light complex., grey eyes, brown hair].

CORNELIUS (Corp'l).

DANIEL, Sen., volunteer in Danbury Alarm. See p. 327.

DANIEL, Jr., in Aug. and Sept., 1776, was a private in 1st Reg. Conn. Militia, then in service in N. York State [New York and New Rochelle]; was taken ill, returned home by advice of surgeon and with consent of his captain, but was, by mistake, returned on the lists as a deserter. This error was rectified by vote of Assembly, May, 1778, and he received wages and mileage while in actual service, and expense of his return.—*Conn. State Arch., Rev. War*, x, 256. He was in service from 14 Aug. to 12 Sept., 1776, was ill for a long time after he returned home, and as soon as his health permitted, enlisted in Col. Enos' Reg't in the winter of 1777, where he served faithfully.—*Ibid.*, p. 257.

ELI, memb. 8th Co., 1st Reg. Mil. at Windsor.

ELIJAH.

ELISHA, [Corp'l 8th Co., 1st Reg. Mil. at Windsor]; hired for the war, was at New York, New Rochelle, Peekskill.

[EDWARD, memb. 8th Co., 1st Reg. Mil. at Windsor.]

ELIHU, (tifer) [8th 1st Reg. Mil. at Windsor.]

ENOCH, was at New York.

ISAAC, [Sgt. of 8th Co., 1st Reg. Militia, Windsor.]

ISAAC, 2d, [of 8th Co., 1st Reg. Mil., Windsor.]

JESSE, [was memb. 8th Co., 1st Reg. Mil., at Windsor; of Capt. Eells Co., Col. Sage's Reg't, 3d Battalion, Gen. Wadsworth's Brigade, 1776]; served in N. Y. and on Long Island.

PHELPS, JOEL, memb. 8th Co., 1st Reg. Mil., at Windsor, prob. of [Capt. Brown's Co., 18th Conn. Mil. at New York, 1776]; was also at New Rochelle and New London.

JOHN, [Corp'l 8th Co. Mil. or Train band in Windsor, 1st Reg.]; was at New York, and in New Jersey.

JOSIAH, at Old Milford.

TIMOTHY, Jr., enl. May, 1777, in Capt. John Harmon's Co., Col. Durkee's Reg't for 3 yrs.

LAUNCELOT, memb. 8th Co., 1st Reg. Mil., at Windsor, was at N. York and Boston; served in 1775, see p. 314, where he is called *Lutasecott*; [enl. 8 May, disc. 19 Dec., 1776, in Capt. Roger Enos' (3d) Co., 2d Cont., Col. Spencer's Reg't].

OLIVER, [memb. 8th Co. Mil., at Windsor, 1st Reg't]; was at Fishkill and in New Jersey; pens.; res. Hartford Co., 1832. See also p. 328.

SETH [(Capt.), 2d Lieut. 20th Continental (Col. Durkee's) Reg't, 1776; com. 1st Lieut. 1 Jan., '77; prom. Capt. 25 May, '78, 4th Conn. Line (Col. John Durkee's) Reg't; the Light Co. of this Reg't, under Capt. Phelps, was detached to Meigs' Light Reg't, and took part in the storming of Stony Point, 15 July, '79, in which action he was severely wounded in the arm; was transf. to Invalid Corps, 2d Oct., '80; disc. 1782; was a life invalid.]

WILLIAM, [Corp'l of Capt. Roger Enos' (3d) Co. of 2d Continental (Col. Spencer's) Reg't; enl. 7 May; disc. 19 Dec., 1776; was Sgt. in Capt. Hubbell's Co., in Col. Silliman's Reg't, 1st Battalion, Wadsworth Brigade, 1776; was engaged at Battle L. I. and in retreat through Westchester; he enl. for 3 yrs.; was also memb. 8th Mil. Co., 1st Reg., at Windsor.] See p. 314.

ZACCHEUS, served in 1775. See p. 314.

PICKETT, PHINEAS, was of [Capt. Arnold's (9th) Co., 1st Continental (Col. David Wooster's) Reg't, 1775; disc. in North. Dep't 28 Nov., 1775]; prob. dfld. from militia, as he was acc. to Hayden's *Centenn. Windsor Adl.* at the night retreat of Am. army from L. I., after Battle of L. I., one of the guard stationed at the Brooklyn shore to prevent the overcrowding of the boats. Pens.; res. in Hlfd. Co., 1832, and 1840 in Windsor, w. 83.

PINNEY, AARON, named on *Capt. Lemuel Roberts' Ms. List* as one of the "Lexington Alarm" volunteers from Wintonbury Parish; enl. 6 July; disc. 14 Dec., 1775. Sgt. in Capt. Humphrey's 4th Co., 8th Continental (Col. Huntington's) Reg't enl. as Sgt.-Maj. in Capt. Lemuel Roberts' Co., 18th Conn. Mil. Reg't, at N. Y., in 1776, where they arrived 24 Aug., and were disc. 25 Sept.; enl. 10 May, for the war, in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., 5th Conn. Line, (Col. Bradley's) Reg't, formation of 1777-81; killed 4 Oct., 1777, at Battle of Germantown].

ABRAM, named as Left. of the Wintonbury Parish "Lexington Alarm" Party, on *Capt. Lemuel Roberts' Ms. List*.

ISAAC, served in 1775. See p. 314.

PINNEY, JOHN (Sgt.), prob. the [John P. who was Sgt. of a company who "marched from Sundry Places, in the "Lexington Alarm", Apl., 1775, and "were formed into an Independent and Ranging Co. at Roxbury"; he was 2 mos. 13 days in service. He was Sgt. of the Windsor Train band or 8th Co. Reg., 1st Mil.], was at New York.

JONATHAN, [enl. 13 Mch., '80, in 5th Troop, Col. Sheldon's Light Dragoons; described as having dark complex., gray eyes, dark hair.]

JUDA, [enl. 7 May, disc. 19 Dec., 1775, in Capt. Roger Enos' (3d Co., 2d Continental (Gen. Spencer's) Reg't, was Sgt. in Capt. Roswell Grant's Co., Col. Mosley's Militia Reg't, in service on the Hudson in '78; arrived in camp 3 July, also a memb. 8th Mil. Co., 1st Reg., of Windsor], hired for three yrs; was at Boston, West Point, N. Jersey.

LEVI (Corp'l, named on *Capt. Lemuel Roberts' Ms. List* as one of the "Lexington Alarm" party from Wintonbury Parish.

MARTIN (Sgt.), Poq., was memb. of 8th Co. Mil., 1st Reg.; res. Windsor; was Quarter Master's Sgt. on detached duty—See *David Barber*—at N. Y. and Fishkill. See p. 328.

NATHANIEL, [enl. 6 July, disc. 18 Dec., '75, in 4th Co., Col. Huntington's (8th Continental) Reg't]; was at New York and in New Jersey.

NOAH, [joined 1 Sept., 1781, Capt. Samuel Granger's Co., Gen. Waterbury's State Brigade]; served 6 mos. in 1780.

[PHYLASTER (date of Shusbury), was, in 1776, of Capt. Harmon's Co., Col. Wolcott's State Reg't, at Boston, Jan.-Mch., '76; later of Capt. Lemuel Roberts' Co., 18th Militia Reg't, at New York, where they arrived 24th Aug.; disc. 27 Sept., '76; enl. 5 Apl., '77, in Capt. Harmon's Co., in 4th Conn. Line (Col. Durkee's) Reg't, for 3 yrs.; prisoner 28 June, '78; rept. present July, '78; Corp. Aug. 1, '79; disc. 5 Apl., '80.]

POMEROY, JONATHAN, prob. the Jona. P. [who was of Capt. Hanchett's Co., 10th Co., 2d Rgt. (Col. Spencer), 1775. This co. was in the Quebec Expedition.]

PORTER, DANIEL, enl. 1 May, 1777, for the war, in Capt. Prior's Co., 5th Conn. Line (Col. Bradley's) Reg't; [was of Capt. Morris' Co., 2d Conn. Line (Col. Swift's), Reg't, formation of 1781-83; paid from 1 Jan. to 31 Dec., '81; was in Capt. Munson's Co., 1 Feb., 1783, same reg't; was of Capt. Prior's Co., Col. Wolcott's State Reg't, at Boston, Jan.-Mch., 1776; pens.; res. Htfd. Co.]

DANIEL, Jr.

PRIOR, ABNER (Capt.), [commanded 2d Co. of Col. Wolcott's State Reg't, Jan.-Mch., 1776; was a capt. of Col. Ward's Reg., raised in Conn. on requisition of the Continental Congress, to serve one year from 14 May, 1776; joined Washington's army in Aug., '76, and was at Ft. Lee, White Plains, and in N. J., taking part at Battles of Trenton and Princeton, and encamped at Morristown, N. J., until expir. of term, May, '77; comm. 1 Jan., '77, 5 Conn. Line (Col. Bradley) Reg't, formation of '77-81; prom. Maj. of 1st Reg., Conn. Line, formation '77-81, 27 Aug., '80; contin. in '81; Maj. of 4th Reg., Conn. Line (Col. Zebulon Butler), formation of '81-83; resigned 28 Dec., '81; memb. Conn. Soc. of Cincinnati], disc. with rank of Major, and half pay.

PRIOR, ALLYN, [served in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., Col. Wolcott's State Regt., Boston, Jan.-Mch., '76; afterwards in Capt. Roger Enos' 3d Co., 2d Reg't, Continental, enl. 8 May; disc. 24 Aug.; enl. May, 1777, in 4th Conn., Capt. Prior's Co.; 3 yrs., (Col. Zebulon Butler's) Reg't; as Sgt. in same, was paid from 1 Jan. to 31 Dec., '81.]

ABNER, Jr., was Sgt. in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., Col. Wolcott's Reg't, at Boston, Jan.-Mch., 1776.

PRIMUS ("Doctor"), colored

PROVIDENCE (colored), enl. May, 1777, in Capt. John Harmon's Co., Col. Dethol's 4th Conn. Line, formation of '77-'81.

PLYMOUTH (colored), [enl. 26 May, 1777, in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., 5th Conn. Line (Col. Bradley's) Reg't, formation of 1777-'81, for the war.]

RICE, DANIEL, [enl. May 4, 1775, in Capt. Solomon Welles' (5th Co., 2d Reg't - Continental, Col. Spencer's) which was detached to form part of Arnold's force at the attack on Quebec, where he was captured.]

ROBERTS, CLARK, [was of Capt. St. John's Co., 2d Reg't (Col. Swift's), Conn. Line, formation of 1781-'83, paid from 1 Jan. 31 Dec., '81, name found on Capt. Humphrey's Co., 1 Feb., 1783, same reg't, formation of Jan.-June, 1783, as enl. 1 Feb., '77, for the war.]

JOHN, was one of Windsor "Lexington Alarm" party, Apr., 1775; [14 days' service] was prob. the Jo. R. who was enl. in 2d Co. (Capt. Pitkin), 4th Continental (Col. Hinsman's) Reg't, 22 May; disc. 20 Dec., 1775; served at siege of Boston, was prob. the Jo. R. of Capt. Prior's Co. in Col. Wolcott's State Regt. at Boston, Jan.-Mch., 1776; enl. Capt. Roger Enos' 3d Co., 2d Continental (Col. Spencer's) Reg't, 8 May; disc. 19 Dec., 1776; enl. Capt. Allen's Co., 3d Conn. Line (Col. Wyllie's) Reg't, 15 Mch., '77 for 3 yrs.; disc. 11 Mch., '80; pass. to Jo. R. of Capt. Mill's Co., Col. Bradley's Battalion, Wadsworth's Brig., raised May, '76; enl. 24 June; disc. 16 Nov., '76, prisoner at Ft. Washington, N. Y. and of Capt. Wadsworth's Co. (Col. Cook's Reg't), engaged at Stillwater, N. Y. Sept., 1777; and of Capt. Russell Grant's Co., Col. Johnson's Mil. Reg't, enl. 10 Jan., '78; named as from Hartford; pens. 1818.] See p. 314.

LEMUEL (Capt.), commanded the Wintonbury Parish volunteers for the "Lexington Alarm" in 1775. He resided in the Simsbury portion of the parish, possibly he and his men were credited to that town. [He, with Capt. E. F. Bissell and Chester Wells, were in command of an escort to Burgoyne prisoners *en route* to the South through Connecticut.]

PAUL, was at Saratoga.

PETER (Wby.), [enl. Capt. Morris' Co., 2d Conn. Line (Col. Swift's) Reg., formation of 1781-'83, paid from 30 Dec., '80, to 31 Dec., '81; is on Size Roll of Capt. Humphrey's Co., 1 Feb., 1783, same Reg't, formation Jan.-June, 1783, as enl. for the war; on rolls of same reg't its final formation, June-Dec., 1783; time exp. Dec., '83.]

ROWEL, DANIEL (prob. of W.), [was of Capt. Prior's Co., Col. Wolcott's State Reg., at Boston, Jan. to Mch. 1776.]

JOHN, same record as that of Daniel. John, Jr., (prob. same) was in service in 1775. See p. 314.

PHILANDER (Wby.), same record as Daniel and John.

ROGER, in service in 1775. See p. 314.

ROWLEY JOB (Wby.), enl. Capt. Burrum's Co., 3d Conn. Line (Col. Wyllis's) Reg't, 28 Feb., '78, for 8 mos.; (deserted 1 Jan., '79—poss. the same Job R. who enl. Lt. Seymour's Co., Col. Totten's Mil. Reg't, Col. Wolcott's Brigade, 21 Apl.; disc. 6 June, 1777.]

JOHN, [enl. 10 July, disc. 18 Dec., '76, in Capt. Humphrey's Co., 8th Continental (Col. Huntington's) Reg't, prob. enl. 1 Jan., '81, dis. 31 Dec., '81, in 4th Conn. Line (Col. Zebulon Butler's) Reg't; prob. enl. Capt. Wadsworth's Co., Col. Cook's Mil. Reg't, engaged at Stillwater, N. Y., marched 26 Aug., disc. 3 Nov., '77.]

SILAS (Wby.), [pens., res. in Bloomfield, 1840, aged 70.]

ROWLAND, DAVID

SHERMAN, (son of Rev. David Sherman Rowland) enl. 14 Feb., 1777, for the war, in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., 5th Conn. Line (Col. Bradley's) Reg't, formation of 1777-81 [was of Capt. Morris' Co., 2d Conn. Line (Col. Swift's) Reg't, formation of 1781-83, paid from 1 Jan. to 31 Dec., '81, was in Capt. Munson's Co., 1 Feb., '83, same reg't, pens. 1818.]

ROYCE, DANIEL, see p. 329, was of the Quebec Exped., 1775, in 5th Co., Capt. Hancock; was taken prisoner.

ROWSE (Royce?) SAMUEL, was of 8th Co., 1st Reg. Mil. of Windsor, 29 May, 1779.

RUSSELL, CORNELIUS (Lieut.), was Corp'l of the Windsor "Lexington Alarm" party, Apl., 1775, [5 days' service; was of Capt. Roger Enos' (3d Co., 2d Continental (Col. Spencer's) Reg't, 1775, enl. 7 May; disc. 19 Dec., was Sgt. of Capt. Eben F. Bissell's Co., 17th Cont. (Col. Huntington's) Reg't, engaged in Battle of Long Island, and rep. among the "missing", enl. as Sgt. in Capt. Sanford's Co., 3th Conn. Line (Col. Bradley's) Reg't, formation of 1777-81, and prob. in Capt. Prior's Co.; comm. as Ensign, 1 Jan., '77; prom. 2d Lieut. 15 Dec., '77, 1st Lieut., 1 Apl., '79, continued in '81, 1st Lieut. of Capt. Wood's Co., 2d Conn. Line (Col. Swift's) Reg't, formation of 1781-83; was one of the officers detailed from that reg't to officer the Conn. companies in Col. Hamilton's Battalion, which was attached to Lafayette's Light Division at siege of Yorktown, Va., 1781.] Memb. of the Society of the Cincinnati. At end of war retired with rank of Lieut. and half-pay. See, also, p. 314.

CORNET, (son of Samuel,) taken prisoner at Battle of Long Island; imprisoned in Old Jersey Prison-ship, released, but never recovered his voice, and was never able after to speak above a whisper. (Hayden's *Windsor Centen. Address*.)

JOHN, [enl. among the 1780 levies of 5th Conn. Line (Col. Bradley's) Reg't; prob. in Capt. Prior's Co., 1 July, '80-2 Dec., '80.]

[ST. JOHN, [eth], joined 5 Sept., 1781, Capt. Sam. Granger's Co., Gen. Waterbury's State Brigade.]

SEYMOUR, JOSEPH, enl. Capt. Harmon's Co., 4th Conn. Line (Col. Durkee's) Reg't, formation of '77-'81, 5 Apr., '77, for 3 yrs.; [prom. Sgt. 1 July, '78; disc. 14 Feb., '80; was of Capt. Harmon's Co., Col. Wolcott's State Reg't, Jan.-Mch., 1776, at Boston; pens. 1818.]

JOHN, (Ens.,) see p. 331.

WILLIAM (Why.), pens.; [res. Bloomfield, 1840, aged 79.]

SHELDON, REMEMBRANCE, [enl. among levies of 1780, 5th Conn. Line (Col. Bradley's) Reg't, formation of 1777-'81, prob. in Capt. Prior's Co.; enl. 1 July, '80, disc. 9 Dec., '80; in Capt. Morris' Co., 2d Conn. Line (Col. Swift's) Reg't, enl. 1 Jan.; paid to 31 Dec., '81; was among the men remaining in same reg't who were transferred to Col. Swift's new reg't of the final formation of 5th Conn. Line, June-Dec., '83, on list of 1818 pens. as Sgt. and res. R. I.]

[SILL, Dr. ELISHA N., of Gen. Wolcott's Detachment, at Saratoga, N. Y., 1777, pens. res. Windsor, aged 79, 1840.]

SKINNER ISAAC, was in service in 1775. See p. 314.

[SLED, ABNER, in Blackman's Co.; enl. 7 May, '77; prom. Corp'l 6 July, '78; prom. Sgt.-Maj. 17 Mch., '79, in Col. Sherburne's Reg't, 1777-'81; claimed by Ell.]

SMITH, ELIJAH, [was in Col. Wyllis' (2d Continental) Reg't, at Battle of Long Island, and rep'd missing, 27 Aug., 1776; enl. 1 May, 1777, in 5th Conn. Line (Col. Bradley's) Reg't, Capt. Abner Prior's Co., for 3 yrs.; [disc. 1 May, '80.]

JOHN (4th), res. Windsor; application for pension on file Co. Clerk's off., Hartford.

SETH, (Lieut.,) see p. 331.

SOPER, TIMOTHY, [pens. res. Hartford Co., 1832.]

SPERRY, AMBROSE, [was in 4th Continental (Col. Hinman's) Reg't, 1775; disc. in North. Dep't, 2 Sept., '75; enl. Capt. Hamon's Co., 4th Conn. Line (Col. Durkee's) Reg't, 5 Mch., 1778, for 3 yrs.; d. 10 Oct., 1778.]

STANLEY, NATHANIEL, of Windsor "Lexington Alarm" party, Apl., 1775, [13 days' service]; enl. 7 May; disc. 19 Dec., 1776; Capt. Roger Enos' Co., 2d Continental (Gen. Spencer's) Reg't. See p. 314.

[STANNARD, ———, wife ELISABETH, aged 93; pens.; res. Windsor, 1840.]

STARKS, ROBERT.

STILES, ASHBEL, was in service in 1775, see p. 314; [joined 5 May, 1781, Capt. Samuel Granger's Co. of Gen. Waterbury's State Brigade]; was at Horseneck Conn., until March, 1782.

STOUGHTON, ELIJAH, was of the Windsor "Lexington Alarm" party, April, 1775, [5 days' service.]

STOUGHTON, SAMUEL, was En. of 4th (Capt. Humphrey's) Co., of 8th Continental (Col. Huntington's) Reg't., comm. 6 July; resigned 25 Oct., 1775; was conductor of Supply Transportation Teams, '78-'80, see p. 313.

TAYLOR, SAMUEL, enl. 29 Apl., '77, in Capt. Savage's Co., Col. Shelburne's Reg't.; disc. spring of '80.

JOHN, enl. 3 Apl., '72, disc. Apl., '80, in Capt. Blackman's Co., Col. Shelburne's Reg't.; cr. to W. claimed by Ellington.

STEPHEN, (poss. the S. who enl. in 8th (Capt. Hubbell's) Co., 7th Continental (Col. Chas. Webb's) Reg't., 12 July; disc. 12 Dec., 1775, and who enl. 25 Apl., '78, in Capt. Bacon's Co., 4th Conn. Line (Col. DuRoi's) Reg't.; disc. 1 Jan., '79.)

WILLIAM, (may have been the Wm. who enl. 7th (Capt. Pettibone's) Co., 2d Continental (Col. Spencer's) Reg't., 5 May; disc. 18 Dec., 1775), enl. Capt. Prior's Co., 5th Conn. Line (Col. Bradley's) Reg't., 1 Apl., '77, for war; [mustered in Aug. Roll for '77, enlisted out; supposed to join Georgia Battalion.]

[THOMPSON, ELIJAH, enl. 14 Meh., '80, 6th Troop, Col. Sheldon's Light Dragoons, described as farmer; 5 ft. 10 in. high, light complex., and eyes, red hair; executed for desertion.]

THOMAS, DAVID, was of Windsor "Lexington Alarm" party, April, 1775, [5 days' service], enl. Capt. Prior's Co., 5th Conn. Line (Col. Bradley's) Reg't., 2 Apl., 1777, for the war.

EZRA KIEL, was in service in 1775. See p. 314.

ISAAC, same record as David's, except as to "Lexington Alarm."

[JESSE, was of Capt. Canfield's Mil. Reg't. at West Point, N. Y., Sept., 1781; prob. also the Jesse who enl. Capt. Humphrey's 4th Co., Col. Huntington's 8th Continental Reg't., 10 July (disc. Dec., 1775); see pp. 313, 314.

GILES, [enl. 25 July, disc. 9 Dec., 1780, among "short levies" of 7th Conn. Line, formation of '77-'80, Col. Heman Swift, was of Capt. Matt. Smith's Co., Gen. Waterbury's State Brigade, 1781 for defense of Conn. seacoast], was aired as a substitute by Tim. Phelps for 6 mos. service, for £9 1s. 4d.

LUKE, in service in 1775. See p. 314.

WILLIAM, [drummer in Capt. Hopkins' Co., 3d Conn. Line (Col. S. B. Webb's) Reg't., paid from 1 Jan.-31 Dec., '81; prob. the Wm. T. of Capt. Skinner's Co., Maj. Sheldon's Light Horse, 23 Oct., to 4 Dec., 1776]; was one of Windsor "Lexington Alarm" party, Apl., '75; [13 days in service, and prob. who was of Capt. Case's Co., Col. Hooker's Mil. Reg't., 12 Apl.-May 27, 1777; pens., 1818.]

[TOMINA, PETER, enl. 10 June, 1781, in Capt. Chapman's Co., 2d Conn. Line (Col. Swift's) Reg't., for 3 yrs.; was on the roll of those of this reg't. who were transf. to Swift's (new) reg't., in final formation of the Conn. Line, June-Dec., 1781; enl. 30 June, '80; time expir. June 30.]

TROY, TIMOTHY, aged 19, Col. Wyllis' Reg't., Capt. E. Eells' Co., Peekskill, N. Y., in Aug., 1777.

VANDEUSEN, THOMAS, [enl. 26 Jan., '81, for war (blacksmith, 5 ft. 6 in. high, light complex.); recruit to Col. Sheldon's Light Dragoons, 1777-83.]

WAKEFIELD, PATTESHALL, enl. May, 1777, in Capt. John Harmon's Co., Col. Durkee's Reg't, for 3 yrs.

[WALLACE, ABRAHAM, enl. 15 Apl., '79; disc. spring of '80, Blackman's Co., Col. Shelburne's Reg't.]

[JOSEPH, ditto; enl. 7 May, '77.]

WALL, JESSE, Roxbury Camp, 1775; was sick there, p. 313.

WARD, ABNER (Capt.), Col. Ward's Reg't, 1776. See p. 324.

WARDWELL, ISAAC, [enl. 1 July, '80; disc. 2 Dec., '80; among the short-term levies for 5th Conn. Line (Col. Bradley's) Reg't; prob. in Capt. Prior's Co.; prob. the same I. Wardwell who was of Capt. Roswell Grant's Co., Col. Roger Ensign's Mil. Reg't, on the Hudson; arrived in camp, 3 July, 1778.]

EBENEZER.

WARNER, GEORGE.

ISRAEL, was in service in 1775. See p. 314.

LOOMIS, [pens.; res. Hartford Co., 1832; res. Windsor, 1840, a. 83.]

WEBSTER, MICAH; enl. Capt. Prior's Co., 5th Conn. Line [Col. Bradley's Reg't, 25 May, '77, for 8 mos.; disc. 9 Jan., '78.]

AARON, was in service in 1775. See p. 314.

TIMOTHY, [enl. 28 Feb., '78, 8 mos.; disc. 1 Jan., '79, in Capt. Eells' Co., 3d Conn. Line (Col. Wyllys') Reg't, formation of '77-81.]

ZEPHANIAH, [Corp'l, enl. 1 Jan., '78 (from Hartford, in 4th Troops of Col. Sheldon's Light Dragoons, 1777-83; described as farmer, 5 ft. 9 in. high, light complex., grey eyes, light hair.) See also p. 329.]

WELCH, EBENEZER, [enl. in Capt. Champion's Co., 3d Conn. Line (formation of 1777-81, Col. Wyllys', 14 Oct., '77, 3 yrs.; prom. fifer 1 Feb., '78; reduced 2d July, '78; corp'l 1 Sept., '80; paid as corp'l from 1 Jan.-31 Aug., '81; as private from 1 Sept.-31 Dec., '81, in Capt. Erastus Wolcott's Co., 1st Conn. Line (formation of 1781-85, Col. Durkee's Reg't. It may have been the same Ebenezer W. who marched 24 Sept. and was disc. 2 Nov., 1776, in Capt. Lathrop's Co.-Major Barker's Reg't of Light Horse, and who was a Conn. pens.; res. in Ohio in 1818.)]

LEMUEL, was of the Windsor "Lexington alarm" party, Apl., 1775, [24 days service; was corp'l in Capt. Prior's Co., Col. Wolcott's State Reg't at Boston Jan.-March, 1776.] See pp. 311, 314.

WEST, GERSHOM. (see p. 311), was of Windsor "Lexington Alarm" party, 1776, [13 days service.]

WESTLAND, JOSEPH, [enl. Capt. Richards' Co., 2d Conn. Line (Col. Swift's) Reg't., formation of Jan.-June, 1783; enl. 2 Jan., '77, for the war.]

AMOS, Jr., [enl. in Capt. Prior's Co., Col. Wolcott's State Reg't, at Boston, Jan.-Mch., 1776.]

• ROBERT, [enl. Oct., '77, for the war, in Capt. Munson's Co., 2d Conn. Line (formation of Jan.-June, 1783, Col. Swift's Reg't—Pens. of 1818.)]

[WHEELER, HEZEKIAH, enl. Capt. Blackman's Co., Col. Shelburne's Reg't, 3 Mch., '78; transf. to Col. S. B. Webb's Reg't, enl. for war.]

JOHN, [prob. the one who enl. 10 Aug., '79; disc. 15 Jan., '80, 2d Reg't, Conn. Line (Col. Chas. Webb, formation of 1777-81; enl. 16 July; disc. 2d Dec., '80, in short term levies of 5th Conn. Line (Col. Bradley's) Reg't; prob. Capt. Prior's Co., and prob. the same who was of Capt. Bulkley's Co., 3d Reg't Conn. Line, Col. S. B. Webb, of formation of '81-83, and pd. from 1 Jan. to 31 Dec., 1781.]

WHITING, JOHN, [prob. the one who enl. in short term levies of 5th Conn. Line (Col. Bradley's) Reg't, and prob. in Capt. Prior's Co., 1 July; disc. 13 Dec., 1780, and pens.; res. Hartford Co., 1832.]

WILSON, ABIEL, [ens. in Capt. Samuel Granger's Co., Gen. Waterbury's State Brig. 1781; joined May 24; app. Q. M. 2d Batt., Aug. 28, 1781, pens.; res. Windsor; perhaps the A. W. who was capt. in 4th Co. (Capt. Humphrey's) 8th Continental Reg. (Col. Huntington's); enl. 7 July; disc. 18 Dec.]; was in the service in 1775—See p. 314.

CALVIN, was of 8th Co., 1st Reg. Mil. of Windsor, 29 May, 1779, see p. 339, at N. Y., Boston, Saratoga; [in *Off. Rec.* named as of *Wintham (?)* and of Capt. Potter's Co., 1 Feb., 1783, 2d Conn. Line (Col. Swift's) Reg't, formation of Jan.-June, 1783.]

JAMES, poss. the one who was [of Capt. Royce's Co., Col. Gay's Reg., 2d Batt., Wadsworth's Brigade, 1776.] belonged to 8th Co., 1st Reg. Mil., at Windsor, 29 May, 1779. Oct. 1777, was drafted in Capt. Hayden's Co. of Col. Newberry's Reg. to go to Peekskill, on reaching Waterbury was incapacitated by a fall from his horse which "misplaced the bones of his foot"—was disabled for six weeks and "had to pay the Surgeon six shillings." Petitions for reimbursement 26 Jan., 1778—Negatived. *Conn. State Arch., Rec. War*, x, 153, was in service in 1775. See p. 314.

JOEL, Jr., was of 8th Co., 1st Reg. Mil., at Windsor; [was of Col. Canfield's Mil. Reg't at West Point, Sept., 1781.]

MOSES, [was of Capt. Prior's Co., Col. Wolcott's State Reg't, at Boston, Jan.-Mch., 1776; app. for pension on file Co. Clerk's off., Hartford.]

SAMUEL, [was of Capt. Samuel Granger's Co., Gen. Waterbury's State Brigade, 1781; joined June, '81; was at Horseneck until Mch., '82; prob. the pens. of that name; res. Fairfield, Fairfield Co., 1832, and 1840.]

JOHN (Why?), prob. the one who [enl. Capt. Prior's Co., Col. Wolcott's State Reg't, at Boston, Jan.-Mch., 1776]; d. at or near New York, a. abt. 18, 1777.

WINCHELL, JOHN, [prob. the one who enl. Capt. Harmon's Co., Col. Wolcott's State Reg't. at Boston, Jan.-Mch., 1776.]

JOSEPH, enl. 1 Apl., 1777, in Capt. Prior's Co., 5th Conn. Line (Col. Bradley's Reg't, for 3 yrs.; disl. 16 June, '77.]

OLIVER, was in service in 1775. See p. 314.

WING, JOSEPH, [enl. Capt. Prior's Co., 5th Conn. Line (Col. Bradley's) Reg't, 26 M., '77, for the war; died 5 June, 1778.]

MOSES, [was of Capt. Griswold's Co., Col. Belden's Militia Reg't, Gen. Wolcott's Brigade, at Peekskill, N. Y., Mch.-June, 1777; joined Reg't 6 Apl.; disc. 23 May.] See p. 323.

ROGER, [was of Col. Canfield's Mil. Reg't at West Point, N. Y., Sept., 1781.]

SAMUEL, was a Sgt. of Windsor "Lexington Alarm" party, Apl., 1775. [5 day service; Corp'l of 10th (Capt. Harmon's) Co., 2d Continental (Col. Spencer's) Reg't, 1775, enl. 15 May; disc. 17 Dec., 1775; Ens. of 2d Co., (Capt. Gillett, Jr.), Col. Gay's Reg't, Second Batt., Wadsworth's Brigade, 1776; Sgt. in Capt. Abner Prior's Co., 5th Conn. Line (Col. Bradley's) Reg't; enl. 1 Apl., 1777, for the war; mustered; d. at Danbury in the service, July, 1777. (*N. Ch. Rec.*) See pp. 311, 314, 323.

[WOOD, SOLOMON, enl. Blackman's Co., Shelburne's Reg't, 6 Mch., '77; disc. spring of '80.]

WOODWARD, OLIVER, enl. Capt. Abner Prior's Co., 5th Conn. (Col. Bradley's) Reg't, 30 Apl., '77, for 3 yrs.; [disc. 30 Apl., '80; Conn. pens.; res. Ohio, 1818.]

[WOODRUFF, SAMUEL, a pens., ae. 80; res. in Windsor, 1840.]

WOOLWORTH, EBENEZER, was of Windsor "Lexington Alarm" party, Apl., 1775. [24 days' service; was of Capt. Abner Prior's Co., Col. Wolcott's State Reg't. at Boston, Jan.-Mch., 1776; enl. Capt. Abner Prior's Co., 5th Conn. Line (Col. Bradley's) Reg't, 1 Apl., '77, for the war, was of Capt. Morris' Co., 2d Conn. Line (Col. Swift's) Reg't, formation of 1781-83; enl. 1 Jan.; paid to 31 Dec., '81, was of Capt. Munson's Co., same reg't, formation Jan.-June, 1783, Feb. 1, '84.]

[WOLCOTT, CHRISTOPHER, Surgeon's Mate in Col. Erastus Wolcott's State Reg't at Boston, Jan.-Mch., 1776.]

GEORGE, was in service in 1775. See p. 314.

WRIGHT, ABEL, [Corp'l Capt. Griswold's Co., Col. Belden's Reg't, Gen. Wolcott's Brigade, at Peekskill, N. Y., Mch.-June, 1777; was a memb. of 8th Co., 1st Reg. Mil., 29 May, 1779, at Windsor.]

YOUNG, EBENEZER, [enl. Capt. Weed's Co., 2d Conn. Line (Col. Swift's) Reg't, formation of 1781-83; 31 Mch., '81; disc. 31 Dec., '81]. was in Maj. Hart's Reg't of Light Horse at Mamaroneck Camp, N. Y., 1777.

The following named regiments received many enlistments from Windsor:

Col. Heaman Scott's Second Regiment of the Continental Line—was the third in the third formation of the Line, Jan.-June, 1783; was composed of the 2d and 3d Brigades of the previous formation, was in camp at West Point and vicinity 1 Jan., 1783, until early in June, when it was disbanded.

Col. Elihu Sticklen's Light Detachment, 1777-81, of the Continental Army—served generally on the East side of the Hudson River, although detached companies served occasionally elsewhere, as at Germantown, with Gates, after Burgoyne's surrender, etc. It was finally mustered in Connecticut.

Col. Webb's Regiment, 1777-81—served on the Hudson, 1778 in Rhode Island; in '79 had winter quarters at Morristown, N. J.; were in battle of Springfield, N. J., in 1780.

Col. Bradley's Fifth Connecticut Line—raised for the war, 1777; went into camp at Peekskill, N. Y., spring of '77, in Sept. sent to Penn.; was engaged in battle of Germantown 4 Oct., '77, and suffered losses; wintered at Valley Forge '77-78, June 28 of '78, battle of Monmouth, N. J., then camped at White Plains, wintered at Redding, '78-'79; acted under Gen. Heath on E. side of Hudson River, '79, wintered at Morristown Huts, N. J., '79-80; following summer on the Hudson, wintered, '80-81, near West Point, were then consolidated for the formation of '81-'83.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ECCLÉSIASTICAL HISTORY. — FIRST SOCIETY OF WINDSOR.

1776—1890.

— — — — —

ON the 27th of March, 1776, the Rev. DAVID SHERMAN ROWLAND was installed as pastor of this church and society. He was a native of Fairfield, Conn., where he was born in 1719; graduated at Yale College, 1743, studied theology for a brief season, and was licensed by the "New Light" Fairfield Association August 12, 1744, and began preaching in the N. W. Society of Simsbury (now Granby), Conn. The society was about to settle him as pastor in September following, but delayed matters in obedience to the advice of the Hartford North Association, which was suspicious of his New-Lightism. In June, 1746, the subject was again before the Association, which confided his examination to a committee for the purpose of seeing if he would be loyal to the Saybrook Platform and would repudiate the excesses of Whitfield and other revivalists. By this means his permanent settlement in that locality was prevented, although he continued to preach there until August, 1747. He next began preaching at Plainfield, Conn., where, according to Pres. Stiles (*Ms. Itinerary*, Yale Coll. Library), he "*installed himself* in the presence of two or three ministers." The majority of the town were Separatists, and it was only by stratagem that a vote was obtained for his settlement. He entered upon his charge there March 17, 1747-8, but, owing to difficulties which had arisen during the time of his predecessor, the Rev. Joseph Coit, the church had become so divided and affected as to throw obstacles in the way of Mr. Rowland's support and usefulness, and to necessitate his removal. He parted on excellent terms with his people, from whom he took a dismissal May 6, 1761, and we next find him settled, *without installation*, in October, 1762, over the "Presbyterian or Congregational Church" in Providence, R. I., where he ranked very high among the clergymen of that day, and was equally admired for his talents, and beloved for his amiability of temper. At an early day he became recognized as a firm and zealous defender of the colonial liberties against foreign oppression. So obnoxious did he make himself by his bold and patriotic defense of these liberties from the pulpit that, when the town of Providence was invested, he was obliged to flee, with his family, in a sloop, and, during the darkness of the night, he escaped through the midst of the enemy's fleet, and went up the Connecticut



David Rowland

REV. DAVID S. ROWLAND.

[From a miniature in the possession of Mrs. Mary C. Willcox of Lowell, Mass.]

River. He not only impaired his fortune in the cause of our country, but equipped a son and sent him into the field, where he continued in service during the whole war.

When he came to Windsor he was past the meridian of life and in full vigor of his powers. "He was a powerful and eloquent preacher, of commanding presence in the pulpit, and of fine elocution," and his influence in Windsor was widespread and beneficially exerted.¹

¹ *From Ecclesiastical Society's Rec.* — August 14, 1775, voted — "That this Society give the Rev. Mr. David Snodgrass Rowland, for his encouragement in taking the Pastoral care and charge of this Church and Society, the full and sole use of the Church Lands and Town Lot so called, according to the design of the Donor, and in addition thereto, the sum of Sixty pounds Lawful money and Thirtyfive cords of wood for his annual Salary so long as he continues his pastoral relation to this Church and Society."

Mr. Rowland's reply — "To the First Society in Windsor, Gent — Your vote relative to the stipulated sum and other considerations particularly expressed in said vote as encouragement for my taking the pastoral care and charge of your Church and Society, I have endeavored maturely to consider and must think them inadequate for the proposed purpose. But relying upon it that you mean and intend a Decent and comfortable support and considering your professed unanimity, I do hereby accept of your invitation and close with your proposals. Cheerfully taking upon me the pastoral relation of your Church and Society depending upon the power of Divine Grace, the aid and assistance of the Blessed Spirit of God, to enable me faithfully and impartially to discharge the respective duties of a minister of the New Testament to which office I have solemnly been set apart according to Apostolic direction and am yours in the faith and fellowship of the Gospel.

Dated Windsor, Oct. 16th, A. D. 1775, DAVID ROWLAND."

Oct., 1776, Voted — "That Elisha More and Austin Phelps, or either of them, inspect the Wood brought to Mr. Rowland the ensuing year and see that its good wood and good measure." October, 1778, Voted — "That the Rev. Mr. Rowland's Salary for the year should one half be paid in Provisions, or other necessaries, viz. Wheat at 5s. per bushel; Rye 3s. 6d. per bushel; Indian Corn at 2s. 6d. per bushel, Pork at 3d. per pound. Beef at two pence half penny per pound, and other things in proportion." Nov. 11, 1779, Voted — "To pay unto the Rev. Mr. David Rowland the sum of Ten Hundred pounds, Continental Money as it now passes, for his Salary for the year 1779, in lieu of the Sixty pounds money due to him for his Salary 1779, or to be paid on the 20th day of Jan. next, — Provided nevertheless that if any person shall choose to pay his proportion of said Sixty Pounds in Wheat, Rye, or Indian Corn by said 20th of Jan. next, at the price as stated by law by the General Assembly at their session at Middletown; or in any other articles of food or clothing that Mr. Rowland shall want, to be computed at said stated price and to be paid by said time, such payments shall be in lieu of all the moneys voted before this time, for the payment of said Sixty Pounds that shall be due to Mr. Rowland for his Salary for the year 1779." At the same Society Meeting, Voted, — "That the Society Treasurer shall not receive in, any more of the principal of the money due for the support of Schooling in this Society, or any other use; and that the Society will bear what loss shall be, on account of any part of said moneys due to said Society that has been or shall be tendered and not received." This vote indicates that some of the holders of greenbacks, in those days, did not anticipate their permanent use and value, and were anxious to pay their loans speedily.

In Oct. 1780, Voted — "To raise Sixty Pounds, hard money, for Mr. Rowland's Salary." From this time onward to the date of his death, Jan. 13, 1794, the Society voted sixty pounds annually for Mr. Rowland's salary.

After the close of the Revolutionary war, and mainly by the exertions of Oliver Ellsworth, Roger Newberry, James Hooker, and others of those noble-minded citizens of Windsor, who had been so strongly identified with that patriotic struggle, a union was effected between the two societies. That under the charge of the Rev. Mr. Hinsdale had, by the separation of East Windsor from the old town, become the Fourth Society of Windsor, and the plan of union proposed (May, 1792), between it and the First Society, contained the following propositions:

- 1st. That the property of both should be united in a common stock.
- 2d. That a bridge and causeway should be built and kept in good repair "in the new highway lately laid out from the dwelling of Dr. Alexander Wolecott to Capt. Nathaniel Howard's barn."
- 3d. That the center of travel for all the inhabitants within the limits of the New Society should be ascertained and considered as the location for the new meeting-house, with this proviso, that it should be no farther south than the location of the First Society's meeting-house, nor farther north than "the first suitable ground" on the north side of the Rivulet.
- 4th. That the New Society should assume all contracts between the said two societies and their pastors, except debts.
- 5th. That the lands given to the First Society for the support of schooling should be applied to the support of a good school on the opposite side of the Rivulet to that on which the new meeting-house should be built, and that the said school should be free to the inhabitants on either side of the stream, and in an equally accommodating position.

These propositions united all parties; the meeting-house and the academy were balanced one against another; and a committee (Capt. James Hooker of the 4th Society, and Gen. Roger Newberry of the First Society) was appointed to apply to the General Assembly for an act of incorporation as one society. This was granted under date of 16 May, 1792, and its provisions fully complied with by 24 Sept., 1793.

In January following Mr. Oliver Mather and Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth, as Building Committee, entered into contract with Ebenezer Clark, architect, for the erection of the new meeting-house, which was located just north of the Rivulet, near the old burying-ground, where — with some modifications and repairs — it still remains, in constant use. The steps of the old meeting-house were used for the new, and the date of erection of both, 1757 and 1794, are to be seen on the underpinning stones.

"But to build the causeway was looked upon as a great work, too great for the town to build; so the State was asked for a charter for a Grand Lottery, which was granted; and it was then considered the duty of every good citizen to work out the price of as many tickets in the lottery as there were members in his family." — *J. H. Hapden*; who also says, "My grandfather came down here day after day with his team and his negro slave, Tom, and earned enough to buy one ticket for each of his household — all of whom drew blanks."

In the same year (1794) Mr. Hinsdale, pastor of the Fourth (old 7th or North) Society, was bought off for £300, in three annual payments, by the New Society,¹ who retained the Rev. Mr. Rowland as their pastor. In the Baptismal Records of the Windsor Church occurs the following entry by Mr. Rowland: "1795 — Baptisms in *new* meeting-house and *united* parishes:" the first baptism following is that (January 4) of a daughter of Samuel Allen.

Perhaps no one act of compromise ever secured to a town so many real advantages as this *union* plan of Windsor. A new church edifice, a commodious academy, two new and convenient roads, with a bridge and causeway, were among its visible results. In addition to this was a very appreciable economy which resulted from the union of the two parishes, and which was grateful to a people who had just emerged from a long and exhausting war. But, more than this, and above all earthly estimate, was that serene and happy influence which pervades a community who have agreed to forget their former animosities and live together as brethren.

About the same time (February 3, 1794), the principal citizens of Windsor subscribed the sum of \$1,220 for the support of the gospel ministry in the New Society, while the funds already in the treasurer's hands were to be used for the support of a good school on the south side of the Rivulet.

Mr. Rowland, whose strength had been failing for some years past, from a shock of paralysis, died on the 13th of January, 1794, aged 75. His ministry had been faithful and profitable to this community. During his pastorate 297 had been baptized and 6 admitted to the fellowship of the church. His gravestone in the old cemetery of Windsor bears the following:

"REV. DAVID S. ROWLAND, O. B. 13 Jan. 1794, A. E. 75, minister 47. His deep knowledge of the Scriptures and the humble fervor which he preached the Oracles of God were manifested in the consciences of all who heard him. A natural sweetness of temper, improved by a pure christian affection, made him dear to the people of God, and to a numerous surviving family.

"They that turn many to Righteousness shall shine as the stars forever."

At a meeting of the first Society, March 3, 1790, Voted — "To invite Mr. HENRY AUGUSTUS ROWLAND to settle in the work of the ministry in this Society as Colleague with the Rev. Mr. Rowland our present Pastor, provided the Church shall desire the same and agree with him upon the plan of Church Government and Discipline, and in

¹The 4th Society had now existed for thirty-three years under his pastorate, and we may fairly presume that it would have existed longer if there had been, during that time, a sufficient increase of population to sustain two congregations. The history of the Society, under Mr. Hinsdale's charge, will be found in Appendix E.

case he shall accept of this invitation and be regularly ordained, Minister and pastor of this Church and Society, we by this vote covenant and agree to give him, during the lifetime of his father, our present Reverend Pastor, Fifty Pounds, Lawful Money, per annum, and Twenty Pounds per annum for the term of ten years, to commence on the death of our present Reverend Pastor, for, and in lieu of settlement, and we further covenant and agree with him that after the death of his said father his annual Salary from this Society shall be Eighty Pounds, Lawful Money, (exclusive of his settlement and the use of the Parsonage Lands, to wit, the Holt's Meadow and the Town Lot so called,) during his relation as Pastor and Minister of said Church and Society."

The following are the titles of Mr. Rowland's published sermons:

1. **MINISTERS OF CHRIST** freed from Blood Guiltiness, by dispensing all the Counsel of God. A Farewell Sermon [from Acts xx. 25-27], preached at Plainfield, May 3, 1761. Occasioned by the long differences that have there subsided. Published at the Desire of many that heard it. By David S. Rowland, A.M. "Am I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the Truth?"—*Paul*. "They who oppose the Attempts of some, to introduce Corruption and Confusion *in the Church*, will have many an unkind Reflection thrown upon them, and experience the Severity of Censure for a conduct which merits the justest Approbation. — They fondly mistake the voice of Prejudice for that of Conscience, — While some, with a pitiable Mixture of Arrogance and Ignorance judge one another, and us, we are concerned rather to secure that *Peace of God*, which will be heard and felt, by the Soul, with the highest Rapture, and silence every Foe of human Applause or Censure." DODDRIOT. — BOSTON: Printed by Benjamin Mecom, at the New Printing Office, near the Town House. 8^o, p. 43.

2. **DIVINE PROVIDENCE** illustrated and improved, A Thanksgiving-Discourse, preached [from Ps. cxxvi. 3] in the Presbyterian, or Congregational Church in Providence, N. E., Wednesday, June 4, 1766, being His Majesty's Birth Day, and Day of Rejoicing, occasioned by the REPEAL of the STAMP-ACT (Published at the Desire of the Hearers), By David S. Rowland, M.A., Minister of said Church. The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice, — KING DAVID. As free, and not using your liberty for a cloak of Maliciousness, but as servants of God, — Fear God — Honor the King — Ap. PRINCE PROVIDENCE (New England), printed by Sarah Goddard and Company. 8vo., viii, 34. (Dedication "To the Right Honorable Henry S. Conway, Esq.; Principal Secretary of State and one of His Majesty's most Honorable Privy Counsellors; with all those who have distinguished themselves the *Patrons of Liberty*).

3. **CATHOLICISM, OR, Christian Charity** Illustrated and Improved in a Discourse, from Eph. iv. 15, 16. Delivered before the Congregational Ministers of the Colony of Rhode Island, in New England, At their Convention in Bristol, May 20, 1772. By David S. Rowland, M.A.; Minister of the Presbyterian or Congregational Church in Providence.

Providence; Printed by John Carter, at Shakespeare's Head, mdccclxxii.

Published at the request of the Convention, and republished in Boston, the same year, 8^o, 75.

4. **MINISTERIAL NECESSITY**, in the Discharge of the Gospel Embassy. Illustrated and Improved, in a Sermon, from 1 Corinthians, ix. 16 — "Necessity is laid, &c." Delivered, March 27, 1776. By David S. Rowland, M.A.; At his Installment, in the First Church and Society in Windsor.

Hartford: printed by Eben Watson, near the Great Bridge, mdccclxxvi

5. *The Homestead* (Paw Democrat, No. 31, vol. 3, date of 14 April, 1846, contains the following sermon.

DESPOTISM ILLUSTRATED AND IMPROVED FROM THE CHARACTER OF REHOBOAM: A Discourse delivered at Wrentham, the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, on a day of Fasting and Prayer, occasioned by the distressed situation of public affairs, July 14, 1774, by David S. Rowland, V. D. M., Pastor of the Presbyterian or Congregational Church, Providence, R. I. Text: "My little finger shall be thicker than my Father's loins."—1 Kings, xii. 10.

This is republished from the original manuscript in the possession of his grandson, Rev. Henry A. Rowland, of Newark, N. J., who says, in a letter accompanying it: "The time at which this discourse was preached was one of great political excitement. It was one year before the Battle of Bunker Hill, and about the time when the privileges of Boston were taken away on account of the destruction of the tea. The question of separation from Britain was not then determined on. It was hoped that lenient measures would yet prevail, and that Great Britain would still accord justice to her colonies. Those who are acquainted with the facts of history will find a close parallel drawn with a fearless and patriotic hand between Rehobom and George the Third. . . . The Hon. Judge Daggett, of New Haven, informed me that he was present when the discourse was delivered, and that it produced a very great excitement."

6. HISTORICAL REMARKS, WITH MORAL REFLECTIONS. A Sermon [from Ps. cxix. 2, 3, 6] Preached at Providence, June 6, 1779. Wherein are represented The Remarkable Dispensations of Divine Providence to the People of these States, Particularly in the Rise and Progress of the present War. Prov. 8^c, pp. 35. "A really valuable historical compilation."—*Ibid.*

7. HERESY, DETECTED AND EXPOSED, in a brief Narration of the unhappy Disputes that have arisen in the second Society in Stafford, with the judgments of several Councils that have been called. Published by David S. Rowland and Theodore Hinsdale at the Desire and Request of the Association. Hartford, 1781. 8^o, pp. 63.

8. THE FAITHFUL SERVANT OF CHRIST CALL'D UP TO GLORY. A Discourse [from Rev. iv. 1], Delivered at Wintonbury, January 30, 1783, at the Funeral of the Rev. Mr. Hzekiah Bissell. N. London, 1783. 8^o, pp. 38 (7).

9. AN EPIHOME OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, By David S. Rowland, Late Minister of the First Church in Windsor, Connecticut. Being "A Compendious representation of the Church; the body of Him who is the Head, even Christ; The Garden of Eden; The Adamical dispensation in a dark shade, also, the different dispensations till the Messiah came—the channel of the Church with the dark shades of errors which obscured its lustre. The running off of the Man of Sin. — The several channels in which the more important truths were conveyed: — The various sectaries: — Events before and since the Christian Era, Prophetic Periods: — The most noted Councils, witnesses for the truth in every age. & a summary description of the leading sectaries." This was a *Chart*, 364 by 264 inches in size. — Entered according to Act of Congress the 5 Day of March A.D. 1806, by William F. Rowland, of the State of New Hampshire, and Henry A. Rowland, of the State of Connecticut, as Proprietors," and was "Engraved and Printed for the Proprietors by Amos Doolittle New Haven. 1806."

Mr. Rowland was succeeded by his son, the Rev. HENRY A. ROWLAND, who had been ordained as colleague with his father, May 5, 1790. This gentleman was born in Providence, R. I., Jan. 13, 1764, graduated at Dartmouth College, 1785, and was pastor of the church of Windsor for forty-six years. He was dismissed in July, and died Nov. 28, 1835, aged 72 years. In his days, the number of admissions to the church

was 201, and 541 baptisms. His relations with the people of his charge were of the most friendly and happy nature; and in all the relations of life he sustained the character of a true Christian pastor. Mr. Rowland's personal appearance was unusually prepossessing. Commanding in figure, and dignified and polished in manner, he carried in the expressive features of his face, the indications of a strong intellect and a sympathetic heart. In all the relations of social life he is remembered as a faithful pastor, and a sympathizing friend and counsellor. His preaching was plain, earnest, impressive, and, as a natural consequence, eloquent. Sin never passed him unrebuked, and repentance found in him a friend and guide. His salary was continued on the basis of his original call in 1790, until December, 1801, when a society vote is recorded, which gives evidence of some dissatisfaction. "If the Rev. Mr. Rowland will relinquish his present contract with this Society, the Society will give him five hundred dollars a year in coin, during the term of his ministry with them; subject, however, to a deduction of one-half for such part, or parts of said term, if any, as he shall not be able to supply the pulpit."

Whether, or not, he accepted this proposition, we are not informed. That financial affairs were not entirely satisfactory, appears from a vote at a society's meeting in December, 1803, as follows:

"Oliver Mather, Benjamin Allyn, James Hooker, and Levi Hayden, were chosen a Committee to consult with Rev. Mr. Rowland and see on what terms he will be satisfied, and to see what the neighboring Clergy have for their Salaries and the amount the several Lists are in this Parish."

Since Mr. Rowland's ordination the parish had greatly changed, the demand upon his pastoral labors had multiplied, and the ability to pay a larger salary had increased. The revolt, after a growth of thirty years, had been lovingly subdued; and the church and society north of the rivulet had returned and united with the first church and society. But this union had not been secured without money and taxation and pledged notes. A new meeting-house had been built and a union school-house provided. Rev. Mr. Hinsdale, who had been pastor of the church north of Little River, was bought off, and discharged the First Ecclesiastical Society from further obligations to him on the receipt of notes for £325, and an order on their treasurer for £55. A bridge and causeway had been built *nominally* by the *town*, but mostly at the expense of this first society; as another bridge was built at Poquonock at the same time. In 1804, voted — "To give the Rev. H. A. Rowland Twenty Pounds in addition to his permanent Salary, during the pleasure of said Society."¹

¹ "The ladies of the first parish in Windsor assembled on the 15th inst. May, 1806 at the house of the Rev. Mr. Rowland, and presented Mrs. Rowland with 124 runs of linen and tow yarn, and also provided a handsome entertainment." — *Conc. Concord*.

"January 20, 1808. A number of gentlemen of the first Society in Windsor, assembled at the house of the Rev. Mr. Rowland and made him the handsome and liberal present of twenty-five loads of wood." — *Ibid*.

John Warram 1639 until death, 1670.
1642.

Ephraim Huit 1639 until death, 1644.
1642.

John Witchfield
Elder 1642

Nath^l Chauncy
Ord. colleague 1667; pastor until 1679.

Benj. Woodbridge
Pastor of the new
church, 1668 to 1681.

Sam^l Makin.
1682 to death in 1727.

Jonathan May Jr
Ord. colleague '1709-10; pastor
from 1727 to his death in 1747.

Will^{ms} Roper Ord. 1751; died 1775.

David Rowland
Installed 1776; died 1794.

Henry A Rowland
Colleague pastor, 1790-1794; pastor until 1835.

Theodore Hufdale
Pastor of "4th," or "7th," or North Society, 1765-1794.

In 1812, the Society voted — "to give the Rev. H. A. Rowland, in addition to what said Society now give him, the remainder of the interest on the Ministerial Fund in said Society, during the pleasure of said Society, after the debt due to the Heirs of Oliver Ellsworth, deceased, is paid in full." (Perhaps it will surprise some advocates of an afternoon preaching service to hear read the following: Voted — "That this Society do recommend to the Rev. Henry A. Rowland to have but one exercise on Sundays, from December 1, 1820, to March 1, 1821, and the same to commence at half a hour past Eleven o'clock.")

In December, 1834, the society voted — "To rescind the two votes giving to Mr. H. A. Rowland an addition to his Salary, which votes were passed in 1804 and 1812." This seems to have been a not very gentle hint to the pastor, that after forty-four years of service he was worthy of an honorable retirement on half-pay. In March, 1835, the society voted — "To authorize their Committee to expend a sum not to exceed two hundred dollars for procuring more ministerial aid during the year."

In the following June they instructed their committee to offer Mr. Rowland \$1,250 as the condition on which he should relinquish his pastoral relation to this people. Mr. Rowland accepted this offer, and was soon after dismissed by a council, July 15, 1835.

This arrangement was not made and executed without some disagreeable friction in the society's action and spirit: and, apparently to avoid the like in the future, the society, in January, 1836, voted — "To give the Rev. Charles Walker an invitation to settle in the ministry, on condition that he is to receive the annual interest of their Funds and the rents of their lands, and that his Salary be \$650 per year, provided the deficiency of said \$650 be paid by Subscription, or without any Tax upon the Society, and that said Contract be dissolved whenever Mr. Walker or the Society give six months' notice thereof."

This contract was dissolved after an existence of about one year: by whose *notice*, the record saith not.

During Mr. Henry A. Rowland's ministry we find, in 1802, the first mention on the society records of a *singing-master*. In 1804, the first mention of a *bell*, which was presented by Henry Allyn, Esq.; and, in December, 1805, the society voted that, as a token of respect to the memory of the late HENRY ALLYN, Esq., the bell which he gave to this society be tolled one hour at the setting of the sun, on the 8th day

¹ If the Church and Pastor accepted the "recommend" of the society the experiment was short lived, for I was nine years old at that time, and have no recollection of missing the "noontime." All the discussion I remember was relative to the continuance of the winter intermission of one hour through the summer. My father chose to drive home at noon three miles, and the usual two hours intermission in summer must have been more acceptable to the majority.

of May, in each year perpetually — that being the day of his decease. Previously to this, the only bell in town was that on the school-house, given by Mr. Alexander Allyn, about the latter part of the previous century.

Henry A. Rowland's published sermons were :

1. A Discourse, delivered November 27, 1800; a day observed as an Anniversary of Thanksgiving. By Henry A. Rowland, Pastor of the First Church in Windsor. Published by desire of his hearers. Hartford: printed by Hudson & Goodwin, 1801. Text Psalm, cxlv. 10, p. 20.

2. A Sermon, occasioned by the death, and delivered at the funeral of the Honorable Oliver Ellsworth, Esq., LL.D., who died November 26, 1807, in the 63d year of his age. By Henry A. Rowland, Pastor of the First Church in Windsor. Hartford: printed by Hudson & Goodwin, 1808.

" To the bereaved widow and afflicted children, the following discourse, preached at their desire, and published by their request, is inscribed by their sympathizing friend,

" THE AUTHOR "

Text, Psalm xxxix. 9, p. 15.

He was succeeded by the Rev. CHARLES A. WALKER, who was installed March 9, 1836. He was a graduate of Dartmouth College, 1823, and had been previously settled at New Ipswich, N. H. The society, however, were in a state of unrest : and, his health being extremely delicate, he withdrew just one year after his settlement. He died at Groton, Mass., October, 1847, aged 51 years.

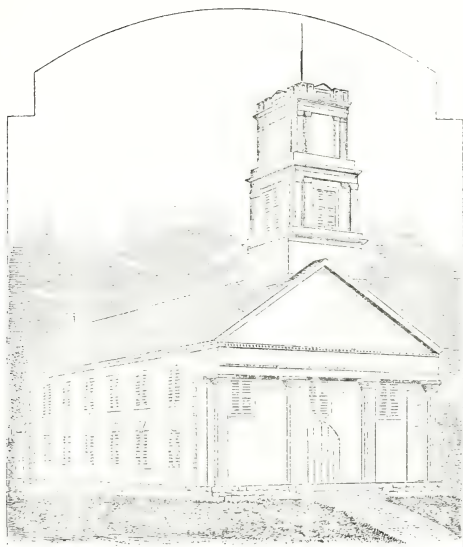
On June 12, 1839, the Rev. SPOFFORD D. JEWETT, previously settled at Griswold, Conn., was installed as pastor of this church, on an annual salary of \$650. He was dismissed 31 Oct., 1843, and afterwards was settled at Middlefield, a parish in Middletown, Conn., where he was for many years postmaster, and died there.

The next pastor was the Rev. THEODORE ADGATE LEETE, born at Guilford, Conn., May 20, 1814; graduated at Yale College, 1839, and at Yale Theol. Seminary, 1843; supplied the pulpit at Broad Brook, E. W., for a while; was ordained at Windsor, 24th September, 1845; dismissed 1st October, 1859. He afterwards supplied and organized the church in Florence, Mass.; was acting pastor at Blandford, Mass., 1864-1870; acting pastor at Thorndike, Mass., 1870-75; organized the Union Evangelical Church in Three Rivers, Mass.; acting pastor in Orange, Conn., 1877 to fall of '79; and at Northford, Conn., 1880-'83.

¹ Mr. Allen had drawn, or partly drawn, a will shortly before his death, in which he had provided for a bell for the church, with a condition that it should forever be tolled one hour on the anniversary of his death. The will was not executed, and consequently had no legal force, but his heirs consented to the appropriation and the bell was procured and tolled at first agreeable to this vote. But afterwards the friends consented to and I think desired its discontinuance.

[This story was told me by the late Herleigh Haskell, who was at the time (1895) an active member of the society.

J. H. HAYDEN.]



FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH EDIFICE, WINDSOR, CONN

Erected 1794 : Reconstructed 1844.

In every parish where he labored the church received many additions. He died at his home in Longmeadow, Mass., April 28, 1886.

He was succeeded by Rev. BENJAMIN PARSONS, previously a missionary in Turkey, under the A. B. C. F. M., as stated supply, 1860; and as pastor from May 29, 1861, to July 1, 1865; afterwards preached in New York and Michigan, and now resides (1891) at Seattle, State of Washington.

The present pastor, Rev. GOWEN C. WILSON, graduated at Colby University (now Waterville College), Maine, 1857; taught nearly two years in the Hallowell (Me.) High School; passing the winters of 1856-57 and 57-58, as clerk in office of Secretary of State; entered Bangor Theological Seminary spring of 1859; graduated in class of '61; settled at Winterport, Me. (where he had preached as a supply most of previous year); was ordained to the ministry, October, 1861; was dismissed in the spring of 1866, having spent two months in fall of 1864 in service of United States Christian Commission in Virginia; his service at Windsor, Conn., commenced 1st March, 1866, as a supply; he was settled here 20th November, 1867.

The first *hearse* in this society was purchased (together with a house for its keeping) by a tax of five mills on the dollar, according to a vote of 26th September, 1814. A new *hearse* and house was ordered in October, 1844; and, in 1847, one was ordered for Windsor Locks.

In 1844, the church edifice was thoroughly repaired and altered to its present appearance. The change on the outside, at the front end, involved the removal of the square tower and cupola (as seen in the accompanying picture, from Barber's *Hist. Coll. of Conn.*, published in 1836), which stood on columns over the belfry. This architectural crown of the house was built, as, perhaps, was the rest of the structure, from plans procured (according to the statement of the late Herlehigh Haskell) by Chief Justice Ellsworth from the architect of the meeting-house in Pittsfield, Mass. This reconstruction was the occasion of a re-dedication of the edifice, held 24th September, 1845, at which time Mr. Leete was ordained as pastor.

A *Conference-house*, or chapel, was erected, in 1822, south of the Rivulet. A few years ago, it was moved back from the road, a second story added for a Women's parlor and kitchen, and the whole put in excellent condition. In 1890 *Sunday-school rooms* were added in the rear of the church edifice, connected with doors opening into it, and nicely furnished and carpeted. A chapel at *Hayden Station* in 1876 was built by private subscription and deeded to the society.

In 1852, a neat brick *parsonage* was erected at upper end of Palisado Green, and was first occupied by Pastor Leete and family 1st September of that year.

Mr. Jabez H. Hayden remembers when *stoves* were first put into the Windsor Church, and, though report says that in many places the innovation met with much opposition, he testifies that "the people of Windsor took kindly to them, only lamenting that the stoves had not been invented sooner." As it would affect the finances of the society, liberty was given to the advocates of this innovation to put in stoves without expense to the society. However, in 1822, December, it was voted—"That two Stoves be purchased for the Meeting-House in this Society." Previously to this, mothers and grandmothers indulged in the luxury of *foot-stoves*, the children, of course, sharing the warmth. These foot-stoves were filled with coals from the hearth, covered with ashes, and retained their warmth through the morning service; the coals were renewed at noon by some generous friends near the church.

This ancient church celebrated on the 30th of March, 1880, the 250th anniversary of its organization at Plymouth, England, previous to sailing for Dorchester, Massachusetts Bay, in 1630. Under the excellent arrangements of a committee appointed by the church, consisting of Dea. J. B. Woodford, Dea. Daniel Payne, Samuel B. Hayden, William Bailey, Dr. Samuel A. Wilson, and the pastor, Rev. Gowen C. Wilson, the occasion was one of the greatest interest, and its happenings have been embodied in an interesting pamphlet of 104 pages, published by the church, entitled, *A Record of the Services held at the Congregational Church of Windsor, Conn., in celebration of its Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary, March 30, 1880.* The services of the day opened at 10 A.M., at the old church, with a prayer of invocation, by Rev. S. D. Jewett (a former pastor), followed by hymn No. 248, from "Songs of the Sanctuary"; an address of welcome, by the present pastor; reading of the Scriptures (Psalms 107, and Rev., 1st and 2d chapters), by Rev. Theo. A. Leete, a former pastor (the Bible used being that of the time of Rev. Mr. Rowland's pastorate), and followed with a prayer. A paper on *The Old Windsor Meeting-House*, was then read by Dea. Jabez H. Hayden of Windsor Locks; and a paper on *The Financial Condition and History of this Church and Ministry*, by Dea. J. B. Woodford. Between these papers the 340th hymn was sung to the tune of "Coronation," with the "Doxology" following. The benediction was pronounced by Rev. Mr. Jewett.

After dinner, the audience reassembled, and services were resumed at 2 P.M., by the singing, by choir, of "Jerusalem, my glorious home," followed by prayer by "Father" Gleason. The pastor, Rev. Gowen C. Wilson, read a paper on the *History of the Church from the First*. In the middle of this paper the choir sang Mrs. Heman's old hymn, "The breaking waves dashed high," etc., and at its close, Dr. H. Bonar's hymn, "Far down the ages now."

Rev. Dr. Leonard Bacon of New Haven (who fifty-six and a half years before had received here his ordination to the ministry by the Consociation), delivered an extemporaneous address, and Rev. I. N. Tarbox, D.D. (an "East Windsor boy"), read his poem written for the occasion, "*Old Windsor, Conn., 1630-1880.*"

Prof. William Channing Fowler, D.D., a descendant of Pres. Charles, father of Nathaniel, second pastor of this church, and William Frederick Holcomb, M.D., gave short addresses; and the exercises closed with the singing of a part of the 90th Psalm, from the Sternhold & Hopkins version used by the fathers—it being "lined off" by the deacon and the congregation singing two lines at a time to the tune of "Dundee."

The evening services, at 7 P. M., consisted of an address (after the singing of "Old Denmark"), by Rev. Dr. Tarbox, on *Singing Customs in the New England Churches*, and several addresses were made by ex-pastors and other friends of the church, closing with the singing of the original hymn sung at the dedication of the present church edifice in 1794.

The *Deacons* of the church have been:

William Gaylord, died 1673.

William Rockwell (according to the *Hist. of Dorchester, Mass.*, which says that he and Mr. William Gaylord were the *first* deacons of this church at Dorchester. Mr. Rockwell, however, does not figure as a deacon on the Windsor Town or Church Records).

John Moore, ordained 11th January, 1651-2; died 1677.

John Loomis, died 1688.

Joseph Skinner, died 1724.

Thomas Marshall, died 1735.

John Cook, died 1751.

John Palmer, died 1756.

John Wilson, died 1774, aged 89.

Nathaniel Drake, died 1769, aged 84.

William Cook, died 1789, aged 85.

Edward Moore, died 1798, aged 89.

Eleazer Gaylord, left town 1820.

John Sargent, died 1829, aged 58.

Elijah Mills, died 1831, aged 70.

Daniel Gillet, died 1837, aged 89.

Alvey Rowland, died 1857, aged 91.

Roger Phelps, died 1864, aged 84.

Jasper Morgan, died 1869, aged 84.

John B. Woodford, died 1891, aged 76.

John H. Barber, died 1873, aged 61.

Daniel Payne.

Lemuel T. Frisbee (chosen: left W. before he had served).

Strong H. Barber.

William Bailey.

The Church Fund. — The principal source of revenue has been taxation direct, down to about 1840. This tax was laid by the town until 1712, when the Ecclesiastical Society records begin. And these records and present fund bear testimony to the deep and loving interest in its permanence and growth, felt by many of its earlier members. The fund probably had its beginning in the bequest of Mrs. JANE HOSFORD, widow of Henry Fokes (Folkes), who died in Windsor, September, 1640, and left to his widow twenty acres of meadow and swamp adjoining in the lower end of the second meadow. "This land was reserved to herself in her own propriety and Dispose," when she married the widower William Hosford. After his death she returned to England. The following is a copy of her will in part: "July 23d, 1655. This is the last Will and Testament of Jane Hosford, the Wife of Mr. Wm. Hosford — I, being going after my Husband into Old England, and not Knowing when God may take me out of this life, do dispose of my Goods as followeth: Imp^o. I do bequeath and it is my will that after my decease the Church of Windsor, of which I am now a member, shall have and forever enjoy that piece of Meadow Land which belongeth unto me called Hoytes Meadow, for the use of the Pastor or Teacher as the Church shall see most need, and when one dead to go successively always." Rev. John Warham was one of the three witnesses to this will. Mrs. Hosford afterwards gave the use of this land to her stepson, John Hosford (during her life), who, claiming that he had no knowledge of her death in England, held on to the use of that land, until legal proceedings, instituted by the society, compelled him to relinquish it in September, 1695.¹ This

¹ "On the 15th Jan., 1671, being the 23d year of Charles the 2d, Mrs. Hosford, described as 'of Tiverton, in the county of Devon, widow,' made her will, of which her son Stephen Gaylord, John Witchfield, and Walter Fyler of Windsor, were appointed executors. She devised certain monies to Esther (or Stephen) Samuel and Sarah Gaylord, and to their children; the rent of a meadow to her sons-in-law John Hosford, and the three above named, during the life of the testator. After her demise, the meadow (about 20 acres of meadow & swamp) was to go and belong to the 'Old Church of Windsor' forever (*Lands*, vol. i p. 90, *Conn. Archives*). On 13th of Oct., 1692, complaint was made to the General Court, by petition from the Windsor Church, that they were kept out of the right and use of the aforesaid land, it being yet in the hands of her heirs, who say that she is not yet dead. And the Court, considering that she was aged when she returned to England and has been there 40 years or so [she went in 1655], and not heard from lately, declare her to be *dead in law*, unless it could be *proved* that she was alive or had been heard of within 7 years past" (*Docs. in Conn. Archives*). The land was fully confirmed to the church, Sept. 3, 1695.

meadow-land was sold, in 1861, by the society, to the Thrall brothers for \$2,000, and the interest thereof is still applied to the support of the pastor.

The Rev. JONATHAN MARSH, also, fourth pastor of Windsor, devised his property, after his wife's death, to the Windsor church for gospel and school purposes.

Previous to 1740, Lieut. ABRAHAM PHELPS, by will, gave £20 for the use of schooling, to that part of the society north of the Rivulet. BENONI BISSELL, who died in 1761, after certain bequests to relatives, devised his estate, both real and personal, to the First Society, "to be sold in a convenient time as the Society shall agree, and the money that the same shall sell for, to be loaned out by said Society, and the interest thereof to be used and improved yearly for the supporting of schooling in said First Society forever." Most of the present union school fund (\$2,080) is the result of this gift.

Dr. TIMOTHY MATHER, who died April 5, 1788, provides in his will as follows: He gives to his wife Roxanna his house and the land on which it stands, so far as it belongs to him, and her heirs forever. Also one cow and the whole of his household furniture, and one-third part of all the remainder of his personal estate. To his son Timothy all the residue of his estate, and if this son die before the age of twenty-one years, then he gives to his wife the use of one-quarter of the son's portion while she shall remain his widow, and the other three-quarters he gave to the First Ecclesiastical Society in Windsor, to be loaned, and the annual interest thereof applied to the support of the minister of said society. And the said quarter given to his wife during her widowhood as aforesaid he gave to said society, for the purpose aforesaid, after she shall marry or die. This son died in 1792 or 1793, six or seven years of age, and the widow married in 1802, when the son's entire portion of the estate belonged to this church and society. Dr. Mather's whole estate was inventoried at £1,382 13s.

JOSEPH MARSH, a son of Rev. Jonathan Marsh, in his will gave the use of all his property to his wife Elizabeth during her life, and after her decease he gives the same to the Society of North Windsor, where he then lived, to be improved by them for the support of the Gospel ministry or schooling in said society, as they judge best. The inventory of his estate amounts to £205 11s. 7d.

In 1794, after five conditions or articles of agreement for the union of the First Society and the Society of North Windsor is the following: "These conditions being performed, we severally engage to pay or secure to be paid, to the treasurer of the First Society for the sole and perpetual use of supporting the Gospel ministry in the same, the sums respectively affixed to our names, provided however that the bonds we may give shall

not be liable to be sued so long as we shall annually pay six per cent. interest on the same, and stand ready to give such further reasonable security as may at any time be requested by said Society's Committee."

Hez ^b Chaffee,	960	Oliver Ellsworth,	£100
Horace Hooker,	50	James Hooker,	100
Alex. Wolcott, Jr.	20	Jerijah Barber,	100
Hez ^b Chaffee, Jr.	50	Daniel Phelps,	25
Josiah Allyn,	30	Asa Moore,	7
John ^b Ellsworth,	60	Increase Mather,	12
Elijah Mather,	40	George Phelps,	10
W ^m Russell,	20	George Loomis,	10
Sam ^l W. Allyn,	30	Roger Moore,	50
Giles Ellsworth,	50	Edward Moore,	30
Roger Newberry,	50	George Warner,	6
Oliver Mather,	50	Phineas Wilson,	25
Ozias Lomis,	50	John Filley,	30
Roger Phelps,	25	Eliakim Marshall,	10
Gideon Barber,	10	Elisha Moore,	30
Daniel Gillett,	20	Elihu Drake,	10
Sirajah Loomis,	10	Benj. Allyn,	15
Chas. Wolcott,	15	Eleathan Filley,	10
Abel Strong,	5	Philip Halsey,	5
Austin Phelps,	10		£1220

The above was the last contribution to the fund for the support of the ministry, and the entire fund for this purpose now (1891) amounts to \$12,700 (\$3,500 for music, and \$200 for Sunday-school included), of which \$1,700 is invested in the parsonage, and the remainder, \$9,253, is loaned on mortgaged security. The interest on the above, and about \$1,000 received annually for the rent of slips, now furnish the means of paying the ordinary expenses of this Ecclesiastical Society. Incidentals, repairs, and improvements require an occasional subscription-paper and the ingenious devices of the Ladies' Society.

December 25, 1871, Gen. WILLIAM S. PIERSON proposed that he and his sister Olivia would place an organ in the church of the First Ecclesiastical Society in Windsor, and give it to said society on condition that a fund to be called "The Music Fund," of at least \$1,500, should be raised and paid to said society in trust, etc. A fund of \$1,555 was raised by subscription, and an excellent organ now in use is a permanent testimonial of the fidelity and generosity of the donors. Gen. Pierson also, a little previous to his death, in his last will added \$2,000 to this music fund. The chandelier in the church is the gift of Mr. OLIVER R. HOLCOMB.

Miss MARY ANN HAYDEN, before her death, manifested her deep interest in the Sabbath-school by giving \$200 as a fund for its benefit in furnishing suitable books for its library.

The church is without debt: its edifice in good repair; it has a per-

sonage valued at \$2,500, a fund of \$9,000 for support of the ministry, and one of \$3,500 for insurance and repairs on organ. It contributes from \$700 to \$1,000 annually to benevolent causes outside of its own field.

This church has enjoyed the following *revivals* :

1688 — thirty members added (<i>See Quatr. Review</i> , iv. 295-297).	1858 — thirty four members added.
1735 — "a very great ingathering" (<i>See</i> <i>op.</i> 13).	1866 — eleven " "
1834 — one hundred and eight members added.	1867 — thirteen " "
1841 — forty-seven members added.	1872 — ten " "
1847 — ninety " "	1876 — thirty-eight " "
	1877 — twelve " "
	1883 — one hundred and eighty six members added.

No revivals since 1883, but additions of a more permanent sort than those of that year.

Ministers Raised in this Town.

Rev. Isaac Stiles, pastor at North Haven, 1724-1760, father of Pres. Stiles of Yale College.

Rev. Abel Stiles, brother of Rev. Isaac, pastor in Woodstock, Conn., 1736-1783.

Rev. Hezekiah Bissell, pastor at Wintonbury, Conn., 1738-1783.

Rev. Jonathan Marsh (son of the Windsor pastor), pastor at New Hartford, Conn., 1759-1772.

Rev. Jedidiah Mills (bro. of Rev. Gideon), pastor at Huntington, (Ripton), Conn., was probably a native of Windsor.

? Rev. Eliakim Marshall, pastor at North Canterbury, Conn., 1759-1768.

Rev. Azariah Mather (son of Rev. Samuel), pastor at Saybrook, Conn., 1710-1732.

Rev. Allyn Mather, pastor at Fair Haven, Conn., 1773-1784.

Rev. Nathaniel Gaylord, pastor at West Hartland, Conn., 1782-1841.

Rev. Solomon Walcott, pastor at Bloomfield, Conn., 1786-1790.

Rev. Henry A. Rowland ?

Rev. James Rowland.

Rev. Oliver Wolcott Mather.

} *See Genealogies.*

Rev. Frank V. Mills (s. John Mills), grad. Ham. Coll. ; studied Union Theol. Sem. and Hart. Theol. Sem. ; ord. in Windsor, 1882 ; m. Kate C. (dau. Dr. S. A.) Wilson, and has been seven years a missionary of the Presby. Board in Hong Chou, China.¹

¹ His classmate, Rev. Junius H. Judson, m. Jennie H. (dau. Horace H.) Filley, a memb. of the W. Church, and for past ten years have been missionaries at Hong Chou, China.

Rev. William W. Leete, born in Windsor, 1854; graduated Amherst College 1877; Yale Theol. Sem. 1880; now settled over a church in Rockford, Ill.; see *Genealogies*.

It is probable that some ministers were raised in Windsor between 1635 and 1724; also, that this list is incomplete.

Baptists in Windsor.

About the middle of the last century, during the *Great Awakening* which commenced in New England under the preaching of the celebrated Whitfield, several Baptist churches were formed. One of these was at Windsor. Of its history, however, we have no authentic records. There were two classes of Baptists at that time—one consisting of those who were “sober dissenters” from the orthodox form of worship in the colony; and the other of those who believed in the “indulgence of their inward frames, in noise and outcry without restraint,” in dreams and trances, and in the superior efficiency of “lay exhorters.” This latter class were termed Separatists, and, from the fragmentary facts which have come down to us, we infer that they were numerous and influential in this town. Mr. Marsh’s last days were much embittered by their extravagances and commotions. *Trembull*, after mentioning the “fanatical spirit,” which prevailed in certain counties in the colony, adds that “there was also something of the same spirit in the County of Hartford, in the towns of Windsor, of Suffield, and in Middletown. The separations began, and principally prevailed, in these counties.”

The history of the Baptists in Windsor, as in every part of the colony, is mainly a *record of persecution*. The storm of opposition which overwhelmed them, served only to intensify their devotion to the peculiar principles which they espoused, and, together with the civil judgments which were brought to bear upon them, caused them to run into the extremest lengths of folly and absurdity. *Separatism* was, undoubtedly, the legitimate result of unwise and unwarrantable legislative interference with the rights of private judgment; and any odium which attaches to it should not attach to the *Baptist* denomination. But the multitude, as well as the law, in that day, made little or no distinction between the two classes. Mr. Ebenezer Frothingham of Middletown, in a book printed in 1767, and entitled, *A Key to Unlock the Door that leads in to take a Fair View of the Religious Constitution established by Law, in the Colony of Connecticut*, after affirming that the opposition was not directed against the Separatists alone, says: “Young Deacon Drake, of Windsor, now in Hartford prison, for the Minister’s rates and building their meeting house, altho’ he is a Baptist, . . . is accounted a harmless, godly man, and he has plead the privilege of a Baptist through all the courts, and been at great expense, without

relief, until at last the Assembly has given him *a mark in his hand* [a branding], and notwithstanding this, they have thrust him to prison for former rates, with several aggravations, which I shall omit. But as to what the Constitution does to relieve the poor Deacon, he may there die, and the cry of blood, blood, go up into the ears of a just God."¹ This was evidently a hard case of treatment, but it will serve as a fair exponent of the spirit of the times. In the genealogy of the Marshall family, in another portion of this work, our readers will find some interesting notices of some good and pious men, famous in the annals of the Baptist denomination, to whom old Windsor gave birth.

The Baptist church in Windsor has become extinct within the recollection of those now living. The Rev. Frederic Chapman was its last minister—a man well remembered for his peculiarities of manner, as well as for his piety and kindly disposition.

Their old house of worship stood upon the Poquonock road, near the site of the present Fourth District school-house. In 1886, there was a Baptist Society in Windsor, which occupied a hall in the second story of the First District school-house, and was led by Bro. Horace E. Cooley: it had no church organization, but Sunday services and Sunday-school held regularly in School District No. 1, next to Hartford.

In this denomination in Windsor, there were raised the following Ministers:

Rev. Abraham Marshall.

Rev. Daniel Marshall.

Rev. Joseph Marshall.

• *The Methodist Episcopal Society.*

The Rev. George Roberts was probably the first Methodist preacher in Windsor, about the year 1790. Under his preaching was converted one Ethan Barker—a pious and devoted man (who entered upon the books of the First Ecclesiastical Society of Windsor the following "certificate," 10th Oct., 1793, "Know all whom this concerns, that I have joined a society of Methodists, in Windsor"), and who formed a class, consisting of himself, as leader, Jerusha Barker, Moses Mitchell, Miriam

¹Dea. Nathaniel Drake, Jr., of (East) Windsor, 2d Society, in a petition to the Assembly, in 1763, testifies that he "is a sober dissenter from the way of worship and ministry established by the law of this Colony, and for more than six years last past hath so soberly dissented and been of that denomination called Baptists, living within the limits of the said Second Society, the whole time aforesaid he hath joined to a Society of Baptists, and hath attended public worship with them under the ministry of a Baptist minister." The cause of the Deacon's trouble was that he refused to pay the tax which was levied on him by the Second Society, for the building of the new (orthodox) meeting-house in 1761. The constables distrained for the amount, and his troubles commenced. — *State Archives, Ecclesiastical.*

Bennett, a Mrs. Marsh, and Martha Mather. Two years after, Mr. Barker removed to Pittsfield, Mass., where he remained four years, during which time the class at Windsor, from want of a proper leader, languished, and finally became extinct. Upon Mr. Barker's return to Windsor, he again gathered them together; and the little band, meeting regularly at his residence, increased in numbers until the year 1807-8. About this time they were re-organized, by the Rev. Laban Clark, into a class or society, consisting of Ethan Barker (Leader), and Jerusha his wife, Moses Mitchell, Miriam Bennett, Martha Mather, Samuel, Nancy, and Delia Stiles, Walter Gillespie, Ruth Phelps, and about fifteen others.

This society worshiped around, mostly in school-houses, until 1822, when a church edifice was erected, 42 by 37 feet, and two stories in height, where the present one now stands, on Broad Street Green. It was built by donation, some furnishing the material and others the labor, and its cost was about \$1,200 to \$1,500. Its first board of Trustees organized June 13, 1823, at the house of Elisha Strong, comprised Elisha Strong, Eli Wilson, Ethan Barker, Abel Barber, and Hiram Phelps. In 1845 the church edifice was altered by moving it back, adding some eighteen feet to its front, and erecting a spire, at a total expense of about \$2,200. Subsequently it was again remodeled, and is valued at \$5,000. In 1890 the society renovated their church, and received from Hon. E. F. Mather of New York city, and Frederick Drake, Esq., of the First Congregational Society, the gift of a fine bell, which was rung just before New Year's Day, 1891.

The Protestant Episcopal Society.

Religious services after the Episcopal form were occasionally held in Windsor by the Rev. Arthur C. Coxe, then rector of St. John's, Hartford, now Bishop of Western New York.

The Episcopal *Parish of St. Gabriel* was organized 14 Dec., 1842; its original vestrymen being Isaac Underhill, George Spalding, Fitch Bissell, John Spencer, Alonzo M. Smith, Quarles Bedorthy, Samuel O. Loomis, and Henry A. Bliss. The corner-stone for the first church edifice was laid on the 6th of Nov., 1843, and it was consecrated 15 January, 1845. The building (which is the same as now owned by the Roman Catholics), a little south of Broad street, on the Hartford road, was about 48 feet long by 28 feet wide, with transepts. Its cost, exclusive of the organ, was about \$2,000.

Later, the name of the parish was changed, by legislative enactment, to *Grace Church*; and for a while it was cared for and supplied by the professors of Trinity College, Hartford. In October, 1860, Rev.

REUEL H. TUTTLE became its first rector; on the 25th December, 1863, he made the society a thanksgiving offering of \$500 upon the recovery of his daughter from a serious illness, for the improvement and beautifying of the church edifice. But the society at once moved to increase the sum sufficiently to build anew, and a beautiful stone edifice was erected on the southeast corner of Broad street, costing \$25,000; and this was consecrated by Bishop Williams, 13 September, 1865, the corner stone having been laid 2 August, 1864. The Rev. Mr. Tuttle resigned his rectorship 4 July, 1870, but officiated until his successor, Rev. BENJAMIN JEDKINS, accepted the charge, 13 April, 1871. He resigned 6 January, 1880, and was succeeded, October 1, 1880, to October, 1885, by Rev. JAMES B. GOODRICH. The present rector, Rev. F. W. HARRIMAN, came in May, 1886. This year (1891) the society are just completing a Parish House in the rear of their church.

The Roman Catholics purchased, in 1865, the church-building just occupied by the Episcopalians, and have since held regular services in it.

Revs. James Smith, Michael McAuley, Michael Kelley, James O'R. Sheridan (resident at Windsor Locks), officiate to an average membership of 125.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE SCHOOLS OF WINDSOR.

1636—1709.

NOTHING is more indicative of the sterling character and aims of the first settlers of Connecticut than their appreciation of the importance and claims of popular education. It was indeed inwrought with the whole fabric of their social and civil policy. The very nature, also, of the civil organization, making all civil officers elective, and giving to every freeman the right of voting, rendered, as has been aptly said, “universal education identical with self-preservation.”

But, above all, those deep religious convictions, for the better enjoyment of which they mainly had sought these shores, could only be firmly established and secured by the influence of education.

Nor can we forget that the members of the Connecticut emigration were mainly of an intelligent better class. Most of them could read, and, as the Windsor records testify, could write. And the leaders of the colony, the Hookers and Warhams, the Ludlows and Wolcotts, men whose fervent piety, ripe experience of life and business, social position and wealth, gave them the controlling influence of the community, were men of refined and cultivated tastes, who had received in the free schools and even universities of England the best education which that day afforded — God be praised for that — God be praised, too, that amid the trials and hardships of a new settlement, they did not forget the education of their children; and that *here*, in the scarcely cleared *openings* of a primeval forest, they established at a very early date *public* schools, and that too they not only entreated all, but made it *obligatory* on all, to send their children to school.

The lack of the Windsor records, prior to 1650, leaves us quite in the dark concerning the history of its schools during the first twenty years. But enough cotemporary evidence remains to show that there were probably schools here, and that its citizens were neither unmindful nor neglectful of this “nursery of church and state.” Hartford had a school in 1642, and we cannot suppose that Windsor, with her wealth and intelligence, the home of Ludlow, Rossiter, Warham, and Wolcott, was behind her sister plantation in providing for the rising generation. We know that in September, 1644, when the Rev. Mr. Shepard presented

to the commissioners of the United Colonies a proposition "for the maintenance of poor scholars at Cambridge," suggesting that each family "which is able and willing" should yearly contribute "but the fourth part of a bushel of corn, or something equivalent thereto," the court approved the proposition and appointed two men in each town "to receive and seasonably to send in what shall thus be given by them." And William Gaylord and Henry Clarke were appointed for that purpose in Windsor. This contribution was continued for many years by the Connecticut Colony, for the "School of the Prophets" was very near to the hearts of the settlers.

In May, 1650, a Code of Laws, which has been previously alluded to, was completed. It contained, under the titles *Children* and *Schools*, the following important enactments, which remained, with only such trifling modifications as contributed to their greater efficiency, until the act of 1792, and the revision of the school law in 1801. Read them, ye Windsor men, with honest pride that these, with other enactments of the Code of 1650, were the work of Roger Ludlow, a Windsor *father*, and with a sincere appreciation of the Christian wisdom therein displayed.

CHILDREN

"Forasmuch as the good education of children is of singular behoof and benefit to any commonwealth, and whereas many parents and masters are too indulgent and negligent of their duty in that kind.

"It is therefore ordered by this Court and the authority thereof, That the selectmen of every town in the several precincts and quarters where they dwell, shall have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbors, to see first, that none of them shall suffer so much barbarism in their families, as not to endeavor to teach by themselves or others, their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue, and knowledge of the capital laws, upon penalty of 20s for each neglect therein; also, that all masters of families, do, once a week, at least, catechise their children and servants, in the grounds and principles of religion, and if any be unable to do so much, that then, at the least, they procure such children or apprentices to learn some short orthodox catechism, without book, that they may be able to answer to the questions that shall be propounded to them out of such catechism by their parents, or masters, or any of the selectmen, when they shall call them to a trial of what they have learned in this kind, and further, that all parents and masters do breed and bring up their children and apprentices in some honest, lawful calling, labor or employment, either in husbandry or some other trade profitable for themselves and the commonwealth, if they will not nor can not train them up in learning, to fit them for higher employments; and if any of the selectmen after admonition by them given to such masters of families, shall find them still neglectful of their duty, in the particulars aforementioned, whereby children and servants become rude, stubborn and unruly, the said selectmen, with the help of two magistrates, shall take such children, or apprentices from them, and place them with some masters, — boys till they come to twenty-one, and girls to eighteen years of age complete — which will more strictly look unto and force them to submit unto government, according to the rules of this order, if by fair means and former instructions they will not be drawn into it."¹

¹ The same wise and careful forethought which devised this admirable Code, did not neglect the interests of the poor Indian. As, however, it does not particularly concern the purpose of our history, we shall not discuss the matter.

SCHOOLS.

It being one chief project of that old deluder Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the scriptures, as in former times keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times, by persuading them from the use of tongues so that at least, the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded with false glosses of saint seeming deceivers, and that learning may not be buried in the grave of our forefathers, in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors

It is therefore ordered by this court and authority thereof, That every township within this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of 50 householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town, to teach all such children as shall resort to him, to write and read, whose wages shall be paid, either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those who order the prudentials of the town shall appoint; provided, that those who send their children be not oppressed by paying more than they can have them taught for in other towns.

And it is further ordered, That where any town shall increase to the number of 100 families or householders, they shall set up a grammar school, the masters thereof being able to instruct youths, so far as they may be fitted for the university, and if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, then every such town shall pay five pounds per annum, to the next such school, till they shall perform this order.

The first direct allusion to the existence of a school in Windsor is on the town records.

February, 1656-7, "it was voted that Mr. Branker should have £5 paid to him out of the next town rate toward his maintenance of a school."¹

In an account of town debts, February, 1660-1, occurs an item of "£4:10 to Mr. Cornish for schooling."²

In 1666-7, we must chronicle the erection of the *first* school-house in Windsor. Deacon Moore charged the town with "8s. 4d. for iron-work for school-house." Probably up to this time school was "kept" in some private dwelling, or at the residence of the teacher.

In 1672, the town had so increased in population as to be liable under the provision of the statute requiring the establishment of a grammar school. For we find that, April 2d, the town of Windsor was fined £5, "for not procuring and maintaining a grammar school, said fine to be paid over to the Hartford grammar school.

"November 13, 1673. This day was a town meeting to read some orders ordered to be published by the General Court in October, and also discourse about setting up a school in Windsor, and it was agreed to, and four men more [added] to the present townsmen, which [were] Corporal Marshall, John Bissell, John Porter and George

¹Mr. JOHN BRANKER was a resident of Windsor as early as 1640. We know but little about him, except that he was a gentleman of good education, estate and reputation, and the *first* schoolmaster of Windsor. He occasionally delivered the "weekly lecture" before the church. He died May 29, 1692, and his widow Abigail married the Rev. Mr. Warham.

²This was probably JAMES CORNISH, whom we find mentioned at different times and places along the river as a schoolmaster. He was for some time a resident of Windsor.

Griswold. These with the townsmen [are] to meet on Friday, the 21st day of this month, and to speak with Captain Clarke, and to see what way to order for the setting up of a school."

Nov. 19, 1674. "the Town meeting consulted about the school proposed to be kept by Mr. Cornish." His terms were £36 per year. Some wished the children to pay 5s. per quarter, others wished the town to pay the whole expense. He was to keep five months south and seventh months north of the Rivulet. Two or three months later, it was decided "that the scholars shall pay Mr. Cornish."

In 1675, at the time of King Phillip's war, John Fitch of Windsor, being called out against the Indians, made the following will:¹

"These may testify that I, JOHN FITCH of Windsor, being to go forth and not know that I may return, do desire to commit myself to God, &c.

"As for the small estate God hath given me I dispose as followeth, first, that my just debts be paid out of it. The rest, both land and goods, I give for the promoting of a school here in Windsor, to be disposed of in the best way as the County Court and the selectmen of this Town shall see meet, for the end aforesaid.

"In testimony to the abovesaid, I hereto set my hand this 39th day of August, 1675

"JOHN FITCH"

He, with other Windsor men, was at the Swamp Fight, in the attack on the Narragansett fort.²

The town records show that at a town meeting after his death (August 15, 1676), "it was propounded, to the company met concerning John Fitch's will, that what of the estate after his death, and all his just debts be paid is to go for the town of Windsor's use for the maintenance of a school, and therefore we propounded to the company that in case all his moveables of his estate should not reach to pay his debts, they would not allow something out of a town rate, and it was by all said a vote [that] they would [add] unto [the balance] the sum of 3 Pounds."³

In December, 1676, Windsor seems to have again been destitute of a school teacher, for "the town voted that they are willing there shall be a schoolmaster be got and the townsmen were to get one and the children to pay as to Mr. Cornish, and the rest by the town."

February 18, 1679, the town voted Capt. Clarke to keep school in Windsor for a year, six months on each side of the Rivulet, and he engaged also to attend to the town business in making out rates, lists, &c., for all of which he was allowed £40.

¹ It is probable that the amount thus received was insufficient to defray expenses, as in May, 1675, "the townsmen agreed that Mr. Cornish should have something out of what we have in hand of the town rate, which is in Dea. Moore and John Loomis' keeping. [He, Mr. C., is] to take it in the kind it is brought in."

² Probate Records, Hartford, Conn.

³ He was probably mortally wounded there, but died after his return home.

⁴ The inventory which accompanies the will, states his property at £40 1s., and debts at £11 15s. 8.

Nearly ten years later, Windsor could boast *two* teachers, for, "at a meeting of the townsmen, December 20, 1685, it was ordered that the four pounds paid to the town by Tahan Grant for the rent of John Fitch's house for the two last years past, shall be paid to the two present school-masters: viz: to Mr. Cornish 30 shillings, and to Mr. John Loomis 50 shillings."

In 1690, the following enactment was made:

"This Court observing that notwithstanding the former orders made for the education of children and servants: there are many persons unable to read the English tongue and thereby unable to read the Holy word of God, and the good laws of this Colony: and it is hereby ordered that all parents and masters shall cause their children and servants as they are capable to read distinctly the English tongue, and that the grand-jury men in each town do once in the year, at least, visit each family they suspect to neglect this order, and satisfy themselves that all children under age, and servants in such suspected families, can read well the English tongue, or in good procedure to learn the same or not, and if they find any such children or servants not taught as their years are capable of they shall return the names of the parents or masters of the said children or servant whose teaching is thus neglected, according to this order, after the order of 1690, unless it appears to the satisfaction of the Court that the said neglect is not voluntary but necessitated by the incapacity of the parents or masters, or their neighbors to cause them to be taught as aforesaid, or the incapacity of the said children or servants to learn."

The next year the town of Windsor voted £20 a year for a school.

But the town was enlarging, quite a settlement had sprung up on the east side of the Great River (now East and South Windsor), and they also had children to educate. So in April, 1698, we find the town agreeing to hire a schoolmaster: and school was to be kept *three* months on the east side of the Great River, and *nine* months on the west side, half on the north and half on the south side of the Rivulet: each quarter of the town to provide a suitable school-house without any charge to the town. The master to receive £20, "besides that which is given of gift-money." The Committee were Lieut. Hayden and Lieut. Matthew Allyn. They made (April, 1698) the following contract:

"Agreed with Mr. Samuel Wolcott to keep a reading, and writing, and cyphering and grammar school for one full year, to begin on the twelfth day of this month [July] to take none but such as are entered in spelling. His salary is to be thirty-five pounds in country pay or two-thirds of so much in money. The school is to be kept at the several places agreed on by the townsmen.

DANIEL HAYDEN, } Selectmen.
MATTHEW ALLYN, }
SAMUEL WOLCOTT.

1700-1891.¹

WEST OF THE CONNECTICUT RIVER

In the year 1700, the town of Windsor was represented by its worthy minister, the Rev. SAMUEL MATHER, at that memorable gathering of clergymen who established Yale College. Deeply imbued as they were with the importance of their undertaking, and with a prophetic assurance of its ultimate success, they could not then have foreseen the immense influence which it was, in less than two centuries, to obtain; nor the position it now holds as *the crown* of Connecticut's educational system.

About the commencement of the last century (1701), the common school system of Connecticut embraced the following particulars:

1. An obligation on every parent and guardian of children, "not to suffer so much barbarism in any of their families as to have a single child or apprentice unable to read the holy word of God, and the good laws of the colony," and also "to bring them up to some lawful calling or employment," under a penalty for each offense.

2. A tax of forty shillings on every thousand pounds of the lists of estates, was collected in every town with the annual colony tax, and payable proportionately to those towns only which should keep their schools according to law.

3. A common school in every town having over seventy families, kept throughout the year; and in every town with less than seventy families, kept for at least six months in the year.

4. A grammar school in each of the four head county towns to fit youth for college, two of which grammar schools must be free.

5. A collegiate school, toward which the general court made an annual appropriation of £120.

6. Provision for the religious instruction of the Indians.

The school therefore embraced every family and town, all classes of children and youth, and all the then recognized grades of schools. There were no select, or sectarian schools to classify society at the roots, but all children were regarded with equal favor, and all brought under the assimilating influence of early school associations, and similar school privileges. Here was the foundation laid, not only for universal education, but for a practical, political, and social equality, which has never been surpassed in the history of any other State.²

¹ After 1702, the control of school matters became gradually vested in the ecclesiastical societies or parishes — and we shall therefore treat the history of the Windsor schools under their separate parochial divisions. The school history of Popponock and Wintonbury parishes, in the absence of any official records, cannot be written.

² We have here quoted the language of Hon. Henry Barnard of Hartford, Conn., formerly Superintendent of public instruction in this State, to whose admirable digest of

April 14, 1797. "It was voted that the inhabitants on the north side of the River shall have liberty to set up a school house on the meeting-house green upon their own charges for the benefit of learning to the town in general."

"Also [the] same liberty granted to the inhabitants on the south side the River."

In 1798, the legislature enacted that the constables should deliver the "40¢ upon the \$1,000 of the list," to the *committee* for the schools in such towns where the committee are, or in defect of such officers, to the selectmen. This is the first intimation we have of a school committee.

In December, 1711, it was ordered by the town of Windsor that there shall be "a constant school kept in the town."

In 1712, it was ordered, "that all the parishes which are already made, or shall hereafter be made by this Assembly, shall have to the bringing up of their children and maintainance of a school in some fixed place within the bounds of their parish, the *forty shillings* in every *thousand pounds* arising in the list of estates within said parish." This is the first recognition of *parish* or *ecclesiastical* authority in school matters. Although by this act the parishes were simply made school districts and subordinate to the towns, yet in course of time they usurped the place of the latter. After this date the history of the Windsor schools is mainly to be found in the records of the "Ecclesiastical Society of Windsor."

February 3, 1712-13. The school Committee chosen were Col. Matthew Alyn, Capt. Abraham Phelps, and Daniel White.

Also voted to give Mr. Ebenezer Fitch £10 money, out of this Society, to encourage him in the work of the school for the space of five years annually, or per annum.

At the next annual meeting, Feb. 14, 1713-14, "it was then also proposed, whether Mr. Fitch's salary (annually) shall be made up by, or out of the Society, exempting the children that shall go to school, and this shall continue for the space of seven years. Voted in the affirmative." His salary was fixed at £38 per annum, and he was to keep school eleven months in the year. The next year, February, 1714-15, it was resolved "to grant Mr. Ebenezer Fitch's, Jr., petition, viz: that the rent of the school lands as let to Mr. Eleazar Gaylard, during the time of his keeping school here, shall be paid to him, the said Fitch."

the "History of Common Schools in Connecticut," published in the *American Journal of Education* for 1858, we acknowledge our indebtedness. We may also be permitted, in this connection, to express our obligations to him for the many personal favors he has shown us during the prosecution of our work.

¹ Now known as Palizado Green. It was then a parallelogram with the meeting-house about in the center of it, and directly in front of the General Pierson place.

² Up to the year 1717, towns of seventy families had been obliged to keep a school for eleven months, but at that time the same obligations were imposed on parishes or societies having that number of families. Parishes having a less number of families were required to maintain school for six months. The householders in the parish were *empowered* to lay taxes for the support of schools, to appoint collector, and transact business relating to the same. They were also to choose annually a clerk, and a school committee of three "able and discreet" persons.

"1714, April 5. The school house was raised on t' other hill" (*Timothy Loomis' Common-place book*).

Taking Timothy Loomis's then residence as a standpoint, we should infer that he had reference to Stony Hill, as "t' other hill."

January 31, 1715-16. The school committee were empowered to "raise by way of rate £4 to be disposed of for the schooling of Poquonnoc people's children." The same amount was granted the succeeding year.

The first *schoolmistresses* named on the records was Sarah Stiles, in 1717; and the next year it was voted that the "schools shall be kept by women [in] the summer until October."

December 30, 1718. "Our neighbors at Poquonnoc" were allowed to improve toward their own schooling, all they paid towards it in the County tax.

Mr. Ebenezer Fitch was released from the charge of the Windsor school in December, 1719.

The next year, December, 1720. "It was voted that this Society will keep schools in a manner following for two years next coming, viz, a fixed school on the north side, and also on the south side of the Little River, the months of November, December, January, February, and March, by two good schoolmasters to teach our children, Reading, Writing, and Cyphering, and the rest of the months improve women to instruct children in Reading, provided the General Assembly do allow and accept, in lieu of the eleven months now seated by law, and that our Deputies be desired to pray the Assembly to allow of it, and thereupon have our school money as other towns and societies have."

Their application to the assembly was, however, refused.

January, 1720-1, the school committee were empowered to lease the school lands for fourteen years.

And in December, the committee voted to raise money in the society for maintaining school the next year, in conjunction with the county money, to which project Mr. Matthew Allyn, Jr., entered a caution.

In December, 1722, £30 was raised on the society list for schooling; and the town voted to divide the school money according to the lists of estates on each side of the Rivulet, and to apply to the assembly for a division into two school societies. Their petition was presented in the May following, but was opposed by a remonstrance from twenty-three persons, who alleged that:

1st. "One school at two houses, as heretofore, is preferred. 2d. One master can teach all the scholars. 3d. Multiplication of schools will increase expense. 4th. New school-houses will have be built. 5th. It will open a door for the multiplication of school societies."

A petition, however, signed by sixty-one persons, was presented in May, 1723, and, by an act of the same session, Windsor was divided into

two school districts, one on the north and the other on the south side of the Rivulet.

1722-23. Mr. Henry Allyn was schoolmaster.

1731. John Allyn was schoolmaster for ten weeks.

1735. Job Loomis.

1735. Also Mrs. Deborah Moore, Widow Esther Eggleston, Eunice Marshall, Grace Rowell, schoolmistresses.

December, 1742. "Voted that there be but one school kept on south side of Rivulet this winter.

"Voted, that said school shall be kept at the school-house near Col. Allyn's, till last of March, and then to have women's school set up."

December, 1743. The school lands were ordered to be leased for 999 years.

Also the inhabitants of Pine Meadows (Windsor Locks) were allowed to use their own portion of school money.

1759. One school and master, to be kept half the year toward the south end, and half the year toward the north end of the First Society.

1760. A school was established in Jeremy's Lane.

1762. A school was established at Moses Barber's house. Also one at Mill Hill, for four months, and one "at the lower end" of the society.

1768. It was decided "to drop either of the said schools, if they have not fifteen scholars or more in a general way."

1773. The society was divided into *Three* Districts. The *North* District was to take in John Roberts and all Cook's Hill. The *South* District was to extend from the south end of the society up to Joseph Loomis's. The *Middle* District included the remainder of the society.

1784. The three districts into which the society was divided, were as follows: *North* District, "all north of Widow Mary Roberts and her house, and Cook's Hill (or Boston, so called) as far as Amos Filley, Theophilus Cook, and Dudley Drake's. *South* District, from Jerijah Loomis' all south to Hartford Line and Pipestave Swamp. The balance of the society formed the *Middle* District.

1797. Windsor, north of the Little River, was divided into the following school districts: 1st. From Suffield line, south through Pine Meadow (Windsor Locks) to the brook next north of Gaylord Denslow's house. 2d. Thence south to the brook near Jacob Osborn's house, including David and Jesse Thrall. 3d. South to the south of Taylor Chapman's home lot, including Eliakim and Samuel Mather. 4th. Thence to Windsor Little River.

This year was noticeable in the *educational* history of Windsor, for the union which took place between the first and fourth ecclesiastical societies, which henceforth became the First Society of Windsor. As

has been stated in the previous chapter, one of the main features of the union compact between the two societies was the erection of an academy south of the Little River, on Broad Street Green.

This academy was built mostly by subscription in 1798. November 25, 1798, the Union School, as it was termed, was "ordered to be set up on June next, and kept till the interest of the school money loaned to the society be expended." In 1802, it was "voted, that the committee be empowered to exclude any scholar that shall not carry his share of wood for use of the said school." Also voted, "that if any scholar should do any thing to the school-house, they shall make it good, or be excluded from said school, after a reasonable time being allowed for the damage to be made good."

This academy at one time enjoyed a high and wide-spread reputation, and is recollected with pleasure and pride by very many who now occupy prominent and responsible positions in life.

"In about 1845, the old building had become much out of repair, and those living at a distance, with some others near by, made an attempt to annihilate the school by petitioning the legislature to dissolve the contract as far as the school was concerned, and divide up the fund among the districts. Two hearings were had before the legislature, and one trial before the superior court, and all decided in favor of the school. In 1853, a committee was appointed to solicit subscriptions for building a new house, if the means could be raised in that manner. After canvassing the society, with a great deal of hard work, it was found that about \$1,500 was all that could be raised. Mr. Henry Halsey, who was chairman of the committee, with the hope that certain of the earlier recipients of this school, who had gone abroad and been successful in business, might have some sympathy for the old school, wrote to them, asking for their donation. The following gentlemen responded to the call: Hon. E. D. Morgan, Gen. F. E. Mather, and H. B. Loomis, Esq., of New York city; Hon. James Hooker, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; the sons of the late Levi Hayden, Charleston, S. C., and N. Y.; Hon. James C. Loomis, Bridgeport, Conn.; Wm. S. Pierson, Jun., Esq., Sandusky, Ohio; R. G. and F. A. Drake, Esqs., Hartford, Conn., and Columbia, S. C. With this aid, and renewals of subscriptions and the avails of the sale of the old house,¹ the requisite sum was raised, the new academy built and finished, and the school started in 1854, clear of debt. Its dimensions are 46 by 28 feet, with 26-foot posts, and its cost, including ground, outhouses, fences, school-room furniture, etc., etc., was \$2,878.89.

¹ The old academy building was moved off the ground, and was afterwards (with the addition of an under story of brick) occupied as a boarding-house by the operatives in the Sequasson Factory.

The School Fund, possibly, commenced with the legacy of JAMES FITCH, in 1675; certainly was increased by the legacy of Lieut. JOSEPH STILES, who lived just north of the present Judge Ellsworth place, and whose intended bride was drowned shortly before the wedding day. He consequently remained single, and his house, during his lifetime, was a pleasant resort for all the young people of the neighborhood; and, at his death, he left a liberal bequest for the benefit of the schools of his native town.

Sgt. ABRAHAM PHELPS, who died in 1728, was the next who bequeathed a generous legacy for the same purpose. After him Capt. BENONI BISSELL, who died in 1761, left another gift to the school. His monument, yet standing in the old cemetery, was "Erected by the First Society of Windsor in Grateful Remembrance of his generous Gift for the support of their school." The present (1891) amount of the Union School Fund of the First Society in Windsor, which is now used to help out the town's appropriation for High School, amounts to \$2,650.¹ There are at this time (1891) one high school and 10 school districts in the town, and 14 school departments; and 695 children enumerated between the age of four and sixteen years. The annual appropriation from town treasury in 1884 was \$5,000; from School Fund and State appropriations, \$1,563.75; from Town Deposit Fund, \$199.90; from Union School Fund, \$124.80; total, \$688.45; total receipts from all sources, \$10,261.61, and the total expenditures, \$9,949.72.

The Young Ladies Institute is a private enterprise, established in 1867, by the Hon. H. Sidney Hayden. There are two buildings, one on Broad street for the boarding pupils and teachers, and another on Maple avenue containing the schoolroom and Seminary Hall. From its inception it has been conducted by Miss Julia S. Williams, as principal, and Miss Elizabeth Francis, assistant, with an efficient corps of teachers, average number of scholars about sixty.

Loomis Institute. In 1874 James C. Loomis, Hezekiah B. Loomis, Osbert B. Loomis, H. Sidney Hayden and his wife, and John Mason Loomis were constituted a body corporate under the above name. This Institute is designed for the gratuitous instruction of persons of the age of 12 years and upwards, and is to be located on the original homestead of Joseph Loomis, on the Island (an island only in times of high freshets). The homestead is situated on elevated ground on the west bank of the Connecticut River, and commands an uncommonly fine view of the river and valley. This site, since Joseph Loomis's death, has been in possession of his lineal descendants, and it is the design of the contributors to do what they can to endow this institution; in which purpose

¹ We do not understand whether the money derived from the sale of the Westfield lands in 1720 formed a part of the above school fund.

they look for the co-operation of the Loomis family, that the institution may become a lasting monument to the memory of Joseph Loomis, the emigrant ancestor of the name in America.

EAST OF THE CONNECTICUT RIVER.

Second Society, or East (near South) Windsor.

The first mention of schools on the east side of the Connecticut River was the town vote of April, 1698, already referred to in the former part of this chapter.

About 1700, however, the educational interests of the town east of the river seem to have passed into the hands of the Society there under the charge of Rev. Mr. Edwards.

On their records, under date of December 15, 1702, it was "voted, also, that there shall be a *school*, and divided as it was last year: voted, also, that the committee chosen shall provide a man to keep school."

In 1708, 1s. and 8d. was paid to John Stoughton "for keeping school one day," and in May of the same year "Mr. Roger Wolcott was chosen to make application to the Honorable General Court to be holden at Hartford this present month: that we the above said inhabitants on east side may have the school money out of the country rate which is paid by ourselves every year. We desire that it may be improved among ourselves for the benefit of our children, that they may learn to read and write: and that it may be confirmed to us by the Honorable Court, annually.

"Voted, also, that Mr. Roger Wolcott should be paid for his time waiting at said court, and also for what money said Mr. Wolcott shall pay out for the petition."

December, 1712. Voted, "that the school money should be divided into three parts," one above Scantic River, another from there to Sgt. Joseph Newberry's Brook, and the third from there to Hartford Line.

Provision was also made for masters and school-houses.

January 28th, 1717-18. "Voted, that we will raise money *to add* to the country money that is granted by the Court." "Voted that we will raise so much money that will, with the Country's allowance, amount to £30 for a school. Joseph Rockwell, Sgt. Daniel Bissell and Joseph Phelps to hire a schoolmaster."

"Voted, that Capt. Thomas Stoughton, Samuel Rockwell and Lt. Samuel Bancroft should be visitors to see the well ordering of the school."

December, 1718, it was voted that schools should be kept in *two* places.

December, 1719. A similar vote is recorded. One of the schools to be located below, and the other above the meeting-house.

December, 1721-22. A similar vote for *three* schools. One to be "near this place" (probably the meeting-house), another half-way

between there and the lower end: the third half-way between "this place" and Ephraim Bancroft's house.

December, 1722. School to be kept as before in *three* places, and "the farmers of Bissell's Farm [Wapping?] to have their part."

January 28, 1722-3. "We will raise so much money to support a school among us with what the country allows to make the sum of £37 to hire a schoolmaster to keep a grammar school till December next."

February, 1723-4. "Voted, that we will keep a reading and writing school all this year."

December, 1724. Schools in six places, one below Podunk Brook, second at a "place called Bissell's Farms [Wapping?]," third, at Great Marsh, and the other three from Podunk Brook north, equally divided in length.

In January, 1726-7. £4 was voted to the farmers at Bissell's Farms, for the encouragement of a school among them.

1740. It was voted to add £70 to the country school money. Also to employ masters in the winter, and *school dames* in summer.

December, 1741. "Capt. John Ellsworth, Joseph Loomis, and Roger Wolcott, Jr., were chosen a committee to take care of the money given for the several towns lately laid out in the Western land, to be disposed of, and improved for the support of Schooling in the several towns and parishes of the Colony, as mentioned in the Act, passed in May, Anno Dom. 1741, by the General Court, or Assembly."

December, 1742. Schools were created in *four* places: one between Hartford line and Newberry's Brook; second, from there to Scantic River; third, to a center line between Scantic and the north line of the town; and fourth, from the said line to the north end.

In 1742, Windsor received from the colony, as a school fund, £146 12s., of which the Second Society's share was £84 3s. 9d.

December, 1749, it was voted that "those families that live out at Hockanum, viz., Robert White, Charles Thrall, Joseph Hawkins, David Smith, Joseph Stedman, Jr., Stephen Stedman, and John Searles," should have their own school money.

In 1750 it was resolved to add £200 to the country school fund for schooling.

From this date to that of the separation of the towns, in 1768, we have no record.

CHAPTER XX.

FERRIES, INNS, STORES, TRADE AND COMMERCE, HOUSES, SLAVES,
MANNERS AND CONVENIENCES, WITCHES, COLONIES,
PHYSICIANS, LAWYERS, ETC.

Bissell's Ferry.

THE subject of a regular ferry across the Connecticut, at Windsor, seems to have been first agitated about January, 1641-2, at which time the court decreed that if the town of Windsor provide a ferry boat to attend the river, they are to be allowed three pence for a single passenger, and two pence a person when they carry more than one at a freight, and twelve pence a horse.¹

No definite action, however, was taken in the matter until January, 1648-9, when the court concluded the following contract :

"John Bissell undertakes to keep and carefully to attend the Ferry over the Great River at Windsor for the full term of seven years from this day, and that he will provide a scull at that for the carrying over of horse and foot upon all occasions. And that if his own occasions should necessitate him at any time to go out of call from his house or Ferry, that then he will provide some able man in his room to attend that service, for which the said John Bissell is to have of those that he ferries over, eight pence for every horse or mare, and two pence for every person that goes over therewith, or that hath another passenger to go over the said Ferry at the same time, and three pence for every person that goes over the said Ferry alone, single, or without any more than himself at the same time.²

"And the court prohibits all other persons (except the inhabitants of Windsor, who have liberty to carry over themselves or neighbors in their own canoes or boats), from carrying over the said Ferry any passenger or passengers, when the said John Bissell or his assignee is present, or within call of his house or Ferry as aforesaid, to attend that service. And if any person or persons as aforesaid shall at any time during the aforesaid term, go over by Indians or English that have not boats or canoes of their own, that they pass over the said Ferry in, they shall as truly pay 8*d.* for every horse or mare, and 2*d.* for every person, as if they went over with him. And the court also gives the said John Bissell liberty to relieve (*i. e.* — entertain) such strangers and passengers as can not go the ordinary, and take of them convenient and reasonable recompense for the same. This was consented to by John Bissell in Court."³

¹ *Col. Rec.*, i. 71.

² *Col. Rec.*, i. 174.

³ There is a tradition in the BISSELL family, that in 1636-7, this John Bissell was sent by the colony to England to procure a new supply of cattle to replenish the heavy losses which they had suffered from the exceeding severity of the preceding winter, — that he returned with "17 cows and a bull" — and as a reward for his services received the *monopoly* of this ferry, from the court. The tradition is strongly marked, both by its prevalence and its uniformity of detail, among all the different branches of this large

The road from the main street, in Windsor, to the original Bissell's Ferry lay along the south side of the present home lot of the heirs of Hezekiah Hills, about 60 rods north of the Chief Justice Ellsworth place. The landing place on the *east* side of the Connecticut River was near the present wharf used by the Quarry Company. The road thence east, following the present road to a point of the Meadow Hill, at a considerable distance from the street, where it ascended the hill bearing away to the northeast.¹

The lease having expired, was again renewed May 15, 1656, for one year, on the same terms as before, with this addition, that troops shall have free passage for man and horse, "so often as the said troopers shall with their listed horses travel with them to Springfield town or beyond."²

Again:

May 1657. John Bissell's lease of the country ferry was renewed for one year "at his old house." — *Col. Rec.*, i. 298.³

and widely extended family. Yet we are disinclined to believe it: 1st, because in the official colonial records there is not the slightest allusion to any such circumstance, 2dly, because we have very serious doubts whether John Bissell was here in Windsor at so early a date. It is possible that he may have come here about 1639 or '40, and may have brought some cattle with him, but we have been as yet unable to connect them with the ferry.

¹ "This road continues, east of the river, to-day, over nearly its ancient course and extends from the main street in East Windsor, from opposite the Quarry Co.'s property to their wharf at the river; although the old ferry was long ago removed to the mouth of the Scantle, where it still retains the name of its original owners. Near the quarry wharf stood the first house built east of the river, and occupied by a Bissell, and there was also erected a fortification, or block house, of stone (and which was still standing in 1800), and evidences of these structures were very distinct forty years ago." John A. Stoughton's *Windsor Fivings*, p. 115.

² *Col. Rec.*, i. 281

³ John Bissell, Sen., the original ferryman, bought the Ludlow lot on the east side of the Connecticut, below the mouth of the Scantuck, after the death of Mr Whiting, 1649, and had evidently built there before 1657, and had proposed to transfer the ferry to that place, but we find that the court in extending his lease another year specified that it should be kept "at his old house." John Bissell, Jr., kept the ferry "to entire satisfaction" that year, and March 11, 1657-8, the courts agree with John, Jr., to keep the ferry 10 years. The young man married and his father gave him "his old house," the old homestead; but we find six years later, 1664, John, Jr., asks to be released from the remaining four years of his contract. After the expiration of the contract, 1668, we find the Townsmen of Windsor consulting with Nathaniel Bissell about keeping the ferry. Six years before this, 1662, John, Sen., had deeded to his son Nathaniel, for his marriage portion, "one-quarter of his land at Scantuck, with a quarter part of all his housing, dwelling house and out housing," with another quarter at the death of his father; and Nathaniel was living there at the time of King Philip's war, 1675-6, when the council ordered "a garrison of not less than six men kept at the house of Nathaniel Bissell, at Scantuck." The ferry was leased to him in 1677, but had probably been removed to the mouth of the Scantuck (a mile below the old place) in 1668. The landing place on the east side was at first above the mouth of the Scantuck. The Bissells did not build on the east side of the river at the old ferry place.

J. H. HAYDEN, 1891

March 11, 1657. John Bissell, Jr., having managed the country ferry at Windsor, to entire satisfaction, received from the court a renewal thereof for ten years, viz.:

"This court doth grant to and agree with John Bissell, Jr., of Windsor, that the ferry there, over the Great River, shall be and belong to him for the space of 10 years next ensuing, upon the limitation, and terms hereafter expressed, to which he doth in court agree and engage to attend:

"1. That there shall be always maintained in readiness upon all occasions, an able and sufficient boat and man for the safe passage of horse and man.

"2. The said John Bissell shall have 8*d*. a head for any beast, and 2*d*. a head for any person that cometh with them, and 3*d*. for any single person.

"3. That each Trooper listed and allowed in the Court, and the horse he rides, is only freed from the ferrage going to Springfield Town, or as far as Springfield Town, or further.

"4. That no person of Windsor shall have liberty for to help over any person or beast of any other town, but they shall then pay the ferryman as much as if they were carried over by him.

"5. Upon consideration with the inhabitants of Windsor, they are to go over the ferry at half the forementioned price, only that single persons shall pay 3*d*. per head for their passage, as before."

In March, 1663-4, John Bissell, Jr., applied to the court for a release from his contract. It was granted, "if the Assistants" at Windsor, should provide "a sufficient man" in his place.¹

In May, 1668. "The court leaves it to the deputies and townsmen of Windsor to agree and settle a Ferryman there to keep the ferry over the Great River for 7 years, provided there be no charge come thereby to the county."²

This order had not been attended to by the subsequent session of the court in October, for the Windsor authorities received a very brief and summary order to attend to it "without delay."³

October 31, 1668. The townsmen consulted with Nathl. Bissell about keeping the ferry (supposed to be the one across the Connecticut, as in the same meeting, they engage "a rope for the *little* ferry"), but they could not agree as to terms, and the subject was deferred.⁴

May 10, 1677. Nathaniel Bissell received a lease of the Ferry for seven years from date: "he was always to keep a boat and men ready to attend the service, and to take for his pains sixpence [for] a horse and man in silver presently paid [*i. e., in cash*], or in other pay eight pence a horse and man."⁵

¹ *Col. Rec.*, i. 310.

² *Col. Rec.*, i. 394.

³ *Col. Rec.*, ii. 183.

⁴ *Col. Rec.*, ii. 95.

⁵ In 1695, the court, in consequence of some overcharges of ferry-rates which had occurred, established the following tariff of fares: A man, horse, and load, nine pence in *peg*, or five pence in money; single man three pence in pay, or two pence in money; a horse five pence in pay, or three pence in money. (*Col. Rec.*)

⁶ *Col. Rec.*, ii. 314.

The ferry subsequently reverted to the town.

March 18, 1716. At a town meeting, the Connecticut River Ferry at Seantic was granted to Jonathan Bissell and Ammi Trumbull, on condition they should carry over the selectmen and collectors free, when they were upon business, and foot-passengers on lecture days.

In February, 1719-20, the selectmen were ordered to lease it again. Joseph Baker had the ferry in 1724-5.

In 1726, the ferry was granted to Jonathan and David Bissell for seven years. They engaged to pass over all who lived north of the Rivulet in Windsor, or those who lived north of Stoughton's Brook in East Windsor, free on Sabbath and lecture days.

January, 1730. It was voted by the town to raise a sum not exceeding £20, for the purpose of having a free ferry at Seantic, but it does not appear with what success.

The next year, however, Jacob Munsell was the ferryman, and petitioned the legislature for a license to keep accommodation and "strong drink for the accommodation of travellers."

"At a meeting of the Inhabitants of the Town of Windsor, Legally warned, Held in Windsor, April 27th, 1731. Voted to raise money (not to exceed Twenty Pounds) in order to have a free ferry, Cross the Great River at Seantick, for all the Inhabitants of this Town, for the year Insuing, Said Ferry to be kept from daylight to daylight. The Committee chosen to look after said affair, are Capt. Job Ellsworth, L^d Sam^l Bancroft & Capt. Thomas Stoughton. A Question proposed, What was Intended by those words in the foregoing vout (from daylight to daylight). Voted and Resolved that it should be kept from Brak of day, to Evening shut." — *Windsor Furnes*, 115.

1780. A lease was authorized with Jonathan Roberts "to keep a good ferry where Seantic ferry is now kept."

1782, February. A similar lease was granted to Azariah Mather, Jr., for twenty years.

Capt. "Dont (Jonathan) Ellsworth" kept the ferry at one time.

The Wolcott, or Higley Ferry.

In October, 1735, Roger Wolcott, being in need of a ferry for his own purposes, petitioned the assembly for leave to establish a double ferry, from the landing place in Plymouth Meadow, across the Rivulet and the Connecticut River, to his own land on the eastern bank of the latter, the East Windsor landing being at rear of the present Enoch Pol-

¹ Originally the Tunxis or Rivulet emptied into the Connecticut considerably below its present mouth. The ferry, landing about where the Rivulet now empties, necessitated another ferry across the Rivulet to reach Plymouth Meadow, and then to "the Island," otherwise the passengers must drive across the foot of the Great Meadow to ford, or the ferry about half a mile above. Tradition says that Gov. Wolcott dug a channel through the neck of land (the present mouth of the Rivulet) to enable him to land his passengers on Plymouth Meadow, or Great Meadow, as they preferred.

ton's property. From this ferry was laid out a great highway, twenty rods in width, as tradition says, extending east to Tolland, and known from its projector as the "Governor's Road."¹ He offered to make landings and passways on the east side, at his own cost. His request was granted and the court ordered the town to make three highways, for which (March, 1726) they were assessed £158 11s. The town protested against this, alleging that the grant was £1,000 damage to them, and only benefited Wolcott. Considerable litigation followed,² but the future governor was a rising man, and his influence enabled him to hold his own: and, it is but just to say that there is evidence that the ferry was well kept and attended.

In January 27, 1735-36, the town "voted that there be a ferry set up acrost the Connecticutt River neer against the Little Ferry, at the place called Newberries Landing place." A committee was also chosen to oppose the petition of Edward Wolcott at the county court, "for a way from the ferry over the Little River through the Great Meadow to the point to the ferry that crosseth the Great River."

July 15, 1736, Sergt. William Stoughton, Lieut. Thomas Stoughton, and Lieut. Wm. Thrall were chosen a committee to negotiate with Major Wolcott concerning his ferry, and to buy his ferry-house and boat, if they judged it best, and to "take an acquittance of him of his grant of the ferry. Also, to purchase a way, from the River to the County Road, on East side of the River, to accomodate the ferry lately voted to be set up at Newberrie's Landing for the Town's use and to erect and set up s^d Ferry and have the ordering of it, for the current year." — *Stoughton Mss.* One year after, July, 1737, the town voted to move the "*New ferry* lately set up at Newberry's Landing."

In April, 1738, it was voted to reimburse the July 15, 1736, committee for the amount (£192 13s. 3d.) which they had expended in the

¹ The old Wolcott house was on premises now (1883) occupied by Bartholomew McGuire; a stone-walled well alone marks the spot.

² The following *undated* document, among the *Thomas Stoughton Mss.*, probably refers to this:

"To the Honourable the Govenour Councell and Representatives in General Court Assembled.

"We your memorialiss humbly move to this Honourable Assembly that they in their wonted Goodness would Grant unto the Town of Windsor, a pattent of the Ancient Ferry in Windsor, over the Great River at the place known by the name of Scantie ferry that so it may be under better Reputation than now it is, or can bee while it is onely in the hands of Any and Every person that will take it, and your memorialists are Incouraged to ask this favour and privilege of this honourable Assembly since they have Lately granted the like favour and privilege to the Worshipfull Roger Wolcott, Esq., in Windsor, and hereby your memorialists will be obliged as in Duty bound Ever to Pray,

" ISRAEL STOUGHTON, } Selectmen.
SAMUEL STRONG, }

purchase of Major Wolcott's ferry boats and ferry grants, and purchasing a way for a ferry at Newberry's Landing.

In 1741, Wolcott obtained from the assembly a renewal of his former grant of a ferry across the Connecticut and Little Rivers, "where he formerly had it." This was remonstrated against by the town.

In 1745, the assembly regulated the fares at this ferry, by the following tariff: Across both rivers, 12*d.* old tenor, for each single passenger; 6*d.* for each single horse; neat cattle, 8*d.* per head. Across Connecticut River only, man, load, and horse, 10*d.*; single passenger, 5*d.* In 1746 the rate was reduced; man, horse, and load, 4*d.*; single passenger, 2*d.* In 1749 the ferry rates on this as well as the Scantic Ferry were again reduced by legislative action, as follows: Man, horse, and load, 3*d.*; single passenger, 1*d.*; horse, 1*d.*; neat cattle, 2*d.* per head; sheep and swine, $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* per head.

In 1769 Erastus Wolcott petitioned the legislature for an increase of fare, inasmuch as the river was considerably widened. His petition was granted.

Sometime previous to the revolutionary war this ferry passed into the hands of the Higley family, by whose name it was afterwards known. It has long been discontinued.

The Rivulet Ferry.

The history of this ferry, prior to 1700, has been incidentally presented in the previous chapters of this work. The first item we have concerning it, subsequent to that date, is a town vote, in December, 1719, to appropriate £28 for the purpose of building a *new* ferry house.

In March, 1732, we learn from the Ecclesiastical Society's Records that "Jacob Munsell desired this society will allow him to set in the west or lower end of the east flanker seat on the men's side so long as he shall continue ferryman here, and he may also make a door in the east end of the said seat." The request was granted. This was evidently for the purpose of getting out quickly in case of a call to attend the ferry during Sunday service.

In July, 1737, Lieut. William Thrall made a proposal to build a bridge "across the Rivulet at the ferry," and a committee was chosen to consider the matter. The lieutenant was somewhat *ahead* of his more conservative neighbors — as we find no further mention of a bridge until April, 1745, at which time a town meeting was warned to consider "about the Rivulet ferry," and "about a bridge there." The latter was again negatived. In April, 1748, however, the subject again came before the town meeting, and it was then agreed that any person or persons might have liberty to build a bridge, *provided they did so at their own*

*expense, and made it a free bridge forever!*¹ Said persons were to leave their names with the town clerk within one year from date.² In December following, Peletiah Allyn, Daniel Bissell, Isaac Burr, and sundry others,³ announced to the town clerk their intention of accepting this extremely liberal offer. Accordingly, in 1749, they erected a good cart bridge—the first ever erected across the Tuxis—and made it *free*.⁴ In 1759 it needed repairs or rebuilding, but the town voted “not to build or repair.”⁵ Whereupon (December, 1759), the original builders of the bridge petitioned the assembly that they “would order the town of Windsor to rebuild or make such repairs as were necessary.”⁶ The assembly did so order (May, 1760), but the refractory and illiberal town merely contented themselves with making a few slight and temporary repairs;⁶ and thus the matter rested until 1762, when the necessity of a good, new, and substantial bridge became too imperious to be any longer evaded.

We now find the town of Windsor (March, 1762) petitioning the assembly for a *lottery*, to enable them to rebuild the Rivulet bridge. They state that it is the most costly bridge in the government, being 20 rods long, and 25 feet posts; that money is scarce, owing to the expense of the war; that societies in the town are destitute of ministers, and three are building meeting-houses; and that persons stand ready to take tickets for plunk. The assembly therefore authorized a lottery of £250 for the bridge, and £30 for the expense of the said lottery, and appointed William, Erastus, and Alexander Wolcott, and Capt. Josiah Bissell, as

¹ *Town Acts*, iii. 78.

² The names of these bridge builders of 1749 should be preserved in grateful remembrance. They are copied from the original petition in the *State Archives* at Hartford (*Tract*, i. 353, 355.)

Caleb Phelps,	Amos Filley,	Ed. Moore,
Nathl Mather,	Benj. Ellis,	Seth Youngs,
Josiah Loomis,	Danl. Bissell,	Joseph Moore,
Timothy Loomis,	Isaac Burr,	Benedict Alford,
John Warner,	Daniel Phelps,	Wm Cook,
John Pelmer,	Henry Allyn,	Josiah Cook,
David Barber,	Nathl Loomis,	Alex. Wolcott,
Gideon Barber,	Job Drake,	Peletiah Allyn,
John Roberts,	Benj. Allyn,	Josiah Allyn,
John Gillet,	Phinehas Drake,	Samuel Eno, Esq.
Nathl. Filley,		

³ The *last* vote in regard to the ferry was in September, 1753, when the selectmen were ordered to “take care of, and dispose of the ferry house, ferry-boat, and rope, for the best advantage of the town.” *Town Acts*, iii. 85.

⁴ *State Archives, Tract*, ii. 369.

⁵ *State Archives, Tract*, ii. 370.

⁶ The town ordered that the selectmen should repair the bridge across the Rivulet “not exceeding £10.” *Town Acts*, iii. 89.

managers.¹ The drawing took place October 1, 1762, and the bridge was soon after built.²

It stood until January 1, 1767, when "by a sudden fall of rain, the ice in the river and brooks in this colony broke up on a sudden and rushed forward with such impetuosity as to destroy almost everything that stood in its way, so that very few bridges in the colony could withstand its rage, the like of which has not happened within the memory of man, at which time about one-half of said bridge was carried away with the ice," and the other half left standing.³

Again the town refused to repair it, and 31 individuals petitioned the assembly, May, 1767, to "order the town" to build anew. They were accordingly so ordered, and reluctantly complied.⁴

Again, in the winter of 1782-3, this bridge was carried away by a great freshet, and again the town refused to replace it: so 19 petitioners pray for assistance from the assembly.⁵ That omnipotent body also received a petition from 43 inhabitants of the Poquonock District, in which they state (May 7, 1783) that the bridge was built on a sandy foundation, and has been frequently carried away; and that Poquonock Society has built a bridge making a nearer road and better accommodating the travel to Suffield. Therefore, as the lower bridge is "now down by the ice" and about to be rebuilt, and (in their opinion) little needed, and obstructs navigation, they request that it may be rebuilt as a *swing bridge*.⁶ Another petition from 16 persons says that if the river were kept open for navigation to Poquonock, it would save much land carriage.⁷ Nineteen masters of coasting vessels also testify that they can pass up Windsor River as far as Poquonock, and of course prefer the lower bridge to have a swing.⁸

All these petitions were referred to a committee, who repaired to Windsor, examined the facts of the case, and reported as follows: 'that the road through Poquonock was $\frac{1}{4}$ of mile and 60 rods, that it will not answer for wet seasons, and "the present location is the best; that the swing bridge is needed by the First and Fourth Societies, and that at high water vessels can pass up to Poquonock, but if these two societies are compelled to build the bridge, they ought to be at the expense of a draw. Furthermore, that the town had voted to divide the town into districts, as Poquonock and Wintonbury had maintained their own bridges, and were urgent, and the others feared that otherwise no vote

¹ Petition in *State Archives, Travel*, i, 372, 373.

² March 9, 1762, "it was voted that the *town* will take all the tickets of the lottery for the bridge, not sold by the 1st of October next." *Town Acts*, iii, 91.

³ Petition in *State Archives, Travel*, ii, 275.

⁴ By a vote of 51 affirmative to 44 negative. *Town Acts*, iii.

⁵ *State Archives*, iii, 331, 332, 333, 335, 337.

could be obtained to build as ordered, May, 1767." On the whole, the committee were of the opinion that it would be better to take care of *all* the bridges within their limits. The assembly (June, 1783) ordered the town to build the lower bridge so as to let vessels pass, and hereafter to support the other bridges in their limits.

In 1794 a bridge and causeway were erected as part of the union contract between the First and Fourth Societies of the town, as more fully described in Chapter XXVIII. On its site another bridge was built — about 1833 — and being carried away in the freshet of 1854, was replaced by the present one.

Inns were first established by the following order of the court, dated June 4, 1644:

"Whereas many strangers and passengers that upon occasion have recourse to these towns, and are straitened for want of entertainment, it is now ordered, that these several towns shall provide among themselves in each town one sufficient inhabitant to keep an ordinary for provision and lodging in some comfortable manner that such passengers or strangers may know where to resort, and such inhabitants as by the several towns shall be chosen for the said service shall be presented to two magistrates, that they may be judged meet for that employment, and this to be effected by the several towns within one month, under the penalty of 40s. a month, each month either town shall neglect it."

The duties of the innkeeper were very fully defined by the Code of 1650,¹ for the court justly remarks that, although there is a necessity of houses of common entertainment, "yet because there are so many abuses of that lawful liberty, both by persons entertaining and persons entertained, there is also need of strict laws and rules to regulate such employment." So landlords were forbidden to sell any guest more than half a pint of wine at a time, or to allow them to "continue tippling" over half an hour, or later than nine o'clock at night. All the recognized grades of drunkenness, from slight mellowness to downright beastly intoxication, were threatened with fines of proportionate severity. Second offenses — always doubly heinous in the eyes of Puritanic justice — were visited with *terrible* fines, and woe to the unlucky chap who could not "fork over the cash," for he was then unceremoniously whipped, or else clapped into the stocks "for three hours, when the weather may not hazard his life or limbs."

The innkeeper was also specially instructed in regard to making proper provision for the "beasts" of travelers and guests. In 1686 the court enacted a strong law against gaming, dancing, and singing in taverns.

¹ *Col. Rec.*, i. 103

² *Col. Rec.*, i. 533

The first innkeepers¹ in Windsor, of whom we have any record, were appointed at a town meeting in December, 1715. They were Simon Chapman² and Eliakim Marshall on the *west*; and Nathaniel Cook and the widow Grace Grant on the *east* side of the Connecticut River. Of Messrs. Chapman, Marshall, and Cook we have no information. Mrs. Grant, however, kept tavern in East Windsor until about 1734-5, when it passed into the hands of her son, Ebenezer Grant, subsequently better known as Capt. Grant, the leading merchant of the east side of the town.

The other innkeepers on the east side of the river, before its incorporation as a distinct town, were landlord Nathaniel Porter, whose place was on the west side of the street, a little south and opposite to the South Middle District School-house.

Captain Joel Loomis also kept tavern about forty rods south of the Middle School-house, on the west side of the street. After his death his son, Capt. Giles Loomis, succeeded him in the business for many years. He built an addition to the house for a Freemasons' Hall. The tavern was the regular rendezvous for the train band — and on these occasions, says an aged friend, "there would be a great crowd collected, and card-playing and drinking were not neglected."

Of the ancient taverns of Windsor proper we have collected but few facts, and those mostly from the cob-webbed memory of garrulous *old folks*. More than a hundred years ago Sergeant Samuel Hayden kept a tavern at the house now occupied by the family of the late Levi Hayden. The old oak under which his weary guests found a grateful shade is still a thrifty wide-spreading tree, highly prized by certain individuals whose childhood's home is sheltered by it. Tradition whispers that Chief Justice Ellsworth, before he became known to fame, occasionally cracked jokes and eat apple pie at Sergeant Sam's with the young men of his time.

In later years Pickett's Tavern, which stood a few rods from the former, acquired a wide-spread fame. These taverns were located but a quarter of a mile from Windsor Plains, across which lay the great thoroughfare between Hartford and the north and east. Here the highway

¹ There are several notices of licenses granted by the court to various persons to sell wine and liquors, but it is uncertain whether they were *innkeepers*. In 1664 the record says: "This court grants Sam'l Gibbs a license to sell nine or ten quarter casks of wine by the gallon to his neighbors or those that will buy it, and he freely presents the court with an anchor of the best of his wine, which the court desires him to leave with the governor."

In the lease of the country ferry at Windsor to John Bissell, in 1648, is a clause granting him the privilege of entertaining and receiving recompense from such travelers as may not find it convenient to go to the ordinary.

² He was assessed in 1720, £5 for keeping tavern on the north side of the Rivulet.

leaves the river, to avoid bridging the streams, and passes between the heads of the brooks which flow on one side into the Connecticut, and on the other into the Rivulet. Not a stream crosses the road in the distance of five miles; and, after rising the hill, the road was almost perfectly level and straight, without a house upon it. Midway, at a spring beside the road, stood an old oak, known far and wide as the Old Smoking Tree. Here travelers, and especially teamsters,¹ made a halt in summer to water and feed their cattle and smoke their pipes. Forty years ago an old man, bearing a knapsack marked U. S. A., who had preferred the old familiar track to the New Road, stopped at the house which once bore Sergeant Sam's sign, to ask a little refreshment before ascending the plain. While partaking of the cheer set before him he asked many questions about the localities he had known long years before. When told that the Old Smoking Tree had been cut down, the ire of the old veteran was roused, and the deep curses he uttered against the vandal who cut it witnessed that the fatigues of another revolutionary war would have been cheerfully undergone to bring the author of so grievous an outrage to condign punishment.

All travelers, with one notable exception, whether going north or south, stopped at Sergeant Sam's, and, after his day, at Pickett's, for refreshment, whether the Plains lay before them or were already passed. The exception to this general rule was Gen. George Washington. On the 21st of October, 1789, Washington, then President of the United States, passed through Windsor on his New England tour, and the following sentence appears in his journal of that date: "Between Windsor and Sudfield you pass through a level, barren, uncultivated plain for several miles."² We think it unfortunate for the Plains that he did not stop at Pickett's as he would then have had a fresher start; and, we fancy, would have omitted the words *barren, uncultivated*; and, looking beyond the shrub-oaks which skirted the road, would have seen (with prophetic eye, at least), large fields of Indian corn and rye, or might have sweetened the *uncultivated* fields with the mention of strawberries, and the wood with whortleberries. But he had that morning breakfasted with his old friend, Judge Ellsworth, a mile or so below. We would not have the reader inter that we have any doubts about the breakfast; it was a good, substantial one, the best the times afforded, but it is not unlikely that they both discussed the affairs of the nation with more inter-

¹ A hundred years ago much of the produce from the north which found a market at Hartford was conveyed over this and other roads by ox teams.

² Rev. Samuel Davis' Journal of a Tour to Connecticut in autumn of 1789 (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceed.* 1896-70, pp. 13, 14), also mentions "Pickett's Inn, 18 miles from Springfield. . . . Between Springfield and Windsor there is a long tract of pine woods, through which the road leads, a growth of wood very common to this region, I believe."

est and solicitude than they did the catables which the Judge's accomplished lady had set before them.

"Capt. Dout [Jonathan] Ellsworth," kept for many years a famous tavern, half a mile north of the meeting-house, on the spot now owned by the heirs of the late Joel Thrall.

In later days taverns have been at various times kept at the places now occupied by Mr. Thaddeus Mather, Mr. Hayden Filley, Judge H. Sill, and Mr. Lemuel Welch. There was also a Bissell's Stage House above Major Ellsworth's place, and a half-way house on the road between Windsor and Hartford, kept by the father of the present mayor of the latter place.

The subject of taverns is suggestive of the following anecdote, illustrative of the men and manners of days gone by. There was a custom among the young people, in the early days of Connecticut, of *stealing the bride*, as it was termed. When a young couple were to be married, those of their acquaintance who were *not* invited to the wedding would sometimes combine, go stealthily to the house where the ceremony was celebrating, and, watching for a favorable opportunity, rush in, seize the bride, carry her out, and placing her upon a horse behind one of the party, gallop off with her to some neighboring tavern, where music, supper, etc., had been bespoken. If the capture and flight were successful, and the captors succeeded in reaching their rendezvous at the tavern without being overtaken by the wedding party, the night was spent in dancing and feasting *at the expense of the bridegroom*. Mr. Elisha Griswold, of Simsbury, a descendant of Old Windsor, used, in his later years, to relate with much glee, the particulars of one of these bride-stealings, in which he was a principal actor. It seems that a certain couple were to be married in Simsbury, and Mr. Griswold, with others of their acquaintance who had not been honored with an invitation, resolved upon retaliation by stealing the bride. Accordingly, on the evening of the wedding, having first ordered a nice supper and engaged the music, etc., very privately, at a tavern at Turkey Hills, himself with two or three others went into the neighborhood of the bride's residence. Here they reconnoitered, but, as the party was large and the rooms crowded, they were obliged to watch for some time before the favorable opportunity presented itself. At length, however, the evening being warm and beautiful, the company gradually withdrew from the house and dispersed through the grounds and garden which surrounded it. Through a window they could see the bride, distinguished by her bridal dress, almost alone in the parlor. Now was their chance. One or two of the surprise party quietly entered the dwelling by a back door. To seize the bride and bear her out to where their confederates were holding the horses, and to place her behind one of the party on horseback, was but the work

of an instant. In another moment they were speeding over the road to Turkey Hills with a swiftness which almost defied pursuit. But to their surprise, the whole wedding party seemed also to have sprung to their saddles, and were almost immediately in pursuit, as their loud voices and the clear ring of their horses' hoofs too plainly told. The race was exciting; their laboring horses seemed not to gain one inch on their pursuers; but at last they reached the tavern, dismounted, carried their fair prize into the hall, and had just time to arrange the dance when the wedding party arrived. The music struck up, the dance began, but the astonishment of the gallant captors can scarcely be imagined when they discovered for the first time that the supposed bride *wore men's boots*, and that her steps and movements were altogether too masculine and antic to comport with the dress and known refinement of the real bride. It then flashed upon them that they had been awfully *sold*; the whole wedding party now came rushing into the hall, laughing and exulting with the greatest glee. It seems that the friends of the bride had suspected or learned of the attempt to be made upon her, and had purposely dressed up one of the young men and left him exposed in the parlor, having their horses also in instant readiness for pursuit. The hilarious scene that followed the denouement was amusing. The whole thing was taken in perfect good humor, the dancing and supper were very highly enjoyed, and the company broke up and dispersed at a very late hour — the *kidnappers paying all expenses*. And for years after they had to bear the laughs and jokes of the neighborhood for having the "lobby turned upon them."

We have heard of another instance in which the joker unexpectedly became the victim. The bride in this case was the heroine of the story. Mrs. C., of East Windsor, on her wedding night was stolen from her husband and friends, placed in a sleigh (for it was winter season), and driven by her abductors to a distant tavern. While they were at table she contrived in some manner to elude their observation for a few moments, let herself out of a back window, went to the barn, helped herself to a horse and cutter, and was far on her *homeward* road before her captors even dreamed that she was absent.

Trees. The oldest *tree* in Windsor, perhaps, is the old cedar, the stump of which now stands in the door-yard of the Chief Justice Ellsworth place. Tradition says that it was one of the original forest trees; and that, for several of the first generations of settlers, it was the rallying spot for the hunters when they made a *general hunt*. High in its branches hung an immense pair of deer's antlers, which disappeared some fifty years since. Lieut. Joseph Stiles's house stood a little north of this

¹ See also, page 145, for reference to original forest trees on Rocky Hill.

tree, and its foundations were dug up by the plow in the summer of 1858. This tree was blown down in November, 1877, and its available wood was carefully husbanded and manufactured into chairs and other articles of use and ornament, to be distributed among the members of the Ellsworth family.

The beautiful elms in Broad Street were set out in 1755¹ by a respectable citizen of Windsor, who afterwards *fell from grace* by reason of dissipation, and was publicly whipped, on two several occasions, at two of his own trees. The peculiar indignity of the punishment rankled deep in his memory, and subsequently, when in want of wood, he threatened to cut down the trees at which he had been punished. Afterwards, in his drunken moods, he used to threaten the destruction of the remaining trees, but was always bought off by old Squire Allyn with a cord of wood and some cider.

The "Old Smoking Tree" and the "Hayden Oak," both relics of the primeval forest, have already been alluded to. While on the topic of trees, we cannot refrain from presenting an extremely interesting article by J. Hammond Trumbull, LL.D., of Hartford, which was first published in the *Hartford Press*, entitled:

Early Apples and Old Cider—A Windsor Orchard in 1650.—Josselyn, on his first visit to New England in 1638-9, found "not one apple-tree nor pear planted yet, in no part of the country, except on Governor's Island in Boston Harbor, where he procured half a score of very fair pippins." In the account of his second voyage, some thirty years later, he says that "our fruit trees prosper abundantly, apple trees, quince trees, cherry trees, plum trees, barberry trees," and he "observed with admiration that the kernels sown or the suckers planted produce as fair and good fruit, without grafting, as the tree from whence they were taken; the country is replenished with fair and large orchards." On his return to England in 1671 he was told by Mr. Henry Wolcott, of Windsor (who was a fellow passenger), that "he made five hundred hogsheads of Syder out of his own orchard in one year." "Syder," adds Josselyn, "is very plentiful in the country, ordinarily sold for ten shillings a hogshead."

Mr. Wolcott's apple orchard was one of the first, and, for many years, was probably the largest in the Connecticut Valley. It was in bearing before 1649, and his cider presses were at work in 1650. For twenty years afterwards he supplied young trees, summer and winter apples, and cider by the hogshead, gallon or pint, not only to his neighbors at Windsor, but to other towns in the vicinity, and occasionally for exportation to other colonies. The account book in which he entered, year by year, the product of his orchard, the sales of trees and grafts, the times of making cider &c., is still extant. To save paper, or to conceal his profits from the eyes of prying neighbors, these accounts were kept in short hand. From this book are derived the following particulars, which may not be without interest to our agricultural and horticultural readers.

The first entry is:

"A note of several sorts of apples I had grown, 1649," under which the quantity gathered from each tree of the old and new orchard is carefully entered: "Of the earliest apples, 1 bushel; of 2 early sorts of sour apples in the new orchard, 1 bushel, of

¹The date of erection was cut on a small iron plate and affixed to one of the trees, which was afterwards in its old age blown over, and the plate was then placed on another in front of the residence of H. S. Hayden.

the summer pippin, by wall, 4 bushel, of the Holland pippin, 11 bushel, of the Pearmain, 15 bushel, of the 4 trees of winter apples of the tree next John Loomis's 24 bushel, the next 65, 19 bushel; of the 4 trees of Bellibonds [as Mr. Wolcott spelled the name of an old favorite, *Bellibone* was the English form of the French *Belle et bonne*], 6 bushel and 1 peck; of the London pippin, 1½ bushel, of Mr. Allen's green apples, in the lower side of the orchard, 2 bush 1, &c. Total, for 1649, 91 bushel.

In 1652, the orchard yielded 202 bushel, the greater part of which was made into cider, which was sold at 1s 8d per gallon, and £4 4s per hogshead, the apples bringing from 6s to 8s per bushel. Three bushels were "sold at the Fair," for £1 7. 31 gallons of *bailed* cider sold at 2s 6d. This year, a half bushel of *quinces* is charged at 4s.

	Bush	producing	including Cider.
In 1651, - - - - -	496	£117 12	£10. 5
" 1652, - - - - -	452	92: 18	72. 10
" 1653, - - - - -	1127		19. 10
" 1654, - - - - -	1588		

The price of apples had gradually fallen from 8s, in 1650, to 2s 6d, and 3s in 1654; and of cider from 1s 8d, to 1s 4d per gallon, or £1 10s per barrel. [In October, 1674, the General Court ordered that no innholder should ask more than 4d a quart for cider; so the retail price seems to have remained nearly constant, from 1650, though Josselyn tells us it was sold, in 1671, at 10s a hogshead.]

In 1653, wheat sold at 4s, rye at 3s, and Indian corn at 2s per bushel. By these standards, it is easy to compare the prices of apples and cider, or other luxuries, of that day with this. Occasional credits on Mr. Wolcott's book show that he exchanged a part of the produce of his orchard for sack [Spanish wine] at 6s per gallon, white wine at 18s, strong water at 3s per quart, &c. Venison at 1s 6d for a quarter, of 9 lbs, and 3s 10d for one of 16 lbs, 32 lbs. Sugar a rare luxury, at 7d per lb. "The forbearance of £24 for one year" is charged at £1 18s, or at the rate of 1s 7d per pound (74 per cent).

Here are a few entries of sales from the nursery and orchard, showing that Mr. Wolcott was doing a tolerably large business in trees and fruit at this early period.

1650, July. To Mr. Gishert [Gysbert op Dyck, perhaps — who had formerly been commander of the Dutch Fort, in Hartford], 50 bush apples, £11 17s 6d.

Oct. 18. To the same, 100 *poet* trees, £5.

1651, Aug. 22. "George Phelps bought halfe my thousand of young trees for which he is to pay me two pence per tree to be paid halfe in wheate and halfe in pease, in March" &c., £4, 3s 4d.

July 17. "Sold Joseph Magget [Mygatt, of Hartford] a parcel of young trees," £22 10s.

Sept. To the same, 500 trees, £1.

1652, Sept. 14. Sold to Mr. Goodyear [the deputy governor of New Haven], 100 bushels of apples, to be delivered presently, £20.

20 bils. cider, to be delivered the 10th of October next, £40.

1653, Wm. Edwards "owes, for *a con*, 32 cider barrels to be delivered at the landing place, by Sept. 12th."

For aught we know, some of Mr. Wolcott's apple or pear trees are yet bearing fruit in their season.

From *inns* we naturally glide into the cognate subject of

Stores, Trade, Commerce, etc. — For, in those early days, as now, tavern-keeping and trading were often carried on by the same persons. The notes which we have gathered relative to this subject are exceedingly scanty, yet sufficient to show us conclusively that *Windsor*, in the early colonial days, was a leading commercial town and port of entry. This position it held until subsequent to the revolution, when its neighbor, *Hartford*, "took a start" and left poor Windsor quite in the background. The WOLCOTTS were probably the first and most extensive merchants here, especially HENRY WOLCOTT, JR. JOSIAH WOLCOTT was a large merchant in 1681. He had land "laid out by Samuel Grant, Town Measurer, 20 feet square, on which to set a warehouse, on the hillside adjoining Wid. Marshall's fence, being on the North end at the West side of the grant — where an old cellar stands that was built by Geo. Phelps by [i. e. near] the Wid. Marshall, her warehouse."

MICHAEL HUMPHREY was quite a merchant as early as 1662. Among the papers in the State Archives are many inventories, etc., of goods shipped by his brothers Samuel and Henry Rose, merchants of St. Malo.

Captain NEWBERRY and GEORGE GRISWOLD had warehouses here in 1679 on the north side of the Rivulet, near the ferry; and, about the same time, GEORGE and CHRISTOPHER SAUNDERS were traders to England and the West Indies.

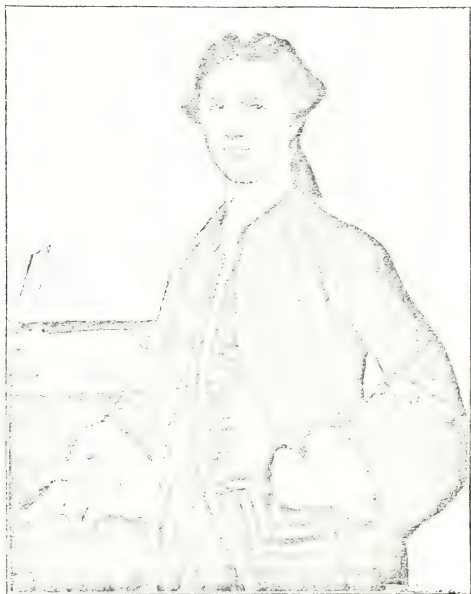
In 1720 MATTHEW GRANT, on the east side of the river, was assessed £40 "faculty and vessel"; Captain Timothy Thrall was assessed £40, and Captain Daniel White £20 for "trading." Both resided north of the Little River.

TIMOTHY LOOMIS makes the following entry in his *Common Place Book*: "1739, I sent 221 weight of tobacco to Barbadoes in the sloop, *The Windsor*, whereof 20 pounds was my son Timothy's." Half a mile below Hayden's Station ferry was Master John Hayden's ship-yard; and another at the Rivulet ferry.

Mr. JAMES MACKMAN was a very considerable merchant from about 1690 to 1698, when he died; and, about same time, and later, Mr. JOHN ELIOT, who married his widow.

Still later, Capt. ROGER NEWBERRY was a prosperous merchant in Windsor, on the place now owned by Dr. Preston, of Hartford. After his death in the Cuba Expedition, in 1740, his widow received a pension from the English government, which she had transmitted to her in goods instead of money, and so continued the store many years after her husband's decease. Her account books are yet preserved in Bloomfield.

Prior to and during the revolution — or in other words during Windsor's palmiest mercantile days — the *Palisado Green* was the "commercial center" of Windsor. Here was the great firm of Hooker



CAPTAIN JAMES HOOKER.

& CHAFFEE, known through the length and breadth of the country for its extensive dealings and its high mercantile honor. The following sketch of this Windsor firm has been furnished for our pages by EDWARD HOOKER, Esq., Commander U. S. N. See also the *Hooker Genealogy* in the genealogical portion of this work.

"James and Horace Hooker, sons of Nathaniel Hooker, of Hartford, received their early mercantile training in their father's business house, and at an early age they commenced business at Windsor, very probably at first as an extension of their father's business, in which they always retained an interest. After his death they alternated in the superintendence of the Hartford house, and went back and forth with such regularity that some wag gave them none of the 'Two Buckers,' alluding to the custom of putting the well rope over a wheel and attaching a bucket at each end, so that when one bucket was coming up the other was going down.

"Soon after coming to Windsor they associated with them Mr. John Chaffee, and the firm of 'Hookers & Chaffee' became an exceedingly prosperous one, and widely known through all the region around for its prompt and energetic business habits, its high moral standing, and its strict and unswerving integrity.

"Their ships — principally in the West India trade, but some of them going to other commercial points, — discharged their cargoes upon the Windsor wharves, and made commercial life and activity upon the water front. It was largely through the influence of Mr. James Hooker that Windsor was made a port of entry.¹

"Previous to the revolutionary war this firm was one of the greatest and most extensively connected of all the business houses in this part of the country, and its members, all courteous and genial gentlemen, and highly esteemed by all who knew them, were renowned for their ardent patriotism. Mr. James Hooker sold out his interest to the other partners, though his fortune still remained largely in the hands of the firm.

"When the 'Boston Port Bill' was passed they opened their stores for the reception of provisions and material in aid of the Boston people, and Mr. James Hooker was appointed by the town one of a committee for collecting aid for the distressed city. When the war commenced their stores were made a depot for collection of supplies for the army. Mr. James Hooker was commissioned a captain in recognition of his active services. They promptly responded to the calls for financial assistance, and freely advanced their money to help the government in its hour of need, while the families of those who had considered the musket found ever helpful friends at the great store.

"When the war came to a close these patriotic men found their business almost ruined, their funds gone, and the fact forcibly presented to them that they must commence life over again, and build up their trade anew. Cheerfully and with prompt energy they set about the task, which, from the impoverished condition of the country, was rendered a much more difficult one than it had been in their younger days. Their high character and mercantile integrity were greatly to their advantage, and their prospects for success were bright and cheering, when the 'French spoiliations' fell with remorseless weight upon them. Their ships were swept away, and the great firm, crushed by the weight of adversity, succumbed to overpowering misfortune and passed out of existence.

"The settlement was entrusted to Mr. Chaffee, and Mr. Horace Hooker removed to western New York, and finally found a home at Sackett's Harbor. Without doubt Mr. James Hooker aided Mr. Chaffee in the settlement and the work of honorably closing the business affairs, and saving what could be saved from the wreck; and, though even to this day the money advanced to the government, and the losses by the French

¹Windsor by the Acts of U. S. Congress (viz.: 4 August, 1790, and 2 March, 1799), was made a Port of Entry. — *F. E. Mather*.

spoliations has never been repaid, the affairs of the great firm were honorably and satisfactorily adjusted.

“Mr. James Hooker settled down to quiet but active participation in public duties. To the needy and unfortunate he was ever ready to give counsel and aid, in their troubles, and such more substantial aid as he could bestow, and thus, a peace and quiet, with love and respect from all, his years sped along until December, 1865, when he quietly passed away, sincerely mourned by all, but by none more so than by the great army of the poor to whom he had been so truly a friend.

The Charfee and Hooker houses are now standing on the eastern side of the Green: the former retains much of its pristine appearance; the latter has been somewhat remodeled and modernized, and is occupied by Deacon Woodford. North of this, and a little back from the street, stood the old store, packing houses, etc. Their trade was large. From every portion of the country there was constantly pouring in large supplies of horses, beef cattle, wheat, and produce of all and every sort. The Green was often heaped with goods of all kinds which had been received, or were being shipped. An eye-witness assures us that from her window she has counted as many as *thirty* teams in the road waiting their turn. Old people even now love to dwell upon the theme. “They sometimes retailed a hogshhead of molasses in a single day.” “They did a larger business than any house in Hartford at the time,” are some of the expressions which fall from their lips.

Nothing seemed to come amiss to their mill; notes at thirty days were given in exchange, and always promptly paid; while under the bank of the Little River near by,¹ lay many — sometimes six or seven — coasting vessels, and generally some larger English or West India vessels. A letter from Oliver Welles to Mr. Peter Verstelle, merchant in Boston, dated Windsor, 12 April, 1773, says: “Ezra Webb is not yet heard of: the rest of our sea vessels are all returned, and ~~it~~ was really a pleasant sight to see *seven* (from our steeple) *coming up thro’ the meadow at once, all near at equal distances.*” Their trade to Liverpool and the West Indies was at that time very extensive, and during some parts of the year the Little River was quite full of vessels, loading and unloading, and the Green was lively with hearty sea-captains and bronzed and jolly sailors. Several of these captains resided here, among whom was Capt. NATHANIEL HOWARD, father of the late Major Howard and of William Howard. He always brought home a little stock of fine silks and choice goods from his various voyages, and his wife kept store in the building now occupied by the Misses Stiles. It is related of her that she was remarkable for dressing well, which excited the envy of some of her

¹ There being at that time no bridge at Hartford to obstruct the navigation of the river, Windsor was a port of entry, and West India and other goods were, during a part of the year, landed at the Rivulet ferry.

less fortunate neighbors; and that when on one occasion she spotted *an umbrella*, which the captain had brought from *farre'a-parta*, and which was the first article of the kind ever seen here, she was followed by several of her fellow-citizensesses, in a spirit of derision, carrying *sticks* elevated on the tops of broom-handles, etc.! William Howard afterward traded here, and kept the post-office. The business had previously been carried on under the name of Howard & Alford.

At MATSON'S store, which stood a few rods from Pickett's Tavern, a comparatively large business was done, down to about the beginning of the century. A few years before this the amount of business was \$40,000 per annum. They dealt largely in Turk's Island salt, which, during high water in the Connecticut, was landed direct from the West Indies and exchanged for northern produce. The old salt-room of the store is still cold and damp.

There was also a store (built by Major ELLSWORTH) on the site of Dr. Wilson's former house. Lieut. Jonathan Ellsworth, son of Josiah and grandfather of Judge Oliver, born in 1669, and died 13 Sept., 1749, in the 81st year of his age, resided in an old house (which had been pulled down before 1892), and upon the spot afterwards occupied by his grandson, Lieut. David Ellsworth. He kept there a tavern for many years, and also a small store of West India goods, rum, etc. He was an enterprising man, and much concerned in public affairs. He was a man of very sound sense, and also noted for his sharp wit, which gained him the name of "Hector" Ellsworth. His death was caused by being thrown from his horse while riding in Windsor street. In person he was very tall, large, and of strong constitution.

One STRONG traded on the site of the second house south of the Misses Stiles.

But the palmey days were destined to pass away from Windsor. In addition to the failure of the Hookers, the erection of a bridge across the Connecticut at Hartford also damaged the interests of Windsor, and she gradually fell behind in the race.

Few vessels came up above Hartford bridge after 1820. An amusing story of the last days of the quarrel between Windsor and Hartford, to which this bridge gave rise, is still told. It seems that the first bridge erected there had a draw in its center, but, being destroyed by a freshet, it was replaced by another bridge having its draw (a *drop* draw) at the western end, next to the city. Just below the draw, Lyman's wharf extended into the river, at which vessels were always loading and unloading, so that Windsor vessels were much hindered in getting through the gap. On one occasion Mr. Alford, of the firm of Howard & Alford, was dropping down the stream in one of his vessels, and, coming to the bridge, was refused passage by the bridgemaster, on the ground that the way

below the bridge was blocked up by vessels at Lyman's wharf. Alford, however, insisted on the draw being raised, saying that he would look out for a passage, *he* could get along. Finally, up went the draw—Alford dropped down the stream, but just as he had got *in the gap* under the bridge, he slipped an anchor, and loudly declared he couldn't go any further—even if he did go through the draw—that the way was obstructed by the vessels below. The bridge-keeper swore and fumed, the draw could not be dropped so long as the vessel was under it—the current of teams and passengers across the bridge was obstructed, and becoming every moment more impatient and numerous—but imperturbable skipper Alford, as cool as a cucumber, held his place—protesting his willingness, but his inability to budge an inch further. Finding him firm, the Hartford folks made it *convenient* to move some of their vessels out into the stream, and then the Windsor captain floated down the river exulting.

In 1859 the only stores in Windsor were H. S. Hayden's (formerly Loomis & Sheldon's—and originally Col. James Loomis'), on Broad Street Green, and a little shop in the southwest corner of the Palisado Green, kept by Mr. Fenton.

Ship-Building.—Timothy Loomis's *Common-place book* records that, "The *first* sloop raised in Windsor was on the 19th day of December, 1723. Mr. J. W., Master Workman. Said sloop was launched May 7, 1724. The boat belonging to said sloop was launched May 28, 1724."

Hayden's shipyard, owned by Master John Hayden, who came from Essex, Conn., about the close of the revolutionary war, was situated at the present old red house, half a mile from Hayden Station. There was also a shipyard at the Rivulet ferry. These, together with three yards on the east side of the river, at Warehouse Point, the mouth of Scantic River, and at Higley's Ferry, were used for ship-building until 1820, or thereabouts. From General F. E. MATHER of New York city we learn that "about 1810 Allyn M. Mather built a ship near the 'Stone Bridge' on the Island road; later Howard & Alford built one at 'the Rivulet Ferry'." The *launching* of vessels from any of these yards was always quite a matter of interest to the towns-folk, who repaired in large numbers to witness the scene. One old gentleman, however, was wont to exclaim that he couldn't see what there was so wonderful in a ship launch; as for his part he "*would just as lief see a turtle slip off an old log into the water.*"

In this connection we present some interesting facts concerning the *early navigation of the Connecticut above Hartford*, condensed from a

paper by our friend, Mr. John H. Harden of Windsor Locks, published in the *Hartford Courant* of 20th May, 1886:

In 1636 (three years after Captain Holmes, Mr. Pynchon commenced the settlement of Springfield at the river), with his supplies sailed up six miles further, to the foot of Laurel Falls, beyond which his vessel could not be taken. From this point land-carriage was resorted to (the Stream held fourteen miles), and when he afterwards built a warehouse (of logs) near a spring, and foraging his vessel the landing was known as Warehouse Point, and is so still called for that locality. Mr. Pynchon's vessel was here on the breaking out of the Pequot war, May, 1637, and the General Court of Connecticut considered the case. It was ordered that Mr. Pynchon's sloop should be employed for this design.

When larger boats than Indian canoes were first used above the falls is unknown, but there came, first when they made flat boats (scows), which they were able to take over the rapids, and pass, and to pass by water from Warehouse Point to Springfield. One hundred years ago much of the freight for the up river towns was re-shipped from sloops at Warehouse Point, and then sent forward by scows. A warehouse was then standing about forty rods south of the new bridge, and all the evidence tends to prove that that was the site of Mr. Pynchon's warehouse.

A person born at Farmington, now Windsor Locks, in 1776 told me that she on one occasion counted sixty scows at Warehouse Point. During high water in the spring three or four at a time were not unusual. After the bridge across the Connecticut was built at Hartford in 1809 it proved so serious an obstruction that fewer sloops went beyond Hartford, and soon after all the up river freight was stopped and re-shipped at Hartford. As late as 1822 required many boats to supply all the towns along the river in Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire. These boats carried a square mainsail and top-sail, which was only useful before the wind. When the wind was not favorable they propelled their boats along by the shore by poling, a slow and tedious process.

At night the boats were "tied up"; the men went on shore and sought food and lodging at some farm house. The capacity of the boats was from twelve to eighteen tons. A boat, moored at Warehouse Point discharged all above fifteen tons of her freight when the wind was favorable, and all above twelve tons when there was a head wind. The tollmen employed at one dollar each, added to the crew, made one man per ton of freight when about was poling over the falls. The freight that had been taken off at Warehouse Point to lighten the boat was carried around the falls by teams to Thompsonville, where it was again taken on board. The boatmen sometimes remained at Hartford waiting for a fair wind until there was quite a fleet of boats. I have counted more than thirty of them on a single day, running up to the falls before a south wind.

In 1822 a charter was granted for the Farmington canal, to run from New Haven to the Connecticut river at Northampton, with a view to supply that place and the towns above on the river—leaving Hartford out in the cold. The business men of Hartford were unwilling to relinquish their "up the river trade," and in 1824 they, too, obtained a charter for a canal. There was the *Canal Boat Race Convention*, with authority to build a canal around Laurel Falls, and, with the co-operation of Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire, "to improve the navigation to the sources of the Connecticut River and Lake Memphremagog in Vermont." The passenger business on the Erie canal had proved a success, and to show the feasibility of establishing a steamboat line for freight and passengers along the Connecticut, the Connecticut River Company contracted in August, 1824, "for a steamboat to navigate the river above this place at Hartford." This was the steamboat *Barnet* launched at New York September 23, and her arrival at Hartford November 15. About a week later the first steamboat that went above Hartford steamed up to Warehouse Point. I was out gun-

ning that day with another lad of my own age (fourteen), and a man who had driven up from Hartford to Hayden station told us that the steamboat was coming. We reached the river in good time, and awaited her arrival. There was a fusillade of musketry below on both sides of the river. We tried to make our guns speak as loudly as cannons, and burned all our powder in heavy charges while the boat was passing, and the crowd of men and boys who had joined us shouted themselves hoarse. One man walked along the shore some distance, and found that the boat went against the stream, "almost as fast as a man could walk." The exhaust-steam from the engine was heard from a great distance. One little boy in our crowd, supposing it a thing of life, said to his mother when he reached home: "It was so tired that it pulled, and it pulled, and couldn't hardly get along." A like enthusiastic reception awaited the boat to the highest point reached on the river.

The first effort to get the *Blanchard* over the falls was a failure. It left Warehouse Point well manned, and with much labor it was carried nearly up to the island, a few rods above the railroad bridge. It then returned to Hartford, and on the 27th of November again steamed up to Warehouse Point, and the next day, with a scowboat lashed on each side, well filled with fallsmen (thirty) with their poles, they set forth, and this time were successful, and the boat reached Springfield that night. The boat reached Brattleboro, Vt., December 12th, and set out on the return to Hartford on the 14th, and arrived on the 19th. The successful trip had demonstrated all that was anticipated, and the event was celebrated by a great supper at Mr. John Morgan's coffee house, many guests from Springfield and other towns being present. Still New Haven believed that the Farmington canal was to be the gateway to the sea.

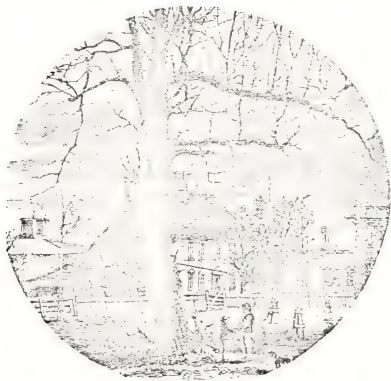
In the summer of 1828 the steamboat *Blanchard* was built at Springfield, the first (?) stern-wheel boat. She made her trial trip up the river in August. On the 10th of September the *Blanchard* arrived at Hartford with about fifty passengers, and left on her return next morning at 9 o'clock. There was no line of passenger boats between Hartford and Springfield before the canal was opened. When that event was celebrated, November 11, 1829, the steamer *Blanchard* brought a party from Hartford, and others came in carriages to the lower locks, where they were met by gentlemen from Springfield and elsewhere, who came down through the canal on the steamer *Vermont* ("recently returned from her excursion to Windsor, Vt."). After locking the steamer through into the river, they locked her back. Two scow-boats had been fitted up for the excursion through the canal, and horses provided. I well remember the request of Mr. Thomas Blanchard of Springfield, the builder of the boat, when we were expecting to be invited to come aboard. He politely invited us young men not to come on the steamer because he wanted room for all the stockholders of the canal, to show them that the stern-wheel steamer was adapted to use on the canal "because it did not wash the banks." The steamer led the procession, followed by the two scows well filled. At the head of the canal the *Vermont* steamed on to Springfield with the company she brought, and the stockholders returned with us to the lower locks. There were sixteen freight boats passed through that first day the canal was filled.

The steamboat *Massachusetts* at one time ran as a passenger boat; it was too large to pass through the locks of the canal, but powerful enough to run up over the falls. Later the steamboat *Agassiz*, Captain Peck, made daily trips between Springfield and Hartford, landing and taking on passengers at the stopping places between. The *Agassiz* and her commander were made famous by Dickens's account of his passage in her from Springfield to Hartford, 1842 (?). If Dickens's trip had been up instead of down the river, he might have had another item to add. I have seen Captain Peck when the water was extremely low step over into the river on Scantie bar, and with a lever lift upon the boat to carry it over the sand into deeper water beyond.

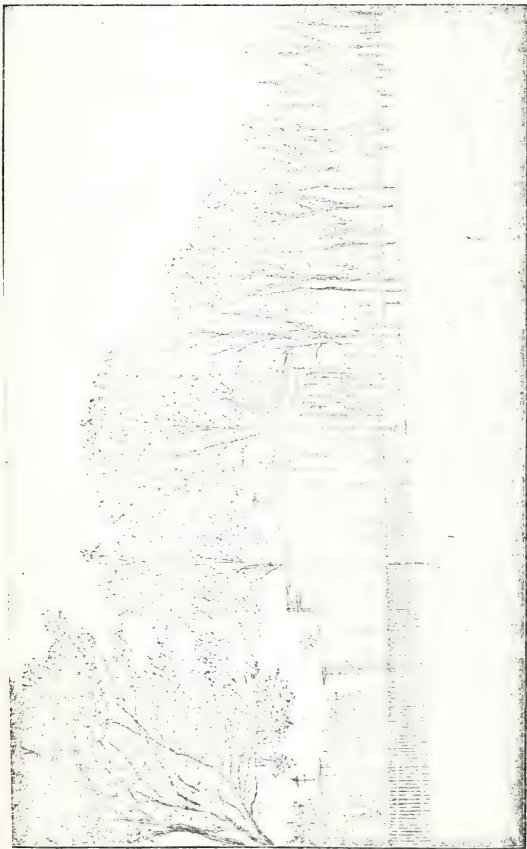
The completion of the railroads soon ended the freighting and passenger business by water, except a few large boats of about 75-ton capacity still bringing some heavy



THE OLD MOORE HOUSE, BROAD STREET GREEN, WINDSOR.



THE OLD ALLYN HOUSE, BROAD STREET GREEN, WINDSOR.



Residence of Judge H. Sidney Hayden.

VIEW ON BROAD STREET GREEN, WINDSOR, CONN.

Grace Episcopal Church.

freight to Windsor Locks and Ware-house Point, but could not be run up or down over the falls in extreme low water.

Old Houses.—The dwellings of the first settlers were undoubtedly *dag-outs* (see p. 33), succeeded soon by *log-cabins*, such as the western emigrant of to-day erects on his new claim. These were followed, as the circumstances of their owners improved, by a better class of houses, two stories high, containing two square large rooms above and below, with a chimney in the center, and steep roofs. Some of these houses had a porch in front, about ten feet square, of the same height as the main part of the building. This porch formed a room overhead, and the lower part was either enclosed or left open, and supported by pillars, according to the fancy of the occupant. Of this description was the house of Rev. Mr. Hooker, of Hartford, and of Rev. Timothy Edwards, of (East) Windsor. At a later period, as the necessities of growing families increased, and they needed more room, the *scants* or *lean-to* was added to the rear of the house, leaning towards the upright part, and continuing the roof down to the height of the first story. This afforded a kitchen, buttery, and bedroom. This, with an addition to the chimney of a fire-place, for a kitchen, became the established order of domestic architecture. Examples of this kind of house will be found in the old MOORE and ALLEN houses, which stand nearly opposite to each other on Broad Street Green. The former, of which we present a likeness on the opposite page, taken from a drawing made some years since, was built by old Deacon John Moore, and presented — so says tradition — to his son John as a *set-out* on his marriage day, A.D. 1690. It was in its day, and even within the recollection of some now living, a fine house, but finally served as a kitchen to a more modern house which occupies its original site. Still *some* of its ornaments remain — sufficient to *hint* of its former glory. The lady to whom we are indebted for its portrait, and who is herself a descendant of the old house,¹ writes us as follows: "I have pointed out the *door for the cat*, for, at that early day, it was considered a very necessary accommodation to so important and privileged a member of the household. The old song, you know, sings of him, who, when

'He made a great hole for the great cat to go thro',

A little hole made, for the little cat too.'

My ancestor was not quite so provident: but be it known that in every door of the old mansion was a passage for puss, that she might pursue her vocation from garret to cellar without let or hindrance." We may remark, also, that the old elm which overshadows the house always possessed as much interest as the dwelling in the hearts of the

¹ Mrs. Fanny L. Bissell.

occupant's — being one of the oldest and most beautiful trees in the town.

The old ALLYN House, built by the first Squire Allyn, and afterwards occupied by his son, the second squire, was considered, in its day, the grandest house in town, if not in the universal Yankee nation! It was painted red, and the old people yet relate the anecdote of a certain child, who, having gone down to witness the training on Broad Street Green, saw, for the first time in his life, the Allyn House. In narrating the day's adventures to his parents, on his return home, he asserted, with all the *naïveté* and innocence of childhood, that he had seen "Heaven, the big house where the angels lived!" Here was the center of the best society of the times, and here, also, was justice dispensed by the squire. "How changed the scene!" When we went over it, in the spring of 1859, we found naught but empty rooms; garrets filled with broken spinning-wheels and antique furniture; and in the "best room" a party of negro wenches preparing pies and cookies to be peddled off at an approaching *Lecture day*. It has since been totally demolished.

Next to this old house stands the elegant modern dwelling of one of Windsor's wealthiest and most liberal-minded citizens, Judge H. S. HAYDEN, to whom, as well as to other members of his family, we are indebted for many acts of personal kindness, and for much of the value and interest which these pages may possess for those who read them.

Undoubtedly the most *historic* house now standing in Windsor is the CHIEF JUSTICE ELLSWORTH Mansion.¹ Under its stately eaves, its exterior plain but commanding in appearance, it has always seemed to us peculiarly characteristic of its distinguished builder, who, with all the honors which he gained (honors which meant so much more *then* than now) was ever the plain, quiet, good citizen — putting on "no frills" — a pure, strong mind, and a sincere Christian. Within, every room is filled with memories of the noble patriot; the paper on the walls, brought from France; the various souvenirs of his visit abroad; the old-fashioned, elegant, and substantial furniture; the great painting which covers nearly a wall of the parlor, representing the Chief Justice and his wife, life-size, with a view of the exterior of the house appearing through a window behind them, these and many other things render it, perhaps, the most remarkable house in Windsor. Much pains has been taken by its present occupants to keep it in the same state as when the Judge himself was alive.

¹ Gen. Washington, on the occasion of his visit to the Ellsworth Mansion (see p. 419), is said to have greatly delighted the Judge's children, especially the boys, William and Henry Leavitt, by singling to them "The Darby Ram," holding the younger boy, the while, upon his knee.



W. Sidney Hayden.



THE CHIEF-JUSTICE ELLSWORTH MANSION, WINDSOR, CONN



CHIEF-JUSTICE OLIVER ELLSWORTH AND WIFE.

After the painting by R. T. H. 1842, now in the parlor of the above house. By courtesy of the Century Press.

But to return to our synopsis of *the orders* of New England architecture: the next step was the carrying of the same form of house up to the second story, making what is called an *upright* house.

The form of roof was also often changed to that peculiar humpback form, known as the *gambrel-roof*, of which many specimens are yet remaining. The old brick house on east side of Palisado Green, known as "the Chaffee House," is a fine specimen of this style of roof. These were succeeded by houses with *two* chimneys, and a large hall in the center. These were more elegant in form and arrangement than their predecessors, but have sometimes been objected to because the rooms are apt to be small and the house cold. Since then *the orders* of architecture have become sadly confused, and all sorts of dwellings have arisen — varying according to the whim, the convenience, the means, and the tastes of the occupants. Yet, taken as a whole, the architectural effect of Windsor is pleasing, and its dwellings evince prosperity as well as taste. (In connection with this subject reference is made to the pleasant chapter on "Architecture in Hartford," by Wm. C. Broeklesby, in *Hartford Memorial County History*.)

In the olden time it was the custom for young men who were about to be married to first build "a nest for their bird." The *raising* of a new house was always, to a greater extent than now, an occasion of general hilarity. All the neighbors and friends were invited, and work was succeeded by frolics, games, and feasting. It was a custom, also, for the bride-elect to drive one of the pins in the frame of her future home. It is related that, about 1771, a certain young man residing in Pink street, who was about to be married, had a raising, and during the joyous occasion, became somewhat more elevated than his affianced thought proper. So, although she had already complied with the custom of driving the pin, she soon after took occasion to break off her engagement. She afterwards, however, married a young man of the same name, who purchased the house from her former lover: and so "they lived and died in peace" in the house which was built for her.

— — — —

Slaves. — In every New England village church the *darkies* have a corner in the gallery, and another corner in the village graveyard, where ant-hills and tangled vines and weeds struggle for the honor of bedecking their humble and unhonored graves. So we, also, must give a passing notice to the sable inhabitants of ancient Windsor.

When slavery was first introduced into Connecticut we do not know,¹ nor does it seem ever to have been directly established by law,

¹ Matthew Grant's Old Church Records mentions among the deaths in 1644, "one Hager." If, as is probable, this was meant to be the same as *Hagar*, it would seem to have been a negro woman, possibly an Indian.

although indirectly sanctioned by legislative enactments, and frequently recognized by the courts. In May, 1660, the court decreed "that neither Indian nor *negro servants* shall be required to train, watch, or ward."²

Henry Wolcott, Jr.'s, inventory, in 1680, names CYRUS, valued at £30. This is the first slave in Windsor (and probably in Connecticut) of which we have any record. We have also seen a deed of sale of a negro boy named PHILIP, in 1694, to Eleazer Gaylord, of Windsor, from Andrew Belcher, of Boston. In 1720 John Anderson, on the east side of the river, was assessed for a negro man. The record of burials in the Old Burying Ground of South Windsor gives the deaths (but not the names) of *twenty-one* negro slaves between the years 1736 and 1768. Eleven of these belong to the Wolcotts, three to the Elmers, two to the Rockwells, two to the Cooks, one to the Ellsworths, and two unknown. So that portion of Ancient Windsor appears to have been abundantly supplied, for that day, with slaves.

The importation of slaves into the State, however, was never very large, and in 1774 was prohibited altogether. In the Revolutionary war, freedom was granted to all slaves who enlisted and served through the war. Several such will be found in the list of Windsor soldiers in that war. The last *colored* survivor of the Revolution, who dwelt in Windsor, was OLIVER MITCHELL, who died, as was supposed, from a fit, in his boat in which he had been to Hartford for the purpose of drawing his pension money, in March, 1840.

In 1784, the legislature, assuming that "Policy requires that the abolition of slavery should be effected as soon as may be consistent with the rights of individuals and the public safety and welfare," enacted that no negro or mulatto child born after the first day of March in that year, should be held as a slave after they had arrived at the age of twenty-five years. Masters of slaves were also permitted to release them, on application to the selectmen of the towns, provided such slaves were in good physical and mental condition, and between the ages of twenty-five and forty-five years. In 1788, a statute was passed, obliging all masters, within six months after the birth of each slave, to duly notify the town clerk of such birth, etc., on penalty of seven dollars for each month's neglect. This was intended to guard against the illegal holding, by unscrupulous masters, of those who were entitled to their freedom. In 1797, it was enacted that the children of slave mothers born after August of that year, should receive their freedom at the age of twenty-one. At the same time, the carrying of slaves out of the State for sale was prohibited; and thus gradually the institution of slavery decreased, and finally disappeared, in 1848, by a formal act of abolition.

² Col. Rec., i. 349.

The following anecdote is preserved in connection with the liberation of slaves. An aged and faithful Windsor slave, working in the field with his master, was observed to be very moody and silent. At length he broke the silence by saying that such a neighbor had given his slave his freedom, and modestly suggested that "Massa ort to give *me* freedom." The master quietly replied, "Well, Tom, you may have your freedom." "May I, Massa — when?" "Now," was the reply. "What, now, Massa, right away?" exclaimed the surprised slave. "Yes, Tom, you may stick up your fork where you are, if you choose, and be free." Tom stood looking upon the ground more moodily than ever, while his master went on with his work. After a half-hour's consideration, Tom resumed his labor, remarking with a knowing look, "No, Massa, you have de meat, now you may pick de bone. I no go and take care old Tom myself."

Those who released slaves who were too far advanced in life when the act was passed to be legally affected by it, generally took the precaution to obtain a release from the authorities of the town from all responsibility for their future maintenance. Among a family of slaves released without this precaution, some members who had removed to East Windsor became poor in their extreme old age, and the authorities of that town, finding that they had not been legally liberated, obliged the heirs of their old master (the family of the late Daniel Pinney) to support them.

Those of whatever age, who were incompetent to support themselves, were still slaves unless the town chose to release their owners. Such was Old NANCE, whose death recently occurred in the family of Col. James Loomis. She was born on Greenfield Hill, Fairfield County, Conn., and remained in the family of Hezekiah Bradley until she was four years old, when she was given to Charlotte Bradley Chattee, wife of Dr. Hezekiah Chattee, of Windsor. At his death in 1821, she became a household gift and charge, commended to the especial care of his daughter, Mrs. Abigail Sherwood Loomis, in whose family she was most kindly cared for to the day of her death in 1857, aged 82.

The first record of negro slavery in Connecticut appeared in the inventory of Henry Wolcott, Jr., in 1680. Old Nance, perhaps, closes the record within half a mile of the spot where the first one lived.

For many years previous to the American Revolution, and as late as 1820, or thereabouts, it was the custom of the Connecticut negroes — in that spirit of emulation and imitation which is peculiar to their race and the monkey tribe — to elect a governor for themselves; and not a governor only, but a deputy, staff officers, sheriff, and squires or justices of the peace, who were all elected with much discretion, pomp, and cere-

mony, and exerted the same functions among those of their own color as their more lordly prototypes of the white race.

Negro elections and parade generally came off on the Saturday succeeding the election day of the whites, and was participated in by those who came up to the capital with their masters, and such others as were able to be present. "They of course made their election, to a large extent, deputationally, as all could not be present, but uniformly yielded to it their assent. . . . The person they selected for the office in question was usually one of much note among themselves, of imposing presence, strength, firmness, and volubility, who was quick to decide, ready to command, and able to flog. If he was inclined to be a little arbitrary, belonged to a master of distinction, and was ready to pay freely for diversions, these were circumstances in his favor. Still it was necessary he should be an honest negro, and be, or appear to be, wise above his fellows. . . . The precise sphere of his power we cannot ascertain. Probably it embraced 'matters and things in general' among the blacks; morals, manners, and ceremonies. He settled all grave disputes in the last resort, questioned conduct, and imposed penalties and punishments sometimes for vice or misconduct. He was respected as *guburnor*, say many old gentlemen to us, by the negroes throughout the State, and obeyed almost implicitly.

"His parade days were marked by much that was showy, and by some things that were ludicrous. A troop of blacks, sometimes a hundred in number, marching sometimes two and two on foot, sometimes mounted in true military style and dress on horseback, escorted him through the streets, with drums beating, colors flying, and fifes, fiddles, clarionets, and every 'sonorous metal' that could be found, 'uttering martial sound.' After marching to their content, they would retire to some large room which they would engage for the purpose, for refreshments and deliberation. This was all done with the greatest regard to ceremony. His ebony excellency would pass through the files of his procession, supported by his aids, with an air of consummate dignity, to his quarters, and there receive the congratulations of his friends, and dispense the favor of his salutations, his opinions, and his appointments."

The following amusing story is related concerning one of the occasions at Hartford. Dinner was duly set, the dignitaries had marched in and taken their places around the "groaning board," the governor at the upper, and the deputy governor at the lower end of it, when the latter with delicate regard for the proprieties of the occasion, exclaimed, "Mr. Gubnor, seems to me dere ort to be sumthin said on dis 'casion." "Will

¹ *Sever's Hartford in the Olden Time*, whose chapter on the negro governors of Hartford is exceedingly humorous and vivid.

Mr. Deputy say sumthin?" responded His Excellency. Thereupon the Deputy spread himself and began, "Tunder above de Hebens, Lituin on de earth, Shake de tops of de trees. Table spread afore us, no eat a'yet, eat a'bimeby, for Christ's sake, Amen." "Well done," exclaimed the governor, "well done, Mr. Deputy; I no idee you such able man in prayer." And straightway the company fell vigorously to work upon the object of the meeting.

We do not know that Windsor ever gave birth to a negro governor.

Negro Trainings were also common. At one time subsequent to the Revolution, *training* was held at Pickett's Tavern, about half a mile above Hayden's Station. General Ti, a slave belonging to Capt. Jona. Ellsworth, commanded on that occasion. His master, being a captain of the cavalry, furnished him with his own uniform, accoutrements, and watch, to the chain of which he added several huge seals, and set him upon his own war steed. So General Ti rode forth that day, "the observed of all observers." Such exhibitions were a source of no little amusement to the whites, who often visited them to witness the evolutions and performances of their sable competitors. On this occasion, as we learn from an eye witness, the general was early on the ground, and becoming somewhat impatient at the tardiness of the soldiers belonging to the Pine Meadow (Suffield) District, he ordered up his horse and rode through the crowd to take a survey of the field, and things in general. Puding up his horse in the immediate vicinity of Esquire Bissell, and other prominent Windsor citizens, he exclaimed, "Wonder why de troops don't come on from de north." The squire, who was a bit of a wag, with a sympathizing air, inquired, "What time is it, General?" Dropping the bridle rein, he drew up his watch, hand over hand, and holding it out, exclaimed with scornful dignity, "Look for yourself, gentlemen, by —," which not a little amused the squire and his friends, who happened to know that the general could not tell the time himself.

When the attempt was made to form the regiment, there was no little difficulty in arranging the soldiers so as to make the best appearance — for most had some bit of uniform, but no two alike. The general, anxious to put the best foot forward, hit upon a plan, and issued his orders accordingly. Rising in his stirrups, he shouted, "All you what got white stoecca, rocker shoe, stand in de front." This order was readily understood, and the front rank was soon formed of those who were equipped with shoes and stockings. Then came another order from the chief, "All you what got rocker shoe and no white stoecca, stand in de rear"; and then, with the self-satisfied air of one who felt that he had "gone and done it," the general exclaimed, "Now you niggers what got no white stoecca, and no rocker shoe, stand out of de way."

During some of the evolutions of the day, which were badly per-

formed, the general's passions got the better of his dignity, and he exclaimed, with heartfelt bitterness, "A nigga allus will be a nigga, don't know nuthin, and allus did."

CATO, also, is remembered by some of our oldest citizens as a self-appointed tythingman, who exerted himself on the Sabbath to keep the boys in order, and attended to the ringing of the bell. He was accustomed to go around the town regularly to collect his remuneration for his services as bell-ringer, and when any one refused his or her mite to the voluntary contribution, he would say, "Well, no pay, shan't hear um bell."

At the commencement of the present century, and for some time after, there were many negroes in Windsor; but they all seem to have been, or to have ultimately become, a poor, shiftless, lazy set of free negroes.

No town in New England can boast a worthier ancestry than Ancient Windsor. In social position, intellectual culture, sincere and fervent piety, and sterling integrity of character, her settlers were equalled by few, and surpassed by none. They were not mere random adventurers, seeking some fairy Utopia, and bound together by flimsy bonds of selfish interest, but a high-minded, large-hearted Christian brotherhood—selected with consummate tact and rare judgment from the wealthiest and most cultivated counties of England by the master mind of Rev. John White, who, when he saw them set sail from Plymouth harbor, felt that he was casting forth upon the waters *precious* bread, which, with God's blessing, was to enrich and beautify the ends of the earth. There was WARHAM, "a famous preacher," and MAVERICK, with a reputation equal to his years. There was WOLCOTT, whose ancestral antecedents, wealth, and personal character would have commanded respect in any community, and LUDLOW, with legal abilities, and ideas far in advance of the age in which he lived. MASON, also, with a reputation among the best warriors of the continent. PHELPS, ROCKWELL, GAYLORD, and others, all *picked* men, each possessing some trait or valuable quality essential to the welfare of the whole community. Woman, too, was there, with her sustaining and cheering influences, herself upheld by that deep current of religious faith which underlies the character of her sex. And in every heart—to a degree which we perhaps can never experience, and therefore can never fully understand—dwelt that glorious light of Christian love and truth which maketh free. It sustained them in the hour of trial, it humbled them in the hour of prosperity, it regulated their every action, it developed the exercise of every virtue and talent, it softened the thousand nameless little asperities of individual character and social life, and thus contributed to the perfect and har-

monious working of the whole social polity. Such was the character of the *first generation*.

But, as has been elsewhere aptly said, the emigration from a civilized to a new country is necessarily a step backward into barbarism. The *second generation* did not fill the places of the fathers. Reared amid the trials and dangers of a new settlement, they were in a great measure deprived of the advantages, both social and educational, which their parents had enjoyed. Nearly all of the former could write — which can not be said of their children. Neither did the latter possess that depth of religious feelings, or earnest practical piety, which distinguished the first comers. Religion was to them less a matter of the heart than of social privilege, and in the half-way covenant controversy we behold the gradual “letting down of the bars” between a pure church and a grasping world.

The *third generation* followed in the footsteps of their predecessors. Then came war: and young New England brought from the long Canadian campaigns stores of loose camp vices and recklessness, which soon flooded the land with immorality and infidelity. The church was neglected, drunkenness fearfully increased, and social life was sadly corrupted. *Bundling* — that pernicious custom which prevailed among the younger, in some portions of New England, to a degree which we can scarcely credit — undoubtedly tended largely to sap the fountain of morality.¹ Next came the American Revolution, which merely prolonged the evil: for war, even where necessary, is always an evil. So that not until the commencement of the present century can it be said that any return was made to the purity of the first generation. And it is our solemn conviction that all those who croak the romantic tune of “Alas! the good old time,” will find, on careful examination, that in every respect, politically, morally, religiously, the present world, with all its vices, is no worse — nay, that it is infinitely better off — now than then.

We would not, however, be understood as saying that piety, morality, or education died out after the first generation, or was wanting among their descendants. The history of Windsor evidences that religion and education were always dear to her children, and that in every generation there have been many whose lives and characters come down to us as a blessed legacy. These good men possessed a marvelously

¹ Certain strictures made upon this statement in our first edition led the author to investigate the subject more fully, with the result of historically establishing the widespread prevalence of this custom in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and elsewhere. His researches were published in a limited edition, entitled, *Bundling; its Origin, Progress, and Decline in America*, by Henry R. Stiles, M.D., 162, pub. by Joel Munsell, Albany, N. Y., 1865.

strong faith and belief in *special providences*. Events which we should attribute to natural causes were by them referred directly to divine power. Wars, pestilences, victories, accidents—in short, all the thousand and one incidents which make up the life of a nation or of an individual—were considered as so many direct interpositions and revelations of God's will. They prayed with a fervency which grew out of this intense faith in God's power and willingness to answer prayer. And in New England history there are many instances in which we can hardly wonder that their prayers and faith were singularly answered.

The following *Windsor* legend is quite to the point :

"Once upon a time"—as all good story-tellers commence—the good people in Windsor had suffered for a long time from an excessive drought, until at last, viewing it as a judgment of God upon them for some of their sins, they resolved to hold a fast day, to be spent in humiliation and prayer. In the lower part of the town dwelt a godly man by the name of Barber, to whom some of the people from *up town* extended a very pressing invitation to join them in this day of prayer. Mr. Barber happened to have a great quantity of hay cut at the time, and felt that *he* needed dry weather just then, and could scarcely spare the time to pray, while so much of it was *out*. But, with true Christian good feeling, he consented to join his brethren at the upper end of the town in their prayers for rain. When the time arrived Mr. Barber appeared at meeting, with his overcoat on his arm (although it was clear, hot, scorching weather), and on being wonderingly interrogated as to his motive of bringing it, replied that he "came to pray for rain, and he expected it." Before the day closed the rain did come, sure enough, and, still more wonderful to relate, in passing, as it did pretty generally, over the town, it passed *around* Mr. Barber's land, and left his hay uninjured.

Among some of the Rev. Timothy Edwards's manuscripts we find :

"A Record of Some Remarkable and Gracious answers of Prayer, Remarkable [Providences] and some other things of a Spiritual Nature I have met with in the course of my Life, and first of Remarkable Deliverances, Recoveries."

A few extracts will show our readers the nature of these remarkable incidents :

"1. When I was a little child (as I have been told by my Father as I remember) I fell into a Tub of Water, an y^e providence of God sent one to my Relief and y^e strangely, who passing by upon Occasion, Saw me and took me out almost dead.

"2. When I was a School boy I took a gun In my hand, which was an Indian's hunting Gun, and as he said y^e was y^e owner of it, a gun that Seldom or never missed fire. This gun was charged with a brace of bullets. I held it out against one of my school mates, John Hunter by name, who was old Goodman Mitchell's Serv^t. I aimed at his breast putting my hand to y^e prick, he being at about 8 foot distance, and said these

well as I remember. "Oh, Hunter, if you were an enemy now how I could shoot you down," thinking no harm at all, not being aware y^t y^r gun was charged or if it had been that there was any danger of its going off, but the cock being half bent, went down, and it either fired or as standards by admitted flashed in y^r pan, and yet no harm ensued. Those that stood by were amazed to see how narrowly the boy escaped and so was my father, being called in out of y^r Shop, together with y^r Indian, both whom very much wondered when they heard how it was. My Father looked upon it as a little less than a miracle and said 'If Mr. Mather's Book of Remarkable Providences had not been out before, he would have that put in amongst them.' I was also much amazed and affected with God's wonderful goodness to me in keeping of me so [] miraculously from wantonly, though [] killing one of my neighbors, and therefore [] to keep y^r Record of it by me."

On another occasion he tumbled off a cherry tree and liked to have broken his neck — only he didn't; and again he came very near going under the ice while skating — if some one had not called to him, and caused him to stop. And then he remembers that, when a boy at the grammar school at Hartford, he one day performed some very foolish feats of climbing on a cherry tree, by way of "bravado to show some of my mates (one of them, at least, viz., Thos. Oleott's son) how venturesome and bold I was, and yet God safely brought me down again," on to the solid earth, which was a sincere cause of gratitude to this pious man in all after life.

We have room for but one more example of the Rev. Timothy's hairbreadth escapes:

"When I was a school boy, as I was eating some [very] mellow peaches, the stone of one [slipped] down as [I was] sucking of 'em, and stuck in [my] throat, and [] speech and my breath so [] neither I strove [] couldn't, the boys seeing how it was elipt me on the back, but all would not do. I saw plainly that I could not help myself and if God didn't help I should surely die. I was very apprehensive and much afraid of death, my thoughts then I think I can remember pretty exactly, and they were these: 'Now, if God don't wonderfully and miraculously help (which I inwardly desired him to do) I shall die bye-and-bye. Death is a coming towards me upon. I am not far off from it. I have heard of dying, but now if God be not very gracious I shall quickly know what it is, and I am afraid God will not help me. I have so sinned against him, but, oh, that he would thought!' Thus being very sensible of my dying and dangerous condition, I, seeing straining and striving was to no purpose, I was ready to despair of help though as I remember I had some little hope at least in the power and mercy of God. Only one thing the boys advised me to do, and that was to go down to the river and drink, which was so far off, that if God had not helped me, I should have dropped down dead long before I came there. However I was willing to make any experiment or take any likely course to save my life, for which I was so concerned in my mind, that I did not think of the impossibility of getting any help by doing as they advised me. Accordingly I went to my master to ask leave to go out, and by the time I came half way to him I thought with myself, 'what do I go to ask leave for? I can not speak and besides my life lies upon it. I have need to make all haste I can, I may venture to go out without leave to save my life,' and so I turned back again before I came to him and run in a fright and in haste towards the door so as to go down to the river, and when I came to the door, unexpectedly without any straining or striving at all, when I had not many moments more to live, the peach stone

came out as though it went of itself. God, by his power, brought it out from me and saved my life; he helped me when I couldn't help myself, yea, and when all the men in the world couldn't help me, when I was almost past help, being just at death's door. Then I was 'as a brand plucked out of the burning.'

Apprenticeship.—The following Indenture, found among the *Thomas Stoughton Mss.*, afford a good illustration of the great care taken in arranging the terms of *apprenticeships* in the olden time:

"*Take ye knowen* *Whitherso* *that* *Jonathan Stoughton*, son of *Thomas Stoughton* of *Windsor* in the county of *Hartford* and *Coloney* of *Connecticut* in new england, with his father's consent hath put him selfe an apprentice to *Nathan day* of the abovesd *windsor county* and *coloney*: *blacksmith* and *white smith* to *Learn* his art, trade or mistery after the manner of an *Apprentice* to serve him until he the s^d *Jonathan Stoughton* attaines to the age of twenty one years, during all which time the s^d apprentice his master faithfully shall serve, his secrets keep, his Lawfull commands gladly obeye, he shall not do any damage to his s^d master nor see it don by others without givinge notice thereof to his s^d master. he shall not waste his s^d master's goods or lend them unlawfully to any, he shall not commit fornication nor contract matrimony within the s^d terme. at cards, dice or any other unlawfull game he shall not play whereby his s^d master may sufer damage. he shall not absent himself day nor night from his master's service without his leave. nor hunt ale houses, Taverans or playhouses butt in all things behave him selfe as a faithfull apprentice ought to do during ye s^d terme, and the s^d master shall do his utmost to teach and instruct the s^d apprentice In the bene mentioned *blacksmith* and *white smiths* trade and mistery and to teach or cause the s^d apprentice to be Taught the art or *Arithmewick* to such a degree that he may be able to keep a book well, and provide for him meat, drink, apparell, washing and Lodging and physick in sickness and helth sutable for such an apprentice during the s^d terme, and att the end of s^d terme the s^d master shall furnich the s^d apprentice with two good new suits of apparell both woolling and lining for all parts of his body sutable for such an apprentice besids that apparell he carieth with him, and for the performance of all and every the s^d covenants and agreement either of the s^d parties bind themselves unto the other by these presents in witness whereof they have interchangeably put their hand: and seals this first day of September in the year of our Lord god, 1727.

sined, sealed and delivered

In presence of

Daniel Stoughton

Tim^s. Stoughton

NATHAN DAY (s)

JONATHAN STOUGHTON (s)

Manners, Conveniences, etc.—From the *Mss.* of *OLIVER ELLSWORTH, Jr.*, son of the Chief Justice, and written in 1802, we glean the following interesting items concerning Windsor in the previous century:

"Even by conversing with those who lived but fifty or sixty years since, one is astonished to learn the changes in the manners, &c. which have taken place in this town, within half a century. My father, who is now 47, says that, when he was a boy, the families in Windsor, or at least in his neighborhood, all ate upon wooden trenchers; and what is still more surprising, he says, that when he was born, he does not suppose that there was such a thing as a privy or necessary-house, in the town. He says, as I can well believe, that the manners were then coarse and such as would now, in many respects, prove disgusting; that the men, in Windsor, formerly assembled together in each other's houses and would drink out a barrel of cider in one

night. As to carriages and dress, the change has been no less astonishing, for, by conversing with elderly people, I have learned that 50 years since there was hardly such a thing as a common two-wheel carriage in the town of Windsor, at least, my father says, that since he can remember, there was but one in town, which belonged to Capt. Wadsworth, a trader; whereas now (1892-3) a large proportion of the people in Windsor (*i. e.*, of the families in Windsor street, both North and South of the bridge) possess one. The change in dress has likewise been great. My mother, who has now lived in Windsor street 20 years, says that when she first came here to live there were but one or two umbrellas, and but one or two broad-cloth coats in the town; let any one now see a woman with a long black dress and one summer's day they will almost believe this incredible.

"With regard to grafting of *trees*, a singular instance occurred in Windsor in grafting apple-trees, a person took a twig of an early apple-tree, when the tree was actually blowing out and grafted this twig with its blossoms on another tree; the graft succeeded well, the season being moist and favorable, these blows produced fruit the first summer in 1802."

"Old Capt. Palmer related (to the Chief Justice) that he remembered when '*the Island*' was the thickest settled part of Windsor—the road to Hartford then ran through it and he remembers seeing warehouses, malt-houses, stills, etc."

"Mr. Josiah Barber told (the Chief Justice) that settlements along the Little River were made at an early date North, towards Poquonock, as well as upon the Mill Brook, near which he had found remains of one old fort or house, in which neighboring old people who were born in beginning of 18th century told Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert told him they had lain some nights."

Coaches and other Vehicles.—In 1796 of coaches taxed at \$17, East Windsor had three; in 1799 Windsor shared with Hartford "the highest dignity on wheels, having a coach taxed at \$84, and in 1820, Windsor had *sixty* and East Windsor sixty-six riding carriages."—*Hartford Co. Mem. Hist.*

"Two-horse business wagons were common, but little used for ordinary travel, both men and women rode on horse back. The first one-horse road wagon ever seen here was made in Pinemeadow, by David Birge, an elder brother of Horace, about 1800. He lived to see the street, nearly half a century after, filled with one-horse pleasure carriages."—*J. H. Higgin.*

"*Stills* were probably introduced in Windsor soon after the first settlement. Mr. Thomas Stoughton, Jr., used stills in manufacturing cider-brandy." In 1819, Windsor had 4 stills; in 1820, 24, in 1828, 17; these were cider-brandy distilleries.

Brick and Stone Houses.—In 1840 there were only 22 "brick and stone houses," of which *East Windsor, Windesee,* and Wethersfield each held *one*.—*Hartford Co. Mem. Hist.*

Iron Works.—As early as 1710 there were iron works along the line of Suffield and Windsor—making the iron from bog ore. The iron manufacture carried on within the present limits of Vernon and Rockville, Ct.—1737-1750—touches upon Windsor history, but our limited space forbids more than reference to two interesting articles upon the subject, published by ALLYN S. KELLOGG, of Newtonville, Mass., in the *Rockville Journal*, dates of Nov. 14 and 21, 1889.

RELATIVE POPULATION OF THE WINDSOR TOWNS, According to Census Reports,
from 1756 to 1880. — Taken from *Hartford County Memorial History*.

	1756	1774	1792	1800	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1856	1860	1870	1880
	2	11	10	5	6	5	2	4	10	4	17	11	13
Windsor,	1,220	2,125	2,382	2,714	2,713	2,868	3,068	3,220	2,833	2,994	2,378	2,783	2,758
East Windsor,	2,999	3,237	2,600	2,566	3,081	3,400	3,536	3,600	2,675	2,580	2,882	3,070	
Bloomfield,									980	1,312	1,401	1,700	1,700
South Windsor,										1,638	1,789	1,684	1,992
Windsor Locks,											1,587	2,154	2,302

NOTE.—The small figures represent the relative size of each town (as compared to other towns in the State), according to population.

Witches in Windsor.—In relation to this subject, I venture to reproduce an article which I contributed to the *Hartford Evening Post* of July 29, 1885.

SIR: I have seen frequent allusions in your paper, of late, to "Windsor Witches", and I wonder not that this is a subject of great interest to your Hartford gentlemen. Being myself of Windsor and Hartford descent, and being, withal, much given to antiquarian research, I have the honor to inform you for knowing that, for the past 250 years the Hartford witch-hunters have taken genuine delight in the pursuit of Windsor witches. And, indeed, it could not be otherwise; for to my knowledge and to yours, Mr. Editor, so winsome have ever been the features, form, and manners of the genuine Windsor witches, that no one, knowing the nature of man, could blame the men of your town for going beyond "Hartford bounds" in the pursuit of such fair game. And knowing, as we do, Mr. Editor, the virtue, discretion, and "faculty" (to use a good old New England term) of these Windsor witches to be equal to their other charms, we can better appreciate the life-long joy, peace, and domestic bliss which many a Hartford man has ensured to himself by securing and domesticating one of them. And, since the genuine breed is by no means extinct in Windsor (as I have had ample means of judging within the last few days) I wonder greatly at the folly of some who are now trying to dig up a specimen more than two hundred years old. Surely this (when one of the present generation sixteen years old, is so much more bewitching and satisfactory in all her winning ways, is a wilful despising of "the good which the gods provide." It somewhat reminds me of Bunyan's "man with the muck-rake," melling and grubbing amid the dirt and cast-off rubbish of the earth, and totally unobservant and blind to the brightness and beauty of the world around him. Still, as such a "witch hunter" is now ahead with his rake, and seems disposed to produce for our inspection a very shabby and altogether doubtful specimen of the witch-genus, which he would credit to Windsor, I feel impelled in defense of the good name of the real witches of that goodly town to examine the evidence.

In *The Connecticut Post* of August 11 and 18, 1883, under the headings of "A Witch of Windsor," and "Our Witch Histories," appeared a couple of articles which, as we believe, affixed a most unjust stigma upon that ancient town. The writer having chanced upon a hint that one Mary Johnson, who was executed at Hartford about 1668 for witchcraft, was a resident of Windsor, proceeded to "interview" Rev. Mr. Wilson, the present pastor of the old church of Windsor; and getting but little satisfaction from that gentleman, he wandered into the Windsor graveyard, apparently expecting to find

therein the gravestone of Mary Johnson as proof of his theory. He found it not, but fortunately for his proposed article, he found enough quaint and interesting epitaphs to enable him to reel off a column or more on general antiquarian topics. In the succeeding weeks (issue to 1880) he returned to the charge with another column of matter about the old gallows tree at Hartford, the indictment and trial of Mary Johnson, and some remarks on the literature of Connecticut witchcraft, all treated in the usual loose, disjointed fashion of such sensational articles. The totally irresponsible character of this "interview" of Mary Johnson's ghost is especially manifest in his statement that "Dr. Stiles, in his history of Connecticut, deliberately asserts that there were no trials nor executions" for witchcraft in the State. We may remark that Dr. Stiles wrote the history of Windsor, not of Connecticut, and that he made no such statement as the above. Rev. Dr. Trumbull, however, in his history of Connecticut, said that "after the most careful researches, no indictment of any person for that crime, nor any process relative to that affair, can be found."

Our own immediate business, however, is not with the general subject of witchcraft in Connecticut, but with the statement which endeavors to fix upon Windsor the equivocal honor of having been the residence of this Mary Johnson.

We call then upon the Hartford "witch hunters" to prove that Mary Johnson belonged in Windsor.

"Mary Johnson, for theory, is to be presently whipped, and to be brought forth a month hence at Wetherfield, and there whipped." See the records of a court held August the 21, 1646, in Trumbull's *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, Vol. I., p. 113.

No better proof is needed that her home was at Wetherfield, and not at Windsor.

Was Mary Johnson the first person who was hanged as a witch in New England?

She could not have been hanged before the action of "the particular court, this 7th December, 1648," which action is thus recorded in *Col. Rec. of Conn.*, Vol. VIII., p. 171: "The jury finds the Bill of Indictment against Mary Jonson, that by her own confession she is guilty of familiarity with the Devil."

Having fixed her home at Wetherfield, and fixed a date before which she could not have been hanged, her history, if it has not already been sufficiently told, may well be left to the witch hunters of Hartford.

What authority can be found for the assertion that Mary Johnson, or any other witch, belonged in Windsor? None, so far as history goes, except in *Winthrop's Journal*, or Winthrop's History of New England (edition of 1853, Vol. II., p. 374; former edition, p. 307), as follows: "One [blank] of Windsor arraigned and executed at Hartford, for a witch." This assertion, without date, without name, without any statement of authority; not made at the time of the alleged occurrence, nor in the regular sequence of the journal, but in a blank space formerly left therein, by a writer in Boston, one hundred miles from Windsor, and wholly unsupported by contemporary records or statements, is all that has been brought against the good fame of Windsor in that respect. And we respectfully submit that it is no more to be accepted as historical truth than would be a similar charge made by a paragraph-writer in a Boston newspaper, under similar circumstances to-day.

What have *others* said about the "first case"? Dr. Holmes, in his *American Annals* (1., 345; second edition, I., 287-288,) under date 1648, June, says: "The first instance of capital punishment for witchcraft in New England, occurring in colonial history, was in this year. Margaret Jones, of Charlestown, was indicted for a witch, found guilty and executed."

It is evident that he considered Governor Winthrop's allusion to Windsor, a year earlier, as too vague to have any force or value; and who can say that he was in error?

Hobbsall's New England (published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1815) page 520, says: "In June, 1648, one Margaret Jones, of Charlestown, was indicted for a witch, and executed for it."

Hutchinson (2d edition, 2 vols., published in London MDCCCLX) vol. I., page 150,

says: "The first instance I find of any person executed for witchcraft was in June, 1648. Margaret Jones of Charlestown was indicted for a witch, found guilty and executed."

Drake, in "*Annals of Witchcraft in New England, 1630*," refers to each of these three cases, but makes no comment on that mentioned by Winthrop against Windsor except: "No circumstances have been found, nor the name of the sufferer." He puts it under the year 1646.

What was the dictum of Judge Savage in the case? In commenting on the vague statement of Winthrop, he said: "Nothing of this is found in the 'History of Connecticut' by Dr. Trumbull, yet it is deserving of melancholy commemoration as the first instance of delusion in New England, too soon infectious. We may presume the unhappy woman was tried as well as arraigned before execution, if the wretched circumstances in such cases deserve the name of trial." See Trumbull, I, 8, in preface, where he says: "After the most careful researches, no indictment of any person for that crime, nor any process relative to that affair can be found." Perhaps there was sense enough early in the colony to destroy the record; but, at least, we know that in 1670 the court, after conviction of Catharine Harrison, of Wethersfield, for that capital crime, had firmness and cunning in their decision to dismiss her from her imprisonment, she paying her just fees; willing her to mind the fulfillment of removing from Wethersfield, which is that will tend most to her own safety, and the contentment of the people who are her neighbors. The Connecticut law, December, 1642, may be read in three lines of Trumbull's *Col. Rec.*, I, 77, including the authorities from Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy. Massachusetts borrowed every letter and figure of the text and comment.

Returning to the subject, in his *Genealogical Dictionary of New England*, (II, 559, article Johnson) Judge Savage says: "The first person in New England guilty of the impossible crime of witchcraft, and executed at Hartford, was a Johnson of Windsor, and one of the most distinguished was Rev. Samuel Johnson, born at Guilford, 14th October, 1693, the first President of Kings College at New York, who died 6th January, 1772."

In the same volume, page 568, he says: "Margaret Jones, the woman executed as a witch, 15 June, 1648, was the second example of such infatuation in New England, the first being at Windsor a year before."

Wonderful wisdom. In each of the references he calls the Windsor case the first, though Winthrop had said no such thing. In the first he had learned the sex, and in the second the name of the person in question, though Winthrop had given neither, and though she whose name he gave belonged in Wethersfield, not Windsor, and was not tried, and so certainly not hanged, till six months after the well authenticated case of Margaret Jones the first, though Savage makes her the second. "Melancholy commemoration," indeed! If he meant to class Rev. Samuel Johnson as "the most distinguished person in New England, guilty of the impossible crime of witchcraft," he ought to have given some evidence of his guilt. If he really meant to call him the most distinguished of the Johnsons, he should not thus have grouped him with the most unfortunate.

Would not his purpose have been just as well served if he had charged upon Windsor the responsibility for Goodwife Elizabeth Johnson, who probably suffered in 1652 for committing one of the twelve crimes which were capitally punished under Connecticut laws. And who can tell which he really did mean? The americanism is scarcely worse in one case than the other. And who can tell why all cases of offenders except for murder, under those twelve capital laws, should be called cases of witchcraft by the modern witch-hunters? Why did Judge Savage attempt to reverse the decision of those historians who had preceded him? Perhaps because they had left the introduction of witchcraft into New England to appear as a "Boston notion," the trial and execution having taken place there; and he, a Boston man, desired to shift the doubtful honor upon the people of some other place.

A later historian, Rev. Samuel Orcutt, in his *History of Stratford, Conn.*, gives a

chapter on "witekes and witchcraft," in which (at page 156), under the heading, "Witchcraft in Connecticut — Authentic Records," he repeats the erroneous statements already made.

Mather's Magnalia (Book six, chapter seven, "Thaumntographia Pneumatica," or "Wonders of the Spirit World"), gives as the "eighth example" a history of Mary Johnson, which the Hartford witch-hunters have read in that book, but it is curious that he gives it no date; while his first example was that of the Greensmith woman in Hartford, who in 1662 so troubled "Ann Cole, a person of serious piety," that she could only be "happily delivered from the extraordinary troubles wherewith she had been exercised" by the execution of Mrs. Greensmith, or, possibly, as shown by the *History of Stafford*, by the execution of both Greensmith and his wife at Hartford, and the flight of the two others "from the country."

Would it not be well for the Hartford witch-hunters to work out a full history of "Greensmith and his wife," and of the "two others" who "fly from the country" in 1662; as well as of Elizabeth Seager of Hartford, who, in 1665, was found guilty, but escaped by an informality in the verdict,—before hunting too much in other towns?

They might then restore Mary Johnson to Wethersfield, look up her full history, and also that of Catherine Harrison, who, in 1670, was convicted "but allowed to pay costs and leave the town." It might also be pertinent to inquire if Dr. Savage was correct in his identification of Nathaniel Greensmith as the "husband" of the woman there executed for a witch in 1662, and to show, if he was not also executed, why his own conveyance of his property might not have been allowed, instead of appointing Mr. Samuel Willys, Captain Talcott, and the secretary to convey it to Andrew Benton. The property can probably still be identified, and it would be pleasant to know if Benton or his successors have ever suffered inconvenience from the visits of the spirits of the witches to their former haunts.

When Hartford and Wethersfield shall have been fully worked, the experience there gained may help in the Windsor hunt. This ought not to be seriously difficult for Matthew Grant, the first town clerk of Windsor, whose veracity has never been questioned, was in the habit of putting on record every occurrence which was of interest to Windsor people. If his records, either public or private, fail to show such facts, then the inference will be that no such facts existed; but if he did make such records, then we must accept them as true, even if they involve the best families of the colony.

H. R. S.

Since the above was written, I have heard that, upon the inside of the cover of a diary kept by Matthew Grant, and in his own handwriting, is an entry to the effect that, on a certain day in 1647, "*Achsah Youngs* was hanged for being a witch;" and that the date corresponds with about what would be the date intimated in *Winthrop's* entry in his *Journal* (Vol. II., p. 374) above referred to—which would seem to be from the context, in March, 1647, N. S. Such a record, by Matthew Grant, giving the *name* of the person executed, with a date fitting in with the imperfect record of Winthrop, would be quite conclusive: if our information as to the Grant record was fully satisfactory.

We know that a John Youngs bought land in Windsor, of William Hubbard, in 1641, which he sold in 1649; and thereafter disappears from record. He may have been the husband or father of "*Achsah*," the witch; if so, it would be most natural that he and his family should leave Windsor.

It is but fair to admit, however, that there does seem to have been a "witch case" which may be fully credited to Windsor; and it was with the design of obtaining, if possible, more information about it that the above letter was written. In the lack of any further testimony, we proceed to tell what we know concerning the *real* Windsor witch case, which, however, dates as late as 1653-4, and therefore does not help the case of the "Hartford and other witch-hunters" who are trying to fasten the Mary Johnson case upon Windsor.

This "real, original," Windsor witch case, the author is happy to say, is intimately connected with the history of his own ancestry. The Stileses, never having had even a "family ghost" to prop their ancient greatness, can at least claim the honor of an ancestor killed by a witch! Smile not, gentle reader, at what to you may seem a singular and a trifling resting-point for family complacency. But hundreds of "high-born" families have held themselves above their fellow creatures, for successive generations, on much slenderer grounds of self-respect.

HENRY STILES, the eldest of four Stiles brothers who came to Windsor in 1635, a carpenter by trade, and a bachelor, was killed Oct. 3, 1651, at the age of 58 years, by the accidental discharge of a gun in the hands of Thomas (son of Mr. Matthew) Allyn, of Windsor, and, as tradition avers (*Pres. Stiles Mss.*), "in a military Train waiting upon Gov. Winthrop when he was embarking for England to procure the Connecticut charter, which he obtained 1662." The records of the Particular Court (Vol. II., fol. 29), which met at Hartford on the first Thursday of December, 1651, contain the following proceedings of "The Grand Inquest upon the death of Henry Stiles,"—the jury being Edward Stebbins, John Drake, John White, Humphrey Pinney, Will Gibbons, Steph. Terry, John Moore, Anthony Hawkins, Richard Goodman, Peter Tilton:

"INDITEMENT OF THOMAS ALLYN.

"Thomas Allyn, thou art indited by the name of Thomas Allyn that not having that due fear of God before thine eyes for the preservation of the life of thy neighbor didst suddenly, negligently, carelessly cock thy piece, and carry the piece just behind thy neighbor wth piece being charged and going off in thine hand, slew thy neighbor to the great dishonor of God, breach of the peace, and loss of a member of the Commonwealth, what saist thou, art thou guilty, or not guilty?"

"The Inditement being confessed, you are to Inquire whether you finde the fact to bee man-slaughter, or Homicide by misadventure.

"The said Thomas Allyn, being Indited for the fact, the Jury finds the same to be Homicide by misadventure.

"The Court adjudge the said Thomas Allyn to pay to the County as a fyne £20 for his sinfull neglect and careless carriage in the premises and that hee shall be bound to his good behavior for a twelvemonth, and that hee shall not beare Armes for the same terme.

"Matthew Allyn Acknowledgeth himself bound to this Commonwealth in a Recognizance of £10, that his sonne Thomas Allyn shall carry his good behavior for the space of a yeare next ensuing."

Henry Stiles's inventory of estate was also presented to the same court, and distribution ordered.

Subsequently, as appears from the records of "A Particular Court, held at Pequot, 24th of March, 1653-4" (folio 51, same vol.) an attempt was made to fasten the blame of this accidental death of Henry Stiles upon *witchcraft*, and the following indictment was presented against one Lydia Gilbert, who was probably a member of the family of Thomas Gilbert, of Windsor.

"Lydia Gilbert, thou art herein indicted by that name of Lydia Gilbert, that, not having the feare of God before thine eyes, thou hast of late years, or still dost give Entertainment to Sath[an], the great Enemy of God and mankind, and by his helpe hast killed the body of Henry Styles, besides other witchcrafts, for which, according to the law of God, and the Established law of this Commonwealth, thou deservest to dye."

It is not absolutely certain whether the court which tried her was that held the first Monday of September, 1654, or that of November 28, 1654. If the former, the magistrates were Mr. Wells, Mr. Wolcott, Mr. Clark, and Mr. Talcott. The names of the grand jury at either court are not given; but there is the grand jury list of the court held first Thursday (7th) December, 1654. The charge to the grand jury preceding the record of Lydia Gilbert's indictment is:

"You shall swear by the ever living God that you will diligently enquire and faithfully present to this court whatsoever you know to be a breach of any established law of this jurisdiction, so far as may conduce to the glory of God, and the good of this Commonwealth, as also what criminal offenses you shall judge meet to be presented as you expect from God in Jesus Christ."

The record further says: "Ye party above mentioned *is found guilty of witchcraft by ye Jury.*" But of the subsequent issue of the trial, or the fate of the unhappy Lydia, no further mention is to be found. It is a part of that mystery which seems to envelop the history of all cases of witchcraft in the Colony of Connecticut.

Some items of the "Account of debts due from Henry Stiles, Sr., to Thomas Gilbert," which accompanied the inventory of Stiles's estate, as presented to the Court, throw a little light upon the connection of Lydia with Stiles's death. They show that Henry Stiles, being a bachelor, boarded with Gilbert; that the last settlement made between the two, prior to Stiles's death, was on March 25, 1649, and that he was then paying Gilbert "three shilling per week for diet." Gilbert had also charges for his own service "about building his [Stiles's] cow-house," 28 days at 1s. 6d.; also one-half the services and half the diet of John Burton [prob. Stiles's hired man] since April, 1651, and for dieting harvesting hands, two harvest seasons, etc. Gilbert was living in a house which he had purchased, in 1647, from Mr. Francis Stiles, and which was separ-

ated only by an 18-rod-wide lot (Wm. Gaylord, Jr.'s) from Henry Stiles's lot. Evidently Stiles and Gilbert were intimately associated in their daily work and interests, and it is quite possible that Lydia Gilbert may have taken some offense with their boarder, and that this feeling was sufficiently known to their neighbors to bring her under the suspicion (so common in those days) of having invoked the aid of witchcraft to compass his death. What relationship she bore to Thomas Gilbert we do not know, for he seems to have had no children born to him at Windsor, nor mention of any wife. She may have been his sister; but, whoever she was, we are left to infer that she bore not the best of reputation in the community, since the record of her indictment says "thou hast, of late years, and still dost give entertainment to Satan . . . and by his help hast killed the body of Henry Stiles, *besides other witchcraft*."

Shortly after this trial Gilbert sold his property in Windsor to Thomas Bissell, and moved to Hartford, where he had brothers. In a few years (1659) he died; and in a letter received from Hon. S. O. Griswold, of Cleveland, Ohio, October, 1886, he says, as the result of a close examination of records, etc., "In the settlement of his debts, as given in the Probate records, the distribution of his estate appears, with the names of his children, among which that of the alleged witch does not appear. She must have died, either by a natural death, or was executed. I think the reasonable probability is that she was hanged."

WINDSOR, AS REPRESENTED IN THE BENCH AND BAR OF CONNECTICUT.¹

THE GENERAL COURT, the first in the colony, consisted of eight gentlemen commissioned by the General Court of Massachusetts, March, 1635-6, "to govern the people at Connecticut for the space of a year next ensuing." Two were from Windsor, viz. ROGER LUDLOW, first-named in the commission, and therefore presiding judge, and, virtually Governor of the new Colony, and WILLIAM PHELPS. This court was legislative, judicial, and executive in its character.

THE PARTICULAR COURT, the highest strictly judicial body in the colony, existed from 1638 until 1665, and consisted of two branches—the first composed of *magistrates* elected by the "freemen" at large, and presided over by the Governor, or Deputy-Governor, the other branch consisted of *deputies* sent by the several towns. Its sessions were held at Hartford, and of the thirty five who, at one time or another, occupied its bench, the following *Magistrates* were from Windsor:

Allyn, Matthew, 1658-62.²
 Clarke, Daniel, 1659-60.
 Clarke, Henry, 1656-56, 59-62.²
 Ludlow, Roger, 1639-54.
 Mason, John, 1642-62.²
 Phelps, William, 1639-43, 56-62.²
 Wolcott, Henry, 1643-56.

¹ Indebtedness acknowledged to Sherman W. Adams, Esq., of Hartford—in *Memorial Hist. Hartford County*. In this list we have necessarily included citizens of *East Windsor*.

² Until superseded by the charter.

The COURT OF ASSISTANTS, consisting of at least seven members sitting at a session, chosen from the assistants in the General Court, was established in 1665, its jurisdiction extended to higher matters than those in the jurisdiction of its predecessor, the Particular Court. Of the fifty who served on its bench the following were from Windsor:

Allyn, Matthew 2d, 1710-34.
 Clarke, Daniel, 1662-64, 66-68.³
 Clarke, Henry, 1662-October, '62.³
 Ellsworth, Oliver, 1780-85, 1802-08.
 Newberry, Benjamin, 1685-90.
 Newberry, Roger, 1790-1809.
 Wolcott, Erastus, 1786-90, East Windsor.
 Wolcott, Henry, 1662-81.³
 Wolcott, Roger, 1714-18, 20-42.
 Wolcott, Roger, Jr., 1754-60.

At the COURT OF SESSIONS at Hartford, 1687-8, during the *Andros Government*, among the justices present was Benjamin Newberry of Windsor, and the following Windsor men were on the Grand Jury: John Bissell, John Moore, Return Strong, and Nathaniel Loonis of Windsor.

The SUPERIOR COURT OF THE COLONY, established 1711 (colonial to 1776, State to 1798; since then a County Court); after 1819 it became a single-judge court:

Governor Roger Wolcott of Windsor was a chief judge of this court.

Governor William Wolcott Ellsworth of Windsor and Hartford.

SUPREME COURT OF ERRORS, constituted 1784-1806:

Governor Oliver Wolcott, Jr., East Windsor and Litchfield, chief judge, 1787-1796.

Governor Oliver Ellsworth, Windsor, 1785-89.

General Erastus Wolcott, 1789-92.

General Roger Newberry, Windsor.

Governor William Wolcott Ellsworth of Windsor and Hartford, associate judge, 1847-61.

PROSECUTING OFFICERS:

(King's Attorney) John Bissell of Windsor, 1727.

" " Peletiah Mills of Windsor, 1728.

" " Roger Wolcott, Jr., of Windsor, 1731-1753.

(State's Attorney) Oliver Ellsworth of Windsor, 1777.

LAWYERS from Windsor:

Governor Roger Wolcott, Sr., admitted to the bar, 1708; the first regularly admitted in the township.

Samuel Moore of Windsor, 1739.

Captain Thomas Stoughton, (East) Windsor, 1714.

John Bissell of Windsor (later of Bolton), 1714.

Peletiah Mills of Windsor, 1719 (principal inn-keeper of Windsor).

Roger Wolcott, Jr., of Windsor, 1730; appointed under a law limiting the number of attorneys in the Colony to eleven, three being appointed to Hartford county.

Bildad Phelps, Windsor, 1760.

Roswell Welles of Windsor, 1764.

General Roger Newberry, Jr., of Windsor, 1765.

Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth of Windsor, 1777.

Alexander Wolcott, Jr., of Windsor, 1781.

³Named in the charter. See *Connecticut Legislative Manual*.

In 1783 the present BAR ASSOCIATION of Hartford county was established. The following Windsor names appear on its roll.

Oliver Ellsworth.

Roger Newberry.

Hezekiah Bissell.

Gaylord Griswold of Windsor, admitted to bar, 1790, removed to New York about 1793; was a representative to U. S. Congress.

In the *Connecticut Register* List of "Practicing Attorneys" of Hartford County (numbering, at that time, only 17) appear the names of:

1789. Roger Newberry of Windsor.

Alexander Wolcott of Windsor.

1792-1802. Hezekiah Bissell, Jr., judge of County Court, from Windsor and Hartford.

1797-1829. John Sargent, practiced at Windsor.

1800-1813. David Bissell, Jr., East Windsor and Hartford.

Samuel Woodruff, Jr., removed from Granby (where he had been Judge of County Court) to Windsor about 1827, and practiced there about three years.

1804-1807. Roger Newberry, 3d, at Windsor.

1805-1816. Samuel Putnam Wadso, practiced at East Windsor; was the author of several volumes, including a *Life of President Jackson*, the *Tour of President Monroe through U. S.*; compiler of *Robbins' Journal*.

1805-1840. Grove Griswold, at Granby and Windsor.

1805-1825. Joseph H. Russell, at Windsor.

1808-1816. Sherman Everest, Canton and East Windsor.

1809-1821. Godfrey Scarborough, at Suffield and East Windsor.

1811-1813. Guy Gaylord, at East Windsor, and, with him,

1811-1813 Charles Reynolds, at East Windsor.

1812-13. Thomas S. Sill (of Windsor), at Hartford; rem. to Erie, Pa., and rep. that district in U. S. Congress.

1814-15. Sidney A. Grant, at East Windsor.

1814-36. Henry Leavitt Ellsworth, at Windsor.

1815—. John Milton Niles, at Suffield and Hartford, born in Windsor.

1816-1818. Algernon S. Grant, at East Windsor.

1816-1817. Ebenezer Lane, at East Windsor.

1820, or earlier, and for about 5 years later. John Watson, 3d, at East Windsor.

1822-1824. Apollos D. Bates, at Windsor.

1823-45. Horace H. Sill, at Windsor.

1825-73. William Burnes, at Warehouse Point, East Windsor.

1826-28. William H. Perkins, at Windsor.

1827-31. Selah B. Treat, at East Windsor; became a clergyman and secretary of the A. B. C. F. M., and a contributor to periodicals.

1827-31. Thomas R. Holt, at Windsor.

1830-78. Erastus Smith, first at Windsor, then at Hartford; in early life a teacher; noted for his wit and inattention to personal appearance; often held court as U. S. Commissioner; died 1873.

1833-38. Richard G. Drake, at Windsor; after 1839 associated with Charles Chapman, Esq., of Hartford.

1834-35. Henry R. Buckland, at Windsor.

—1859. George Griswold Sill, ex-Lieutenant-Governor.

Albert W. Drake. See *Drake Genealogy*.

Windsor Physicians.—DR. BRAY¹ ROSSETER was the first physician of Windsor. His father, Mr. Edward Rosseter, who is described as “a golly nan of good estate,”² belonging to an excellent family in the west of England, was one of the Assistants of the Massachusetts Colony, and a chief promoter and member of the Dorchester Company, which came in the *Mary and John*. But the life of honor and usefulness which seemed opening to him in this trans-atlantic sphere was cut short by death, which came to him at Dorchester October 23, 1630.

Doctor Bray Rosseter, his son, was one of the principal men among those gentlemen who commenced the settlement of Windsor in 1636. He was a well-educated gentleman, and had probably been trained in the best schools in England. Shortly after his arrival he was admitted to practice by the General Court of Connecticut, “being first tried and approved by [Rev.] Mr. Hooker, [Rev.] Mr. Stone, and old Mr. Smith, of Wethersfield, in the face of the said Court.”³ He served in Windsor as Magistrate, and as Town Clerk, which office he held until 1652. About this time he received a very pressing invitation from Mr. Leete and other principal inhabitants of Guilford to settle there as a physician. He accordingly removed thither and purchased the property of Mr. Samuel Desborough, who was about returning to England. “At a General Court, October 10, 1651,” say the *Guilford Records*, “Mr. Rosseter [was] admitted and appraised a planter here upon the purchase of Mr. Desborough’s accommodations:” and in June following “Mr. Rosseter for his own person was freed from watching, living here as a physician in practice.” In Jan., 1655-6, the town of Hartford granted £10 towards [the Rev.] Mr. Stone’s charge of Phisick which he hath taken of Mr. Rosseter.” The next year Mr. Stone gave as one reason of his proposed removal from Hartford that “we have no Physieian at Hartford or near at hand,” etc. We find him, the next year, engaged as Town Surveyor, an office which he had also filled to a considerable extent while at Windsor. “At a General Court, held the 3d day of the 1st month [April] 1653: Mr. Rosseter hath agreed, and undertaken forthwith, to survey and stake out the whole of every man’s particular proportion sufficiently, for the sum of £5, all men’s land to be laid out in two parts.” During the difficulties in the church at Guilford, which followed Rev. Mr. Higginson’s departure, Dr. Rosseter removed to Killingworth: but when peace was restored by the settlement of the Rev. Joseph Elliot in 1664, he returned to Guilford, and resided there until his decease, in Sept. 30, 1672. (*See Genealogies.*)

¹ Or Bryan. There seems to be equal authority for both names.

² Dudley’s letter to Congress of Lincoln.

³ Extract from his own letter to the Governor, dated Guilford, June 28, 1669. It was customary in those early days for the medical examining committee to be composed wholly, or in part, of clergymen, who were always more or less skilled in medical lore.

The first *post-mortem* examination made in the Colony of Connecticut was made by Dr. Rosseter, at that time a resident of Guilford. March 11, 1662-3, the "Court allows unto Mr. Rosseter, twenty pounds, in reference to opening Kellie's child; and his pains to visit the Dep. Governor, and his pains in visiting and administering to Mr. Talcut. Of this twenty pounds, he hath already received 11/ 1s 4d. He is to make no further demands of any particular persons."

For some time after Dr. Rosseter's removal to Guilford there seems not to have been any physician at Windsor. They, as well as their sister towns upon the river, had to depend upon Dr. Lord, who resided at Hartford, and whose fees were regulated by a session of the General Court in Hartford, the 29th of June, 1652, as follows: "Thomas Lord, having engaged to this Court to continue his abode in Hartford, for the next ensuing year, and to improve his best skill amongst the inhabitants of the town upon the river within this jurisdiction, both for setting of bones and otherwise, as at all times, occasions, and necessities may or shall require; this Court doth grant that he shall be paid by the country the sum of fifteen pounds for the said ensuing year, and they do declare that for every visit or journey that he shall take or make, being sent for to any houses in Hartford, twelve pence is reasonable; to any house in Windsor, five shillings; to any house in Weathersfield, three shillings; to any house in Farmington, six shillings; to any house in Mattabesock [Middletown], eight shillings, (he having promised that he will require no more); and that he shall be freed for the time aforesaid from watching, warding, and training; but not from finding arms, according to law."² Dr. Lord died in Wethersfield in 1662.

In October, 1654, one Daniel Porter was "allowed and paid out of the public treasury," the salary of *six pounds* per year, with "six shillings to each town upon the river, to exercise his art of surgery."³ This encouragement was continued to him the following year. Also as late as 1661-2. In 1674, one ROBERT HOWARD, of Windsor, is mentioned as a physician. The period of his practice extended from about the year 1660 to the time of his death in 1684. He was not educated a physician, but was early a millwright. In his inventory are to be found medical books, surgical instruments, etc. Howe's Chirurgery was of the number.

¹ This may possibly have been some *ante-mortem* surgical operation; "but," says Dr. W. A. M. Wainwright, of Hartford, in the *Hartford Co. Memorial*, "if it was post-mortem, as is most probable, it was the first autopsy made in New England of which any record has been found, antedating by a dozen years the one made in Boston in 1674, an account of which is given by Dr. Green in his "History of Medicine in Massachusetts," and said by him to have been "one of the earliest recorded instances of a post-mortem examination to be found in New England."

² *Col. Rec.*, i. 234.

³ *Col. Rec.*, i. 279.

As will be seen by the records, different cases of surgery were often sent off (at town expense) up to Haddley, Hatfield, and other towns in Massachusetts, to be placed under the care of famous physicians who resided there. Among the *Wolcott Papers* in the Library of the Connecticut Historical Society we find the following letter addressed :

" For His much Respected Friend,

Mr. Henry Wolcott,

at His House

In Windsor.

" Respected Sir

" My service being presented to you and to y^r Past of my Masters; these may acquaint you that I have, through God's blessing, performed a cure upon Goodman Denslow's lad though with a good deal of difficulty, care, and trouble, it Remains therefore on your part to perform what you have Imagined, his Diet and dressing at 4 shillings per week amounts to ten pounds, six shillings. What I have expended in medicines and otherwise, of which I shall give you a true account, amounts to twenty-seven pounds. I desire you to take some effectual course that I may be paid, for I can truly affirm that I am at least Indebted ten pounds by y^r lad, though I should not care I hope I shall not meet with difficulty in getting what is my due. I purpose to see you y^r next week, and if it may be, I desire that my pay may be ready against I come down. I have not at present to add but that I am

S^r

Your Friend & Servant,

THOMAS HASTINGS."

Hatfield December y^r 11th, 1685.

June 5, 1702. £12 were paid to Doctor Jacob Reed [of Simsbury] and Obediah Hosford for the care of Mary Gaylord. — *Town Records*.

DOCTOR SAMUEL MATHER, the son of the Rev. Samuel Mather, was born at Branford in 1677, graduated at Harvard College in 1698, at the age of 21, and was licensed to practice medicine by the General Assembly in 1702. This license is as follows:

[L. s.] Conn. ss

"At a General Assembly Held at Hartford May 14, 1702, upon the recommendation of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Mather, Doctor Thomas Hooker and Mr. John Fisk this Assembly doth license Mr. Samuel Mather, Jr., of the town of Windsor, to be a Practitioner of Physick and Chyrurgy in this Colonie

" In testimony that the above written is a true copy, I have caused the seal of his Majestie's Colonie to be hereunto assigned and subscribed.

ELEAZER KIMBERLY, Sec'y."

After a life of professional usefulness, during which he held various civil and military offices of trust and honor, he died Feb. 6, 1745, in the 68th year of his age. He was the father of Mr. Nathaniel Mather, of Windsor (who lived upon "the Island"), who was the father of Elijah Mather, and also of Col. Oliver Mather, late of Windsor.

DOCTOR ALEXANDER WOLCOTT, the son of Governor Roger, and great-grandson of Mr. Henry Wolcott, the Emigrant, was born in East (now South) Windsor, January 7, 1712. He graduated at Yale College

in 1731, and shortly after became a student of medicine at the office of Dr. Norman Morrison, then a distinguished practitioner in Hartford. Here the same talent and energy which had rendered him, at college, distinguished for his classical attainments -- enabled him to grasp the great principles and explore the mysteries of the healing art with more than usual rapidity and success. Having finished his course of medical study, Dr. Wolcott (about 1740) commenced practice in his native town, and soon attained a distinguished rank in his profession. He served with ability as surgeon at the capture of Louisburg, in 1745, and in 1776 he was, by appointment of the Assembly, placed at the head of the Examining Committee for Surgeons and Surgeons's Mates in the Continental Army. The records of Windsor during the revolutionary struggle show that Dr. Alexander Wolcott was a firm friend to the cause of America, and always active, both in private and in public, to promote its success. He represented the town in the General Assembly many times, beginning in 1757. In 1795 he died, full of years and honors. He was thrice married, and had thirteen children, two of whom were physicians. Dr. CHRISTOPHER, JR., succeeded his father at Windsor; and Dr. SIMON WOLCOTT removed to New London, and, in 1792, was one of the founders of the Connecticut Medical Society.

Dr. Wolcott's residence in Windsor is now occupied by the widow of the late Sidney Gowers.

"His library," says the late¹ Dr. Sumner, in an address before the State Medical Society, "was large and well-selected, and its array of folios, mostly in Latin, which would make a student, of this day, shudder with apprehension. Yet in such form were the works of Bonetus, Senertus, and Morgagni, while in less ponderous shape, but in the same language, were found the first edition of the great work of Sydenham; and Dr. Wolcott was in the practice of reading these ponderous tomes of Latin and Greek, though one of the sons, to whom they devolved, looked upon them as excellent waste paper, and as such employed them."

Fortunately, however, a remnant of this splendid library was saved, and, falling into the hands of Dr. Sumner, whom we have just quoted, was by him presented to Trinity College at Hartford. There this unique collection of some 200 volumes, many of them bearing the (Latin) annotations of Dr. Wolcott, is carefully preserved, and is easily accessible to the curious, and more *knowing*, but less *learned* medical men of this generation.

DOCTOR ELIHU TUDOR,¹ son of the Rev. Samuel and great grandson

¹In his commission as Surgeon's Mate, in the 43d Regiment of Foot, dated in September, 1763, his name was by some mistake written *Edward Tudor*. As he had always disliked his name of Elihu, he ever afterward wrote and drew his pension under the name of *Edward*.

of Owen Tudor, a first settler of Windsor, was born in that town February 3, 1732. He graduated from Yale College, where he was esteemed an excellent Greek scholar, in 1750, and studied medicine under the then famous Dr. Benjamin Gale, of Killingworth. He entered the army service during the French war, probably in August, 1759, as Surgeon's Mate, with the rank of a 2d lieutenant. — Barber's *Hist. Col. Conn.*, p. 54. In this capacity he served with Gen. Wolfe in Canada, and at the capture of Havana. From 1762-1764 he seems to have lived in London, engaged in the hospitals and the active pursuit of his professional studies. Returning then to his native land, with a mind richly stored by research and observation, he established himself in practice at (East) Windsor. His first introduction to surgical practice, as we have been told, was on the occasion of the accidental blowing up of the Hartford school-house, on the 8th of June, 1766, on the day of rejoicing for the Repeal of the Stamp Act. The skill displayed by him in treating the sufferers by this deplorable accident gave him an excellent start. In the following year we find in the *Connecticut Courant*, under date of June 15, 1767, the following advertisement:

"*Doctor TUDOR, Lately from LONDON, Begs Leave to acquaint the Publick, that he sets out the 22d Instant, to visit the Mineral Springs at Stafford, in Connecticut, where he will be ready to give his Advice to those that choose to consult him in drinking the Waters.*"

Upon the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, Doctor Tudor, who was a pensioner of the British government, and favorable to the royal cause,¹ fell under the suspicion of his neighbors at (East) Windsor. His popularity declined, and his practice, which was chiefly surgical, was, in his later days, not very extensive.

His reputation as a surgeon was at one time equal, if not superior, to any in New England. In person he was of medium height and upright form, near-sighted, always very neat in his dress, wearing ruffles, fine silver buckles, and a nosegay in his button-hole. He died in 1826, at the advanced age of 93.²

Previous to his death, in 1790, he received from Dartmouth College the degree of Doctor of Medicine, which in that day was a compliment and honor which can scarcely be appreciated in these days of indiscrimi-

¹It is related that he used to have *two tea pots*, one of which was filled with *soy-tea*, the other with real tea, which could be used according to the company he had at his table.

²It is said that the British Government, thinking the doctor was stretching out his life to an unconscionable long length, actually sent an agent over to see as to the facts of the case. It is a remarkable fact that very many of the pensioners of England lived to such an advanced age as to induce suspicion on the part of the Home Government that there was some trickery in the matter.

inate diploma-giving. He was one of the founders and second Vice-President of the Connecticut Medical Society.

"Doctor" PRIMUS was originally a slave, belonging to Doctor Alexander Wolcott, to whom he acted as escort and body-guard in his visits to his numerous patients, and as an assistant in the preparation of medicines for the sick. "In this Primus and his master lived on for years, till it occurred to the latter that the old negro should be released from bondage. "Primus Manumit," as he afterwards wrote his name, was free, but he did not waste months in doubts respecting his future course. He immediately removed to East Windsor, and was at once recognized as a doctor, and as such frequently employed. On one occasion he was requested to visit a sick child at Poquonock (in West Windsor). Primus obeyed the summons. On his way home he rapped at the door of his old master, who came out to inquire what was wanted. "Nothing particular, master; I called to say that I was sent for to see a child of our old neighbor; found it to be a very simple case, and said to the mother it was not necessary to send so far for a doctor, for you would have done just as well as any one else." — *Dr. Sumner's Address.*

The following "return of flour, grain, and meal" made by him to the Selectmen of East Windsor, during the Revolutionary War, according to a Public Act of the Assembly, shows that "Doctor" Primus had not only picked up some of his old master's knowledge of physie, but also some of the Latin terms used in his written prescriptions:

Sir in obedience to your Directions I Present to your honor; the account of the Neseceres of Life I am Now in; Possing of I have the flour that Come out; of two Bushels of Wheat and a Bushel and $\frac{1}{2}$ half of wheat half a Bushel Promis to doct (?)—Rockwell one Bushel of Ry Promis to—drake; five Bushel of Corn Promis to Capt Aaron Bissell: *totum est:*

dated East windsor July 1: 1780

Primus manumit

Quantum: Sufficit:

Dr. Primus lived in a small cabin on the west side of the street, at the top of the hill north of Stoughton's brook, in the present town of South Windsor. He was a large, good-looking man, quite gentlemanly, and had considerable practice.

DOCTOR TIMOTHY MATHER died April 5, 1788, aged 34 years: of whom it is well said that "his life was a relief to the distressed."

DOCTOR CHARLES MATHER, the son of Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Allyn) Mather, graduated at Yale College, 1763. He lived in East (now South) Windsor, in the house which Dr. Elijah F. Reed afterwards occupied. About 1795, Dr. M. moved to Hartford. He was esteemed an excellent physician, especially in female complaints. He was noted for his long visits, never in a hurry, staid a long time after he got up to

go. He died in 1822. His oldest son, Charles, who graduated at Yale, 1783, was also a physician in the city of New York.

DOCTOR CHRISTOPHER WOLCOTT, familiarly called "Dr. Kit," was the son of Dr. Alexander Wolcott (already noticed); was an intelligent, though somewhat eccentric man, whose long and well-spent life in Windsor contributed his full share to confer lustre upon a name which has been distinguished in more than one profession. He was one of the founders of the Hartford County Medical Society.

In Windsor, also, the DOCTORS CHAFFEE, father and son, practiced with good reputation. And here the father, Dr. HEZEKIAH CHAFFEE, died in 1819, aged 88 years.

Here, likewise, Dr. ABEL SIMMONS, a native of Ashford, in this State, and a physician of much promise, found an early grave in 1818.

Here, also, the DOCTORS SILL, the father, Dr. ELISHA N., and the son, Dr. THEODORE SILL, were both located. In the premature death of the son the profession and the community each suffered heavily.

Dr. CHARLES WOODWARD, now of Middletown, and Dr. GRAHAM LEE, afterwards of California, practiced for some years in Windsor.

WILLIAM S. PIERSON, M.D., a descendant of the Rev. Abraham Pierson, the first Rector of Yale College (1701-1707), was born at Killingworth, Conn., 17 Nov., 1787; graduated at Yale College, 1808; graduated M.D. from Dartmouth College, 1813. He practiced a few years at his native place, and then removed to Durham, Conn., whence, after four years, he removed to Windsor. Here, after a long and eminently successful professional career, he died 16 July, 1860, widely esteemed and lamented. His residence, on Palisado Green, afterwards the home of his son, the late Gen. William S. Pierson, whose widow now occupies it, still keeps alive the memory of "the beloved physician" in many Windsor hearts.

ALBERT MORRISON, M.D., born at Hebron, Conn., 13 March, 1826; graduated at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York City, 1847; enjoyed a large practice in Windsor and vicinity; was accidentally killed on the railroad at Windsor, 18 July, 1873, and "was buried from the church which he so dearly loved. The attending crowd bore witness to the honor and respect in which he was held."

SAMUEL A. WILSON, M.D., born at Windsor, 9 Sept., 1828; graduated from the Yale Medical School, 1853; practiced for many years in Windsor; but has now mostly retired from active professional work. His residence is on the Palisado Green.

The present practicing physicians of Windsor are NEWTON S. BELL, M. D., and ADOLF SCHLOSSER.

Dr. J. N. DICKSON is at present practicing in Poquonock.

The list of Windsor men who have represented the Town in the UNITED STATES and STATE GOVERNMENT will be found in Appendix F.

The Old Cemetery of Windsor, on the high bank at the northwest corner of the old Palisado Green, overlooking the "Little Rivulet" (Farmington River), is certainly one of the most beautifully located and historically interesting burial places in New England. Its area, within the past twenty-five years, has been considerably enlarged; and the quaint dignity of its old-time tables and headstones is sharply contrasted by the better and more elaborate monumental glories of the "new portion."

Gen. FREDERICK ELLSWORTH MATHER of New York city, whose interest in the old burial place is evinced by the three handsome monuments which he has erected to his Mather and Wolcott grandfathers, etc., secured the passage by the State Legislature of an act, dated January, 1889, authorizing "the First School Society of the Town of Windsor to receive Donations for the Care and Preservation of its Cemetery and Burial Lots."

But the Windsor Cemetery Trust Fund does not accumulate very rapidly, and the intentions of its far-seeing and generous projector bid fair to be thwarted by the apathy and jealousies of others, who should be equally interested in its welfare. Such provision is greatly needed, for the benefit, especially, of those non-resident families which have no living representative residing in Windsor, to take care of their interests in this respect.

